

GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL SERIES

Class B, No. 6.

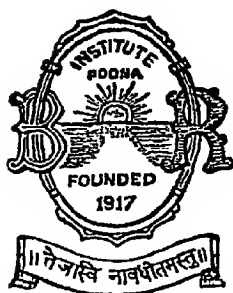


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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA
(ANCIENT AND MEDLÆVAL
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

By
the late Dr. PANDURANG VAMAN KANE
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Vol. III
Second Edition

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
1973

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

The second volume of the History of Dharmasāstra was published in the third quarter of 1941. In the Preface to that volume I held forth hopes that the next volume dealing with the remaining subjects comprised in Dharmasāstra might be placed before scholars in about three years thereafter. The Great War was then being fought in Europe and it was generally believed that India would remain free from the fear of actual invasion. But such fond hopes were shattered by the sudden attack on Pearl Harbour by Japanese bombers on 7th December 1941. Japan gained rapid and phenomenal victories and within about three months from the attack on Pearl Harbour vast territories from the Philippines to Burma fell into the hands of the victors. Calcutta and Trincomalee were bombed. Serious fears were entertained about an invasion of the mainland of India by land, sea and air. There was great panic in such coastal cities as Madras, Bombay and Karachi. The matters uppermost in the minds of Government officials and the members of the public were A. R. P. measures, the recruiting of men for the army, navy and air force and the removal of families and valuables to places of safety in the interior. Important and rare books from the libraries of the Bombay Asiatic Society and of the University of Bombay were taken to distant places for reasons of security. During almost the whole of 1942 it was very difficult for me to work on the preparation of the third volume in the midst of a general atmosphere of panic caused by the fear of invasion and the removal of valuable reference books from Bombay. Owing to the war there has been great scarcity of paper and printing also has become very costly. I decided upon writing only on a few of the several subjects that remained to be dealt with and chose Rājadharmā, Vyavahāra and Sadācāra, the treatment of which is now placed before the public. Scarcity of paper and labour is responsible for the fact that this third volume has been in the press for nearly three years. The present volume increased in bulk beyond expectation. The fourth and last volume will deal with the following subjects: Pātaka, karmavipāka and prāyaścitta; antyesti, āsauca and srāddha; tīrtha; vrata; kāla and muhūrta; śānti; Paurāṇa dharmā; the influence of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā and other śāstras on dharmasāstra; the religious and philosophical background of dharmasāstra; the essentials of our culture, its future, the coming

social and other trends and their impact on the dogmas and ideals of Dharmaśāstra. I am personally anxious to finish all the remaining work as early as possible. But looking to my age (I am nearly 67 now), to my ailments and to the number of subjects that remain to be dealt with, it is impossible for me to say when the next and last volume may be published. This volume also is full of quotations, refers to many inscriptions, judicial decisions and legislative enactments. The reasons for this have been stated at length in the Preface to the second volume and I do not desire to repeat them here. In the general index to the second volume full references to works like the *Manusmṛti* were not given, because such works were quoted on almost every page. But some critics found fault with this, therefore in the index to this volume full references to all works are inserted.

All that now remains is the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith and several volumes of the Sacred Books of the East have been very useful in preparing this volume as in the case of the preceding one. I wish to mention specially the debt I owe to the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtīrtha for his editorial work on twelve volumes on the different branches of dharmaśāstra, which have been of great use to me in writing all the volumes of my *History* viz. *Hāralatā*, *Vivā daratnākara*, *Gṛhasṭharatnākara*, *Kṛtyaratnākara*, *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*, *Varsakriyākaumudī*, *Dānakriyākaumudī*, *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī*, *Suddhikaumudī*, *Dandaviveka*, *Rājadharmakaustubha* and *Agastyasamhitā*. I am highly obliged to Paramahansa Svāmi Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai for frequent help and guidance in solving some intricate problems of Dharmaśāstra, to Prof N. A. Gore, M. A. of Poona for help in the careful correction of proofs, to Tarkatīrtha Raghunāthaśāstri Kokje of Lonavla and Mr. N. G. Chapekar, B. A., LL. B. (retired F. C. Sub-judge), of Badlapur for reading through the whole volume and suggesting some additions and corrections.

Assistance in various ways during the progress of the work for the last four years was very kindly rendered by a host of friends and acquaintances, among whom I should like to make special mention of Prof H. D. Velankar, Dr R. N. Dandekar, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Rao Bahadur Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Mr. P. K. Gode, Dr. Raghavan, Mr. S. N. Joshi of Bhārata-ītiḥāsa-saṁśodhaka-maṇḍala at Poona, Mr. Bhabatosh

Bhattacharya (son of M M Kamalākṣṇa Smṛtībīrtha), Mr S L Katre of Ujjain, Prof. A. M. Paramāśivanandan of Pachaiappa College at Madras, the late Pandit Rangaċārya Raddi. Thanks are due to all these and many others for help and interest in this volume. It need not be expressly stated that I alone am responsible for the views and mistakes contained in this volume. I sincerely thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, for carrying out the work of printing with care and promptitude in spite of difficulties caused by war conditions and paper and labour shortage.

In a work bristling with thousands of quotations and references it is likely that many slips have escaped attention. The indulgence of the reader is sought for forgiveness in the matter of several misprints in the footnotes caused by loss or displacement of the parts of letters in the process of printing.

BOMBAY, }
1st October, 1946. }

P. V. KANE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of abbreviations	...	...	...	xi-xvi
Chronological Table	...	...	...	xvii-xx
Brief Synopsis	...	...	...	xxi-xxiii
List of works consulted	...	...	...	xxv-xxxvi
Table of cases cited	...	...	...	xxxvii-xlii
Additions and Corrections	...	...	...	xlili-xlv
History of Dharmasāstra	..	...	...	1-973
Appendix containing long extracts in Sanskrit and List of names of officials			..	975-1014
General Index	...	..	...	1015-1082
Index of technical or important words			...	1083-1083

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

- A. I. R. = All India Reporter of Nagpur
 Ait Br. = Aitareya Brāhmana
 All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad Series
 A L. J. = Allahabad Law Journal
 Āp. = Āpastamba (generally the author of the Dharmasūtra is meant)
 Āp. Dh S. = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra
 Āp. M P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pātha
 A. S. W. I. = Archaeological survey of Western India
 Āsv. Gī. = Āsvalāyana-grhyasūtra
 Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra
 B I. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta
 Bom. = I. L. Reports, Bombay Series
 Bom. G. = Bombay Gazetteer volumes
 Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports (vol I-XII)
 Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter (edited by Ratanlal and Dhirajlal)
 B. O. R. I. } = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Insti-
 B. O. R. Institute } tute, Poona
 Br = Smṛti of Brhaspati
 Br. Up. = Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad
 B R W. W. = Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western world
 Cal = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta Series
 Catur. = Caturvimsatimata
 Chān. Up. = Chāndogya Upaniṣad
 C. I. I. or } = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (vol. I
 Corpus I. I } relating to Inscriptions of the times of Asoka,
 vol. II relating to Kusana Inscriptions and
 vol. III relating to Gupta Inscriptions)
 C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal
 Com. = Commentary or Commentator (according to context)
 Cr. ed. = Critical edition (of the Mahābhārata, Poona)
 C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes (Law Reports)
 D. B. = The Dāyabhāga of Jimūtavāhana
 D. C. = Dattaka-candrikā

- D C = Deccan College Collection (when mss. are concerned)
 Dh S. = Dharmasūtra
 D K. S. = Dāyakramasangraha of Śrīkrṣṇa
 D. N. = Dattakamīmāṃsā of Nandapandita
 E C = Epigraphia Carnatica
 E I = Epigraphia Indica
 F B. = Full Bench (decision)
 Fick } = The Social organization in North-east India in
 } = Buddha's time (translated from German by
 } Dr Shishukumar Mitra, 1920)
 Gaut. = Gautama-dharmasūtra
 Gr. R. = Grhastharatnākara of Candosvara
 H D } = History of Dharmasāstra
 H Dh }
 Hlr gr = Hiranyakesi-grhya-sūtra
 I. A = Indian Antiquary
 I A. } = Indian Appeals (Law Reports) The context
 } will always indicate whether I. A stands for the
 } volumes of the Indian Antiquary or for the Law
 } Reports, Indian Appeals
 I. H Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly
 I. L R = Indian Law Reports
 Ins = Inscription or Inscriptions
 I. P. C = Indian Penal Code
 Jai = Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra
 J. A. O. S = Journal of the American Oriental Society
 J. A. S. B = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
 J B. O. R S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research
 Society
 J R. A S = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)
 Kām. = Kāmandakiya-nīti-sāra
 Kāt. = Smṛti of Kātyāyana reconstructed by P V Kane
 Kaut. = Kautilya's Arthasāstra
 K V N. = Kalivarjyavinirṇaya (ms)
 L R I A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals (Privy Council)
 Mad. = Indian Law Reports, Madras Series
 Mārka. = Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa
 Medh. = Medhātithi, the oldest commentator of Manusmṛti

Sukra = Sukranitisāha

Tai. Ā. = Taittiriya Aranyaka

Tai. Br. = Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa

Tai. S. = Taittiriya Samhitā

Tai. Up. = Taittiriya Upaniṣad

T. L. L. = Tagore Law Lectures

Tr = Translation or translated

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyama-samhitā

Vas. = Vasistha-dharma-sūtra

V. C. = Vivāda-cintāmaṇi

V. M. } = Vyavahāra-mātrkā of Jimūtavāhana (except
V. Mātrkā } on p. 709)

V. Mayūkha = Vyavahāramayūkha (In a very few places
such as on p. 709 through oversight V. M.
stands for V. Mayūkha)

V. Nir. } = Vyavahāranirnaya of Varadarāja
V. Nirnaya }

V. P. = Vyavahānaprakāśa (a part of the Viramitrodaya
of Mitrāmśra)

V. R. = Vivādaratnākara of Candesvara

Visnu. } = Visnudharmasūtra
Visnu Dh. S. }

V. T. = Vivādatāṇḍava of Kamalākara

Vy. Nir. } = Vyavahāranirnaya of Varadarāja
Vy. Nirnaya }

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti

अथर्व = अथर्ववेद

अर्थशास्त्र = कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र

आप. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र

आप. म. पा. = आपस्तम्बमन्त्रपाठ

ऋ. = ऋग्वेद

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण

कलिवर्ज्यवि. = कलिवर्ज्यविनिर्णय (ms)

कात्या. = कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार

कात्या. श्रौ. = कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र

काम. } = कामन्दकीयनीतिसार
कामन्दक }

कृत्यर. = कृत्यरत्नाकर

कौ. } = कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र
कौटिलीय }

गृह. र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर

गौ. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र

चतुर्वि. = चतुर्विंशतिमत

छा. उ. = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्

जै. = जैमिनीयपूर्वमीमांसासूत्र

जै. न्या. मा. = जैमिनीयन्यायमालाविस्तार

तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक

तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण

तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता

दत्त. च. = दत्तकचन्द्रिका

दत्त. मी. = दत्तकमीमांसा

नारद. = नारदस्मृति

नीतिवा. } = नीतिवाक्यामृत
नीतिवाक्या. }

नीतिसार = कामन्दकीयनीतिसार

परा. मा. = पराशरमाध्वनीय

पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी

बुध. } = बुधभूषण
बुधभू. }

बृह. = बृहस्पतिस्मृति (as quoted in digests)

बृह. उप. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्

बृहत्सं. = बृहत्संहिता

बौ. ध. } = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र
बौ. ध. सू. }

बौ. श्रौ. = बौधायनश्रौतसूत्र

मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात

मनु. = मनुस्मृति

मिता. = मिताक्षराटीका of विश्वानेश्वर

मीमांसाकौ. } = मीमांसाकौस्तुभ of खण्डदेव
मी. कौ. }

मेधा. = मेधातिथि's भाष्य on मनुस्मृति

या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति

रा. ध. कौ. or राजध. कौ. or राजधर्मका. = राजधर्मकौस्तुभ

रा. नी. प्र. or राजनी. प्र. or राजनीतिप्र. = राजनीतिप्रकाश of मित्रमित्र

राज. र. or राजनीतिर. = राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर

वाज. सं = वाजसनेयसंहिता

वि चि = विवादचिन्तामणि

वि. ता = विवादताण्डव of कमलाकर

वि र = विवादरत्नाकर

व्यव. त = व्यवहारतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन

व्य. नि or व्यव. नि = व्यवहारनिर्णय

व्य प्र = व्यवहारप्रकाश of मित्रमिश्र

व्य. म or व्य. मयूख = व्यवहारमयूख

व्य मा = व्यवहारमातृका

व्यव सा. = व्यवहारसार

शुक्र
शुक्रनी } = शुक्रनीतिसार
शुक्रनीति.

स कौ = संस्कारकौस्तुभ

सत्या. श्रौ. = सत्याषाढश्रौतसूत्र

स वि. = सरस्वतीविलास

स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका

स्मृतिमु = स्मृतिमुक्ताफल

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

(of some important works and authors referred to in this volume)

N. B. — Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are more or less conjectural

- 4000 B. C. — 1000 B. C. — The period of the Vedic Samhitas, Brāhmanas and Upanisads. Some hymns of the Rgveda, the Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmana and the Atharvaveda may possibly go back to a period earlier than even 4000 B. C. and some of the Upanisads (even from among those that are regarded as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C.
- 800 B. C. — 500 B. C. — The Nirukta.
- 800 B. C. — 400 B. C. — The principal śrauta sūtras (of Apastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Satyāsadhā and others) and some of the Grhyasūtras (such as those of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana)
- 600 B. C. — 300 B. C. — The dharmaśūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasistha and the Grhyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.
- 600 B. C. — 300 B. C. — Pāṇini
- 500 B. C. — 200 B. C. — Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra
- 300 B. C. — Vararuci Kātyāyana, author of Vārtikas on Pāṇini.
- 300 B. C. — 100 A. D. — Arthasāstra of Kautilya.
- 150 B. C. — The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.
- 200 B. C. — 100 A. D. — Manusmṛti
- 100 A. D. — 300 A. D. — Yājñavalkyasmṛti
- 100 A. D. — 300 A. D. — Visnudharmasūtra
- 100 A. D. — 400 A. D. — Nārada-smṛti
- 200 A. D. — 500 A. D. — Śābara, com. of Jaimini
- 300 A. D. — 500 A. D. — Brhaspatismṛti on Vyavahāra (not yet found. Extracts translated in S. B. E. vol. 33).
- 300 A. D. — 600 A. D. — Some of the extant Purāṇas, such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Matsya, Kūrma

- 400 A D — 600 A D. — Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra (not yet found Extracts collected by me and translated in English)
- 400 A D — 600 A D. — Kāmandakiyanitisāra
- 505 A D — 587 A D. — Varāhamihira, author of *Bṛhatsamhitā*, *Brhajātaka*, *Pañcasiddhāntika* and other works
- 600 A D — 650 A D. — Bāna, author of the *Kādambarī* and the *Harsacarita*
- 650 A D. — 750 A D. — Kumārilabhatta, author of *Śloka-vārtika*, *Tantravārtika* and *Tup-tika*
- 600 A D. — 900 A D — Most of the smṛtis and some of the Purāṇas
- 788 A D — 820 A D — Śaṅkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher
- 800 A D. — 850 A D — Viśvarūpa, com. of *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*
- 900 A D. — Medhātithi, com. of *Manusmṛti*
- 900 A D. — 1100 A D — Pārthasārathimīśra, author of *Śāstra-dīpikā*, *Tantraratna*, *Nyāyaratnākara*
- 966 A D — Utpala, com of *Bṛhat-samhitā* and *Brhajātaka*
- 1000 A D — 1055 A D — Dhāresvara (Bhoja)
- 1070 A D — 1100 A D — Vijñāneśvara, the author of the *Mitākṣarā* com on *Yājñavalkya*
- 1080 — 1140 A D — Govindarāja, author of a com on *Manusmṛti*
- 1100 — 1150 A D — Lakṣmidhara, author of a large digest called *Kṛtya-kalpataru* or simply *Kalpataru*
- 1100 — 1150 A D — Jimūtavāhana, author of *Dāyabhāga*, *Kālaviveka* and *Vyavahāramātrkā*
- 1114 — 1183 A D — Bhāskarācārya, author of *Siddhānta-siromani*, of which *Līlāvati* is a part
- 1125 A D — Aparārka, author of a com on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*
- 1127 — 1138 A D — Mānasollāsa or *Abhilasitārthacintāmani* of Somesvaradeva
- 1150 — 1160 A D — Rājatarangini of Kalhana
- 1150 — 1200 A D. — *Smṛtyarthasāra* of Śrīdhara.

- 1200 — 1225 A. D. — Smṛticandrikā of Devannabhatta
- 1150 — 1300 A. D. — Haradatta, com. on Gaṇṭamadharmasūtra and Āpastambadharmasūtra
- 1150 — 1300 A. D. — Kullūka, com. of Manusmṛti.
- 1200 — 1300 A. D. — Vyavahāranirnaya of Varadarāja
- 1260 — 1270 A. D. — Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri
- 1290 — 1370 A. D. — Candēśvara, author of Rījanīratnākara, Vivādaratnākara, Grhastharatnākara and other works
- 1300 — 1380 A. D. — Mādhavācārya, author of Parāśaramādhaviya.
- 1360 — 1390 A. D. — Madanapārijāta compiled under king Madanapāla
- 1375 — 1460 A. D. — Śūlapāni, author of Dīpakalikā, com. on Yājñavalkya.
- 1400 — 1500 A. D. — Nyāyasudhā of Someśvara, com. on Tantravārtika.
- 1400 — 1450 A. D. — Vivādacandra of Misarumisra
- 1425 — 1450 A. D. — Madanaratna of Madanasimha.
- 1490 — 1512 — The Vyavahārasāra of Dalapati, a part of the Nṛsimhaprasāda
- 1500 — 1525 A. D. — The Sarasvativilāsa compiled under king Pratāparudradeva
- 1500 — 1550 A. D. — Vardhamāna, author of Dandavīka.
- 1500 — 1550 — Vācaspatimisra, author of Vivādacintāmaṇi and several other works
- 1520 — 1575 A. D. — Raghunandana, author of Dāyatattva, Divyatattva, Vyavahāratattva and other Tattvas
- 1560 — 1620 A. D. — Śāṅkarabhatta, author of Dvaitanirnaya or Dharmadvaitanirnaya
- 1590 — 1630 A. D. — Nandapandita, author of the Dattakamīmāṃsā and Vaijayanti, com. on Visnudharmasūtra.
- 1610—1640 A. D. — Kamalākarabhatta, author of Nirṇayasindhu, Vivādatāṇḍava, Śūdrakamalākara and other works.

- 1615 — 1645 A D — Nilakanthabhatta, author of Nītimayūkha, Vyavahāramayūkha and other Mayūkhās
- 1615 — 1645 A. D — Mitramisra, author of Vīramitrodaya, divided into Rājanītiprakāśa, Vyavhāraprakāśa and other prakāśas
- 1650 — 1680 A D — Anantadeva, author of Rājadharmakaustubha
- 1750 — 1820 A. D — Bālabhāṭṭa, author of the Bālabhāṭṭī, com on the Mīṭāksarī
- 1790 A D — Dharmasindhu of Kaśīnātha

BRIEF SYNOPSIS OF THE CONTENTS

	PAGES
RĀJADHARMA	1—241
Chap. I Preliminary .. .	1—16
Chap. II Seven aṅgas of rāṇya ..	17—55
Chap. III Duties and responsibilities of the ruler	55—103
Chap. IV Ministers	104—131
Chap. V <i>Rāṣṭra</i> (territory of a State) ..	132—177
Chap. VI <i>Duṇḍa</i> (capital or fort) ..	178—183
Chap. VII <i>Kośa</i> (Treasury or finance).	184—199
Chap. VIII <i>Bala</i> (Army)	200—215
Chap. IX <i>Mitra</i> (Ally)	216—234
Chap. X Purpose of the study of Rāja- dharma and the ends of the State	235—241
VYAVAHĀRA	242—824
Chap. XI Meaning of Vyavahāra, Vya- vahārapadas, Kautilya on this subject, grades of courts, Judges, Lawyers, court fees, pleadings, means of proof, documents	242—316
Chap. XII Bhukti (possession) ...	317—329
Chap. XIII Witnesses	330—360
Chap. XIV Divya (ordeals)	361—378
Chap. XV Decision, decree, fines and punishments, Limitation ...	379—410
Chap. XVI Contracts, debts, pledges, mortgages.	411—461
Chap. XVII <i>Aśvāmivikraya</i> (sale by one not the owner)	462—465

	PAGES
Chap. XVIII Sambhūya-samutthāna (partnership)	466-470
Chap. XIX Dattānapākarma (resumption of gift). ..	471-475
Chap. XX Vetanasyānapākarma, Abhyupetyāśusrūṣā and svāmipālavivāda . .	476-485
Chap. XXI Samvid-vyatikrama (violation of compacts) and other titles of law. ..	486-501
Chap. XXII Simavivāda (boundary dispute). .	502-510
Chap. XXIII Vākpārusya and Dandapārusya (abuse and assault)	511-518
Chap. XXIV Steya (theft)	519-530
Chap. XXV Strisangrahaṇa (adultery, incest and rape). ..	531-537
Chap. XXVI Dyūtasamāhvaya (gambling and prizefighting) ...	538-542
Chap. XXVII Dāyabhāga (partition of wealth) .	543-661
Chap. XXVIII Dattaka (adopted son) .	662-699
Chap. XXIX Order of succession after the son.	700-769
Chap. XXX Strīdhana (woman's property)	770-802
Chap. XXXI Maintenance and other topics, wills, draft Hindu Code. ...	803-824
SADĀCĀRA (customs and customary laws)	825-973
Chap. XXXII Practices of śīstas; conflict among śruti, smṛti and sadācāra: ancient instances of transgressions of dharma; customs and pūrvamīmāṃsā.	825-855
Chap. XXXIII Customs and dharmaśāstra works.	856-884

PAGES

Chap. XXXIV	Kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the Kali age), theory of Yugas, the date of the Mahābhārata war, beginning of Kaliyuga.	... 885-968
Chap. XXXV	Customs in modern Indian Law. 969-973



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TABLE OF CASES CITED

(Volumes of reports are not specified where the names of parties are given, but volumes are cited at the end of this table where the names of parties are not mentioned in the text)

Abilakh v Bhelbi 617n
 Advyappa v. Rudraya 717n,
 Ahmed Khan v Channi Bibi 971n
 Aja Verma v Vijai Kumari 971n
 Alku v. Ganesh 810n, 812.
 Alshaya Chandra v Haridas 739n
 Amarendra Man Singh v. Sanatan 666n.
 Ambabai v. Keshav 545
 Amirthammal v. Vallimayil 612
 Anandi v Hari 723n.
 Anandilal v. Chandrabai 812
 Anandrao v. Shankar 971n
 Anant v Dnyaneshwar 674.
 Anant v. Shankar 672
 Anantbaya v Visbnu 809n
 Angammal v. Venkata 808.
 Apaji v. Ramchandrar 570.
 Appaji v. Mobanlal 732n, 752n.
 Appa v. Ramakka 685.
 Ardesbir v. The Collector of Surat 305n.
 Asita v. Nirode 699n.
 Atmaram v Bajirao 599n, 753n, 780n

 Baba Narayan v. Saboosa 970n
 Baboo Ganesh Dutt v Maharaja
 Moheshur 631
 Babni Rita v Babu Pran 659.
 Babuna v. Jagat Narain 608
 Badri Roy v Bhugvat 608n.
 Bai Devkore v Amritram 753n
 Bai Gulab v. Jivanlal 599n
 Bai Kashi v. Jannadas 600n.
 Bai Keserba v. Shivsangji 690n, 694n,
 697n.
 Bai Kessarbai v Hunsraj 800n
 Bai Mahalaxmi v The Deputy Nazir
 750
 Bai Mancha v. Narotamdas 584n.
 Bai Mani v Usafali 447n.
 Bai Mongibai v. Bai Nagubai 811
 Bai Nagubai v. Bai Mongibai 811, 814.
 Bai Nani v. Chamlal 684n.

Bai Parson v. Bai Somli 551n
 Bai Raman v. Jagjivandas 794
 Bajapa v. Trimbak 581n.
 Bajirao v. Ramkrishna 671
 Bajrang v Manokarnika 717n
 Bal v. Maneklal 147n.
 Bal Gangadhar v Shrinivas 688n
 Balabai v. Mahadu 681n.
 Balasubramanya v M. Subhaya 669,
 756, 758n.
 Bala Krishnappa v Venkata 698n.
 Balkrishna v. Gopal 425n.
 Balkrishna v Lakshman 722n
 Balu v. Lahoo 671.
 Balwantrao v. Bai Rao 782n.
 Basangavda v Basangavda 752n
 Basappa v. Gurulingawa 687n, 697n,
 724n.
 Basappa v. Rayava 724n
 Basappa v Shidramappa 574n.
 Basant v. Brijaraj 970n.
 Basvant v. Mallappa 674n
 Beharilal v Kaildas Chunder 693n
 Beni Prasad v Hardai Bibi 676.
 Bhagavati Sankul v. Ram Jatan 620,
 Bhagirathibai v. Kambujirao 716n, 796n
 Bhagwan v. Bhagwan 664n, 665, 683n.
 Bhagwan v. Warubai 727n
 Bharmappa v. Ujjangauda 667.
 Bhau v. Raghunath 782n, 785n.
 Bhau v. Sundrabai 867n, 971n.
 Bhikubai v. Hariba 804n, 807n, 808.
 Bhikya v. Babu 717n
 Bhimabai v. Gurunathgauda 670.
 Bhola v. Kansilla 708n.
 Bhugwande v. Myna Baee 710n
 Bhyab Ram Singh v Bhyab Ugur
 Singb 875n.
 Birbadra v Kalpataru 691n.
 Brij Moban v. Kishun Lal 758n.

- Brij Narain v Mangla Prasad 448,
 554n, 822
 Buddha Singh v Laltu Singh 732n,
 735n, 750n
 Cally Churn v Bhuggnbutty 574o
 Chalakonca Alsan v Chalalooda
 Ratoachalam 584n
 Chandika v. Muoa 729n, 971o
 Chandreshwar v Bisheshwar 681n
 Chaudhuri Goviodchandra v Haya-
 griba 448o
 Chemoauth v Palakuzhu 659.
 Cheogama v. Munisami 596n
 Chima v Padmanabha 757n
 Chuailal v Surajram 867n
 Collector of Madura v Mootoo 599n,
 665, 669o, 711, 780o, 875n, 878
 Collector of Masulipatam v, Cavalry
 Venkata 763n
 Collector of Thana v Hari 575n
 C. ector of Thaoa v Krishnaoath
 575o
 Commissioner of Incometax v Laxmi-
 narayan 591
 Dalghso v Guznffer 826o,
 Damodardas v. Purmaoandas 709, 785o
 Damodardas v Uttamram 606o, 625n
 Dattatraya v Gangabai 698n
 Dattatraya v Goviod 690n, 693n,
 Dayaldas v Savitribai 797n
 Dayavati v Kesarbai 812
 Debi Das v Mukat Behari 758o, 759
 Debi Maogal Prasad v Mahadeo
 Prasad 783o
 Debi Parshad v Thakur Dial 632n,
 638n.
 Deivanayaga v Muttu 971n
 Deokisheo v Budh Prakash 617n
 Dharma v Ramkrishna 681o
 Dharmapuram v Virapandiam 765o.
 Dhir Narain v Shiv Sahay 448o
 Digambar v. Dhanraj 571o
 Doanath v Sadashiv 972n
 Duggirala Veeranoa v Duggirala
 Sarasratam 972o
 Dular Koori v. Dwarkanath 606o
 Dorga Dat v, Ganesh 584.
 Ekallu Subharam v Ekallu Cheochu-
 ragbavan 622n
 Ekoba v Kashiram 727o
 Emperor v Bal Gaogadhar Tilak 331n.
 Fakirappa v Chaoappa 594n,
 Fakirappa v Savitrewa 667
 Fakirappa v Yellappa 767n
 Fattehsaogji v Desai Kallianraji 575o.
 Framji v Commissioner of Customs
 305n
 Gadadhar v Chaodrabbagabai 709
 Gajadhar Prasad v Gauri Shaokar
 761o
 Ga,anan v Kashioath 683
 Gandhi Magaalal v Bai Jadah 752o,
 793n
 Ganesh Dutt v, Jewach 639n
 Ganga v. Ghasia 788, 808
 Gaogabai v Anant 675n
 Gangadhar v Ibrahim 700n
 Gaoga Reddi v Tammi Reddi 593o
 Ganga Sahai v Lekhiraj 664o, 681
 Gangu v Chaodrabbagabai 672
 Ganpat v Gopalrao 596o
 Ganpatrao v Bolkrishna 687n
 Garurudhwaja v Sapanandhwaja 970n
 Ghasu Umran v Umran Jan 972o
 Ghelebbai v Hargovan 575o
 Girappa v Ningappa 698o.
 Girmallappa v Kenchava 972n
 Girjabai v Sadashiv 562n
 Gokalchand v Hukamchaod 584n
 Gopal v Gangaram 525o
 Gopal v Hanmant 683n
 Gopalayyan v Raghupatiayyan 971n
 Gopalrao v Trimbakrao 631
 Goviod v Bhiku 718, 731o, 801n,
 Goviod v Trimbak 588
 Goviodoyyar v Dorasami 688o,
 Goviodprasad v Raghoathprasad
 447n, 461n
 Gridhar. Lal v The Bengal Govern-
 ment 755o
 Hajarimal v Abaninath 577o
 Haomant v Gaoesh 872
 Haomant v Vosudev 758o
 Hargobind v. Dharam Singh 810n.

- Haridas v. Ranchordas 730n.
 Harischandra v. Atir 765n.
 Hemraj v. Khemchand 447n
 Hira v Radha 972n.
 Hirachand v. Sojpal 671n
 Hiralal v Meghraj 809n, 810n
 Hiralal v. Tripura 801n.
 Hosbanna v. Devanna 606n.
 Huchrao v. Bhimrao 685n.
 Hnnoomanpersad v Mussummat
 Babooee 449, 784n.
 Henri Das v. Bamchnrn 743n,
 In re Munshiram 675n.
 Irappa v. Rachayya 671n
 Jairam v. Nathu 606n, 621n
 Jamnabai v. Khimji 715n.
 Jamnabai v. Vasudev 608n
 Janglubai v. Jetha Appaji 793n.
 Jankubai v. Sundrabai 796n.
 Jatindra Mohun v. Ghanashyama 575n.
 Jinappa v Chimmava 593n.
 Jodu Rosamma v. Jodu Chenchiah
 605n.
 Jogesh Chundra v Nriyakali 664n
 Jogul Kishore v. Shib Sahai 571n.
 Jnggomohun Ghose v. Manikchand
 826n
 Jngmohandas v Sir Mangaldas 577n,
 818n
 Kailash Chandra v. Karuna Nath 746n
 Kalganda v Somappa 681n
 Kali Komul v. Umashankar 690
 Kamalakshi v. Ramasami 972n
 Kandasami v. Doraisami 592n
 Kanhaiya Lal v. Gaura 608n.
 Kantawa v Sangangowda 724n.
 Kashubai v. Moreshwar 752n.
 Kashiha v. Tatla 678n
 Kesarial v. Jagubhai 730n,
 Kesarsingji v Secretary of State 758n,
 760n.
 Keshav v Bai Gandhi 972n.
 Kesserhai v. Valah 724n, 728n
 Khimji v. Chnnial 425n,
 Khunni Lal v Gobind 616n
 Kisanji v. Lakshmi 808.
 Kojiyadn v. Lakshmi 717n
 Kottapalli v. Kanuparti 448n.
 K. R. Sankaralingam v. Veluchami
 671.
 Krishnaji v Moro 584n.
 Krishnaji v Raghavendra 667.
 Krishnalal v. Nandeshwar 608n
 Krishnayyan v Muthusami 809
 Kumaran v Narayanan 658.
 Kuppa v. Singaravelu 810n.
 Lachmandas v Khunnu 444n.
 Ladu Narayan v. Gobardhan 444n
 Lakhmichand v. Anandi 808.
 Lakshman v. Jamnabai 584n.
 Lakshman v. Satyabbamabai 804n,
 816n
 Lakshmandas v. Manohar 575n.
 Lallubhai v. Bai Amrit 305n, 317n,
 638n.
 Lallubhai v. Mankorebai 701n, 752
 796n.
 Lalimbhoy v. Cassibai 752n.
 Laxmipatirao v. Venkatesh 685n.
 Lingayya v. Chengalammal 681n.
 Lopes v. Lopes 969.
 Lowji v. Mithabai 757.
 Madana Mohana v. Purshothama 673.
 Madhavrao v. Raghavendrarao 971n
 Mah Nhin Bwin v. U. Schwe Gone
 641n.
 Mahableshwar v. Subramanya 693n.
 Mahamaya Debi v. Haridas 970n.
 Mahant Garnddas v Mahant Laldas
 730n.
 Maharaja of Kolhapur v. Sundaram
 972.
 Malubhai v Sursangji 631
 Maneklal v Mohanlal 507n
 Manikhai v. Gokuldas 693n.
 Manikchand v. Hiralal 631.
 Manilal Rewadat v Bai Rewa 797n
 Manjanath v Narayan 634.
 Manki v. Kundun 716n.
 Martand v Narayan 666, 691n, 697n.
 Marudayi v. Doraisami 700n.
 Masit Ullah v. Damodar Prasad 444n.
 Mathura v Esu 971n, 972n.
 Meenakshi v. Appakutti 708n
 Metharam v. Revachand 584n

- Minakshi v Ramanada 683n
 Mohandas v Krishnabai 731n
 Mohesh v Satrugnan 631
 Moniram v Kerry 707n
 Moriarty v London, Chatham and
 Dover Railway Co 349n
 Morn v Ganesh 591n, 632n.
 Mothoomohann v. Sourendrn 574n
 Muhammad Husain v. Kishwa Nandan
 576n, 577n
 Muli v Cursandas 727n
 Mrugay v Viramkali 708n
 Muthuvayyengar v Thiruvangundammal
 688n
 Nagalingam v Ramchandra 577n
 Nagalutchmee Ummal v Gopon 816n.
 Nagindas v Bachno 657, 699n,
 Nagubai v Mungghibai 585n
 Nalinaksha v. Rajanikanta 739n.
 Nauchand v. Bapnsaheb 425n
 Nannram v Radhabai 606n
 Narain Das v. Tirlok 801n.
 Narasimharan v. Antaji 445
 Narayan v Lalshman 727n, 801n
 Narayan v. Shankar 634.
 Narayan v Venkatacharya 448n
 Narhar v Bhau 796n
 Narhari v Bhimrao 971n.
 Narotam v Nanka 452n
 Natha v Chntalal 599n, 618n
 Nathubhai v. Chhaganlal 507n
 Nathubhai v Haasgavri 588n.
 Naval Singh v Bhagwan Singh 596n
 Neelkust v Beer Chunder 631, 970n
 Nehal v Kishen 707n
 Nilmmney v Baneshnr 810n
 Ningareddi v. Lakshmawa 810n
 Nirman v Fateh 592n.
 Omichand v. Barker 336n, 969n
 Palaniappa v. Alayyan 607n
 Panchanon Roy v Fazlur Rahman
 970n
 Pandharinath v Govind 710
 Pandit Suraj Narain v. Iqbal Narain
 562n
 Parshottam v Venichand 970n
 Parthasarathy v Tiruvengada 588n
 Parvati v Ganpatrao 810
 Paulhem v. Paulhem 584n
 Peda Venkanna v Sreenivasa 445n.
 Pedda Amani v Zemindar of Marunga-
 puri 656
 Perrazu v. Subbarayndu 690
 Pichuvayyan v Snbhayyan 681n
 Ponappa v. Pappuvayyengar 621n
 Pranjivan v. Mntiram 622n
 Pranjivandas v Iccharam 634,
 Prithusangi v Umedsingji 631.
 Prosanno v. Sarat 798n
 Putlabai v Mahadn 667
 R v Mylius 336n
 Rachava v Kalinggappa 751n
 Radhabai v Gopal 816n
 Radha Mohun v Hardi Bibi 676
 Raghuraj Chandra v Subhadra 691n,
 694n
 Rahu v Govind 601n, 602n, 809n.
 Raj Kishen Singh v Ramjoy 971n
 Raja v Krishnabhat 972n
 Raj Nandini v. Aswini Kumar 675
 Raja Mukund v Jagannath 681n
 Raja Ramrao v. Raja of Pittapur 803n,
 805.
 Rajah Mnthu Ramlinga v Perianaya-
 gum 821.
 Rajanikanta v Sajani Sundari 806n
 Rajaninath v Nitai 602n, 809n
 Raje Vyankatrao v Jayavantrao 672,
 Rakhmabai v. Radhabai 670n
 Ramalinga v Sivachidambara 593n.
 Ramanand v Rai Kishori 717n
 Ramanand v. Snrgiani 724n
 Ramappa v Sithammal 700n
 Ramchandra v. Gnpal 683n
 Ramchandra v. Hanmant 603
 Ramchandra v. Shankar 672
 Ramchandra v Vinayak 757n,
 Ramdas v Baldevadasji 765n
 Rameshwar v Lachmi 571n
 Ramji v. Ghaman 670, 821.
 Ramkrishna v. Chinnaji 683
 Ramkrishna v Shamrao 673, 674.
 Ramkumar v Bhagawanta 808n
 Ramlinga v Narayan 621n
 Ramnarasu v Buchamma 810n.

- Ramrao v. Yeshwantrao 631, 971n.
 Ram Gopal v. Narain 798n.
 Ram Nundun v. Maharani Janki 631.
 Ram Saran v. Malahur 972.
 Rao Balwant Singh v. Rani Kishori 640
 Ratilal v. Motilal 971n.
 Reade v. Krishna 574
 Reg v. Karsan Goja 972n
 Roshan Singh v. Balwant Singh 809n
 Rukhab v. Chunilal 698n
 Sadu v. Baiza 603n
 Sahebgauda v. Shiddangouda 699n.
 Sahu Ram v. Bhup Singh 822.
 Sakharan v. Balkrishna 758n
 Sakbaram v. Sitabai 727n, 728n, 796n.
 Salemma v. Lutchmana 795
 Sambasivam v. Secretary of State 765n
 Sankaralinga v. Rajeshwar 971n.
 Saradamahal v. S Subbarama 605n.
 Saratullah v. Pran Nath 826n
 Satyabhama v. Kesavacharya 808n
 Saundanaappa v. Shivbasawa 427n.
 Saundararajan v. Arunachalam 602n
 Savitribai v. Luxmibai 803n, 810n.
 Sayamlal v. Saudamini 674n.
 Secretary of State for India v. Dehendra Lal 325n
 Seelam Nagamma v. Reddam 758n.
 Seethai v. Nachiar 724n
 Sellam v. Chinnammal 707n
 Sha Chamanlal v. Doshi Ganesh 709.
 Shalig Ram v. Chiranjit Lal 785n
 Shamsing v. Shantabai 667.
 Shankar v. Kashinath 730n.
 Shantaram v. Waman 588.
 Sharadacandra v. Shantabai 666.
 Sheo Narain v. Janki Prasad 608n.
 Sheo Shankar v. Debi Sahai 782n.
 Shesgiri v. Gireva 708n.
 Shihprasad v. Prayag Kumari 576, 976n.
 Shivaji v. Datu 574n
 Shivajirao v. Vasantrao 596n.
 Shivalal v. Bai Sankli 808n.
 Shyama Charan v. Sri Charan 693n.
 Sitahai v. Parvatibai 683.
 Sitabai v. Vasantrao 797n.
 Somasundaram v. Vaithilinga 765n.
 Soundararajan v. Arunachalam 562n.
 Sri Balusu Gurulingaswami v. Sri Balusu 676.
 Sri Raghunadha v. Sri Brozo 618n.
 Srimati Hemagani v. Kedarnath 606
 Srischandra Nandy v. Bajinath 325n.
 Suhba v. Ganas 571n
 Suhbaraya v. Ramasami 801n.
 Suhharayana v. Subbakka 801
 Subbayya v. Anant 620n
 Subhani v. Nawab 970
 Subramania v. Valu 809n.
 Subramaniam v. Arunachalam 606n.
 Sundarabai v. Jayawant 425n.
 Sundrabai v. Hanmant 684.
 Sundrabai v. Shiv Narayan 622n
 Surabala Devi v. Sudhir 681n
 Suraj Bansi v. Sheo Proshad 450
 Surampalli v. Surampalli 804n.
 Surendra v. Bholanath 679n.
 Tahaldai v. Gaya Pershad 724n
 Tara v. Krishna 718n, 801n.
 Thakoor Jeebnath v. Court of Wards 659.
 Thakur Rab Prasad v. Chhotay Munwan 810n.
 Tirangauda v. Shivappa 685
 Toshanpal Singh v. District Judge of Agra 461n
 Totawa v. Basawa 716n.
 Tralokya Nath v. Radha 718n
 Tukaram v. Bahaji 678n
 Tukaram v. Dinkar 602n.
 Tukaram v. Narayana 798n
 Tukaram v. Ramchandra 698n
 Tulshiram v. Behari Lal 664n
 Uji v. Hathi 972n.
 Umaid Babadur v. Udoichand 756n
 Uma Shankar Moitra v. Kali Komul 690n.
 United Provinces v. Kanhaiya Lal 756.
 Valubai v. Govind 688n
 Vaman v. The Collector of Thana 588n
 Vaman v. Vasudev 586.
 Vannia Kone v. Vannichi 971n
 Vasudev v. Vamnaji 883n.

Vasudev v Venkatesh 594n.	42 Bom 136	710n.
Vasudevan v Secretary of State 660	46 Bom. 213	327n.
Vellaiyappa v. Natarajan 809n, 810	48 Bom. 203	763n
Venkata Narasimha v Rangayya 693n	60 Bom. 311	450.
Venkatarayudu v. Sivaram Krishnayya 622n.	31 Bom L R 199	327n.
	31 Bom L R. 1030	11.
Venkajamma v. Venkataramana-jamma 577n	47 Bom. L R, 5 602n, 763n, 814.	
	1 Cal, 1	602n.
Venku v. Mahalinga 972n	6 Cal 119	725n.
Virangauda v. Yellappa 756	19 Cal 91	602n.
Viraragava v Ramalinga 681n.	28 Cal 194	602n.
Viraswami v Appaswami 451n.	39 Cal. 862	447n.
Viswasundara v Snnasundara 684	47 Cal, 274	327n.
Vithabai v Pandu 602n.	I L R (1940) Cal 415	818.
Vithal v. Anant 972n	6 I A 88	450n.
Vithal v. Balu 793n	7 I A 115	708n.
Vithal v. Prahlad 443n, 608n.	17 I. A. 128	602
Vithappa v Savitri 716n.	26 I. A. 113	677n, 682.
Vithu v Govind 708	41 I A 290	725n, 758.
Vyakunta v Government of Bombay 329n	42 I A 208	751n
	51 I A 129	449n
Vyas Chimanlal v. Vyas Ramchandra 676, 678, 796n	53 I. A. 163	763n.
	58 I A. 402	603.
	5 Mad. H. C. R. 150	581n.
Walbai v. Heerbai 683.	1 Mad 306	602n
Waman v Balaji 972n	4 Mad. 250	581n
Wndeyar v. Ganapati 971n	8 Mad 290	710n.
Yadan v Namden 670.	11 Mad 287	760n
Yamunabai v Manubai 806n	23 Mad 16	601.
Yashvantran v. Kashibai 810n, 811n.	27 Mad 300	579n.
	30 Mad. 406	760n.
14 All 67	31 Mad 250	427n.
17 All 523	34 Mad 68	602n.
26 All 458	37 Mad. 458	447.
29 All 667	38 Mad 556	622n.
31 All 454	39 Mad 298	876.
54 All. 698	40 Mad 925	574n
1 Bom 121	42 Mad 711	450
2 Bom 573	53 Mad 84	619n
4 Bom. 37	53 Mad 549	427n.
5 Bom. 99	58 Mad. 126	622n.
12 Bom 26	58 Mad 238	760n.
16 Bom 29	A. I R (1945) Mad. 327	592n
26 Bom. 163	5 Patna 646	710n
26 Bom 206	23 Patna 599	576n.
32 Bom 348	P. J (for 1874) p. 250	867n.
32 Bom. 562		

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(A few misprints due to the loss or displacement of such loose parts as *anusvāras* have not been specified, since they can be easily detected)

Page	Line or note	
22	n. 24	read विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 95 ;
31	n 41	read क्षान्ति 59 for क्षान्ति 9
57	n. 70	The verse दुष्टस्य दुष्टः &c occurs also in बराहमिहिर's योगयात्रा 2. 33
57	n. 70	read सर्वकल्मषं
62	l. 3	read 'Śāntiparva (56. 45-46)
72	l. 31	read ' option for '
143	n. 184	read ' Śābara ' in line 3
147	l. 16	Add ' Br. Sam. 23. 2 is: हस्तविशालं कुण्डकमाधिकृत्याम्बुप्रमाणनिर्देशः । पञ्चाशत्पलमादकमनेन मितुयाज्जलं पतितम् ॥. उत्पल explains 'हस्तविशालं कुण्डकं वर्षति देवे संस्थाप्य तत्र यज्जलं पतति तन्मापयेत् । तद्यदि पलशतद्वयं भवति तदा द्रोणो वृष्टः'. On Br. Sam. 21. 32 उत्पल quotes a verse of पराशर 'समे विशाङ्गुलानाहे द्विचतुष्काङ्गुलोच्छ्रिते । भाण्डे वर्षति संपूर्णे ज्ञेयमादकवर्षणम् ॥ '. This shows the dimensions of a vessel used as a raingauge.
182	n. 230	read in line 3 राजधर्मवौ.
183	l 34	read ' Rājadharmakautubha '.
183	l. 38	" "
193	n. 250	read संश्रुतानि कलककरीतुरगं
227	n. 306	add at end ' Compare योगयात्रा 5. 15 'एकस्य सकलानि निमित्तान्येकतश्च मनसः परिच्छादिः । चेतसोऽस्ति सहयानरणे भीर्मास्तोऽपि विजयाजयहेतुः ॥ '
242	l. 14	read ' Manu VIII. 1.' for ' Manu VIII. 1,'

Page	Line or note	
258	n 335	read in last line स्युतिच.
265	l. 20	read 'padas'
379	n 395	read सम्यै.
382	l 6	read <i>patham...prattu</i>
405	last line	put a full stop after 'hanged',
414	n. 669	read ऋणमस्मिन्
423	n. 690	read गुणैर्व्यवस्था
533	n 982	should we read वधमकुर्वन् for वधं कुर्वन्?
538	n 995	read in first line द्यूतं
542	n. 1009	read in second line द्यूतं
570	n 1069	read पैतामहे
586	n 1104	read in line 9 च for ज
588	n. 1111	read in line 2 दुर्गादीत्याह
605	n 1142	put a full stop after बौधायन in l. 5
"	"	read in line 9 निरिन्द्रिया समन्त्राथ
627	n. 1197	read न त्वद्यत्वे अनुष्ठेया
651	n 1235	read in line 1 एक एवौरस and in line 2 वि. २.
659	n. 1248	read गौणपुत्राणा
"	n 1250	read in line 2 कुर्वन्न
677	n 1277	add at the end 'For the words शर्पेण जुहोति शर्पेण ह्यशनं क्रियते' vide शतपथ ब्राह्मण II. 5 2, 23, vide तै ब्रा. I. 6 4 for two वेदिस in वरुणप्रधास and बी. श्री. 5 5.
695	n 1321	Add at end 'For अर्धम...वहिर्वेदि compare तै स. VI. 6 4 and बी. श्री. सू 4 2
702	l. 27	read '(Śākuntala Act VI)
706	n 1349	read पत्नीनामंशभागित्वम्
"	l. 15	read 'her deceased sonless and separated husband's wealth'.

Page	Line or note	
751	l. 30	read after 'British rule' the words 'the widows of gotraja sapindas'.
776	n. 1499	read in l. 2 मृत्युत्वेन
781	n. 1509	read in last line स्वातन्त्र्येण
804	n. 1561	Add at the end 'Recently the Indian Legislature passed Act XIX of 1946 which confers on Hindu married women the rights to separate residence and main- tenance as against the husbands in certain circumstances'.
846	l. 28	read 'mother'
897	n. 1762	read in line 7 'Institute' for 'Society'.
936	last line	read 'naugamanābhāve'.



RĀJADHARMA

(GOVERNMENT AND STATECRAFT)

CHAPTER I

Rājadharmā has been a subject of discussion in works on dharmaśāstra from very ancient times. The Āp. Dh. S. II 9 25.1 says 'The general and special *dharma*s of all varnas have been explained; but now we shall declare the dharma of a king in particular'. Āp then states that the king should cause to be built a capital and a palace, the gates of which both should face the south; that the palace should be in the heart of the capital; that in front of the capital there was to be a hall called 'āman-trana' (hall of invitation); that to the south of the town there was to be an assembly house with doors on the north and south. Āp requires that in the king's realm no brāhmana should suffer hunger, sickness, cold or heat; Āp gives regulations about the assembly house and about persons who were to be allowed to engage in gambling; he prescribes that (the exercise in) arms, dancing, singing and music should not go on anywhere except in the houses of the king's servants, that the king was to see that there was no danger from thieves in villages and forests, that the king should donate fields and money to brāhmanas according to their worth without detriment to his servants, that the king who meets death in recovering the property of brāhmanas and other warlike persons who meet death in fighting for a similar worthy cause reap the merit of a sacrifice (i. e. reach heaven as reward); that the king should appoint in towns and villages officers and their subordinates, who are pure and truthful, for the protection of the subjects against thieves and who are to be made to make good what is stolen; that they are to collect lawful taxes for the king from the people except from learned brāhmanas, women of all castes, minors, students staying with teachers and ascetics fulfilling the rules of their order, śūdras who do menial work for the higher castes (such as washing their feet), persons that are blind, deaf or dumb. Āp. then lays down punishments for adultery and rape, for slander and defamation, for manslaughter, for theft and appropriation of another's land, for breach of contract to cultivate the field of another, for a herdsman leaving his herd or negligently allowing

it to perish. He states that if the king does not punish the guilty he incurs sin, that in disputes judges should be men of learning, clever and fulfilling their duties, that witnesses were to tell the truth and were to be punished if they be untruthful. It will be noticed how Āp briefly covers the whole field of rājadharmā. In the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata rājadharmā is dealt with at great length in chapters 56-130 and to some extent in 131-172. The Manusmṛti also states at the beginning of chap VII (1) that it will expound rājadharmas. That great literary activity on the science and art of government went on for many centuries before the Christian era follows from several considerations. The Anuśāsanaparva (chap 398) speaks of the śāstras composed by Brhaspati and Usanas. The Śāntiparva (581-3) names as expounders of rājasūtra Brhaspati, Bhāradvāja, Gaurasīras, Kāvya, Mahendra, Manu Prācetasā and Viśālākṣa. Śāntiparva (102 31-32) opposes the view of Śāmbara to that of ācāryas¹. The Arthasāstra of Kautilya mentions five schools (viz those of the Mānavas, the Bārhaspatyas, the Ausānasas, the Pārāsaras and the Āmbhīyas), seven individual teachers (V. 5, and I. 8) only once (viz Bāhūdantīputra, Dirgha Cārāyana, Ghotamukha, Kaninka Bhāradvāja, Kātyāyana, Kīñjalka, Pisunaputra,) and several times mentions the views of Bhāradvāja, Kaunapadanta, Parāsara, Pisuna, Vāṭavyādhi, Viśālākṣa. Kautilya also cites at least 53 times the views of ācāryas, almost in every case for dissent. Śānti 103 44 refers to a Bhāṣya on rājasāstra. Is it possible to see in this a reference to one out of the bhāṣyakāras indicated in the verse appended at the end of the Kautiliya or to the Kautiliya itself? Another fact indicative of the systematization of the science of government is that in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, Manu and Kautilya ideas expressed by numbers had already been stereotyped long before those works were written viz such as *saptāṅga rājya* (State with seven constituent elements), *sāḍgunya* (the six ways of policy viz alliance, declaration of war &c), three *śaktis*, the four *upāyas* (*sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda*, *danda*), *astavarga*, and *pañcavarga* (Manu VII 155), the 18 and 15 *tīrthas* (Sabhāparva 5 38)². For detailed information

1. मन्वते कर्षयित्वा तु क्षमा साध्विति शम्बरः । असन्ततं तु यद्वाच मत्प्रेति प्रकृतिं पुनः ॥
नैतत्पुनः संस्थाचार्या न च साधुनिर्देशनम् । ज्ञान्ति 102 31-32.

2. दशपञ्चचतुर्दशान्सप्तवर्गं च सप्तवतः । अष्टवर्गं त्रिवर्गं च विद्यास्तिस्रश्च राघवः ॥ कृत्वं
विशतिवर्गश्च तथा प्रकृतिमण्डलम् । अयोध्याकाण्ड 100. 68-69 दशवर्ग means the
ten व्यसनः.

about the Rājasastras of Brhaspati, Uśanas, Bhāradvāja culled from the Mahābhārata and other ancient works *vide* my paper on them in the Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XI part 2 pp. 73-83, 1942.

The fulfilment of their duties and responsibilities by rulers was of paramount importance to the stability and orderly development of society and to the happiness of individuals in the State and therefore one often finds that rājadharmā is said to be the root of or the quintessence of all dharmas. Śāntiparva (63.25) states 'know that all dharmas are merged in rājadharmā; that rājadharmas are at the head of all dharmas' and (141.9-10) 'the welfare, good rains, sickness, calamities and death among people owe their origin to the king³'. It was the king's duty to see that the people in his kingdom acted according to the rules laid down in the smṛtis for the several varnas and āśramas, to administer justice and to interfere when his help was sought for by a *parisad* (assembly of learned men) in enforcing the *prāyaścitta* (penance) prescribed for various lapses. Vide Gautama X. 7-8, XI. 9-11, Āp. Dh. S II. 5. 10. 13-16⁴, Vasiṣṭha 19.1-2, Viṣṇu III. 2-3, Nārada (prakīrṇaka, 5-7 and 33-34), Śāntiparva 77.33 and 57.15, Matsyapurāṇa 215.63, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 27.28 and 28.36 and H. Dh. vol. II. p. 965. Therefore it may be said with truth (as done by the Mahābhārata) that *rājadharmā* was the highest goal of all the world, that it comprehended within itself all rules of *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* (administration of justice) and *prāyaścitta* (penance). It is on account of this all-pervading influence of government or royal power that the Mahābhārata frequently emphasizes that the king is the maker of his age, that it is he who can usher a golden age or an age of strife and misery for the country⁵. The Sukranītisāra (I.

3. एवं धर्मान् राजधर्मेषु सर्वान्सर्ववश्यं संमलीनास्तिषोऽथ । ... सर्वा विद्या राजधर्मेषु युक्ताः सर्वे लोका राजधर्मे प्रविष्टाः । सर्वे धर्मा राजधर्मप्रधानाः । शान्तिपर्व 63.25, 26, 29; राजमूला महाभाग योगक्षेमसुवृद्धयः । प्रजासु व्याधयश्चैव मरणं च भयानि च ॥ कृतं जेता द्वारं च कलिश्च भरतर्षभ । राजमूला इति मतिर्मम नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ शान्ति 141.9-10; सर्वस्य जीवलोकस्य राजधर्मः परावणम् । शान्ति 56.3.

4. आप. ध. सू. II. 5, 10. 13-16 तस्य चेच्छास्त्रमतिप्रवर्तरेण राजानं गमयेत् । राजा दुरोहितं धर्मार्थकुशलम् । स ब्राह्मणानि युज्यताम् । भविष्योपनिषद् 56.3.

5. कालो वा कारणं राज्ञो राजा वा कालकारणम् । इति ते संशयो मा भूद्राजा कालस्य कारणम् ॥ उद्योग 132.16 and शान्ति 69.79; कृतं जेता द्वारं च कलिश्च भरतर्षभ । राजवृत्तानि सर्वाणि राजैव युगमुच्यते ॥ ... राजैव कर्ता धृतानां राजैव च विनाशकः । शान्ति. 91.6 and 9; तत्र वेत्सं प्रमुह्येत धर्मे राजर्षिसेविते । लोकस्य संस्था न भवेत्सर्वे च व्याकुली भवेत् ॥ शान्ति. 56.6; युगमवर्तको राजा धर्माधर्मप्रशिक्षणात् । युगानां न प्रजानां न दोषः किन्तु द्रवस्य तु ॥ शुक्नीतिसार IV. 1. 60.

59-60) remarks that one should learn from śāstra what are good and evil actions, give up evil deeds and perform good ones and that the king is hence declared to be the cause of (good or evil) times according as he does good or evil acts Śukra IV. 1, 60 states that the king is the prompter of his age

Though rājadharmā was thus an integral part of dharmaśāstra and was one of the most important subjects therein, yet apart from the works on dharmaśāstra separate treatises dealing with rājadharmā alone came into existence in very early times Śāntiparva (chap 59) states that originally in the Kṛta age there was no king nor punishment, that then *moha* (delusion), greed and lust entered men, that in order to provide against the complete destruction of dharma, Brahmā composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters on dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa (verses 30 and 79), that part of this work on Nīti (science of government) was abridged by Śaṅkara Viśālākṣa (verse 80, and so it was called Vaiśālākṣa) into 10000 chapters, that Indra studied it and reduced it to 5000 chapters (and the work was called Bāhūdantaka, verse 83), that it was compressed into 3000 chapters by Brhaspati (and so was called Barhaspatya) and that Kāvya (Uśanas) reduced the work to 1000 chapters. The Kāmasūtra (I 5-8) contains a somewhat similar story that Prajāpati composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters, that Manu abridged it as regards dharma, Brhaspati as regards artha and Nandī abridged in 1000 chapters the science of erotics. The Śāntiparva (69) gives (verses 33-74) a summary of the contents of the work of Brahmā on rājadharmā which remarkably agrees with the principal topics of the Kautaliya

The Nītiprakāśikā (I 21-22) states that Brahmā, Mahēśvara, Skanda, Indra, Prācetasā Manu, Brhaspati, Śukra, Bhāradvāja, Veda-Vyāsa, Gaurasīras were the expounders of Rājasāstra, that Brahmā composed a work on rājasāstra in 100000 chapters, which was gradually reduced in size by each of the above-mentioned founders until Gaurasīras reduced it to 500 chapters and Vyāsa to 300 The Śukranītisāra (I 2-4) states that Brahmā composed nītisāstra in 100000 verses, which was subsequently abridged by Vasistha and others (including Śukra)

It is interesting to note the names given to the science of government The most appropriate word is 'rājasāstra' and it is employed by the Mahābhārata, which speaks of Brhaspati, Bhāradvāja and others as 'rājasāstra-pranētārah' (vide p 2 above) The Nītiprakāśikā (I, 21-22) also dubs the divine and human

writers on government 'rājāsāstrānām pranetārah.' The same word is employed by such ancient classical writers as Āśvaghosa in his *Buddhacarita* (I. 46).⁶ The first verse in P1 of Edgerton's reconstructed *Pañcatantra* performs obeisance to Manu, Brhaspati, Sukra, Parāśara and his son and Cānakya as the authors of *nṛpaśāstra* (science of kingship). Another name is *Danḍanīti*. The *Sāntiparva* (59. 78) explains why *Dandanīti* is so called viz 'this world is led (on to the right path) by *danda* (the power of punishment, sanction) or this science carries (or sets forth) the rod of punishment; hence it is called *dandanīti* and it (faces) pervades the three worlds'. In *Sāntiparva* 69. 76 it is stated that '*Dandanīti* controls the four varnas so as to lead them on to the performance of their duties and when it is employed by the ruler properly, it makes them desist from *adharma*.'⁷ *Sānti* 63. 28 identifies *Dandanīti* with *rājadharmas*. The *Kautiliya* (I. 4) explains '*Danda* is the means of the stability and welfare of *Ānvikṣiki*, *Trayī* (the three Vedas) and *Vārta*; the rules that treat of *danda* are called *dandanīti*, which is a means of acquiring what has not been acquired, which safeguards what is acquired, which increases what is guarded and distributes (increased wealth) among the deserving.'⁸ The *Mahābhārata* says (*Sānti* 69. 102) that a wise *ksatriya*, putting *danḍanīti* in front, should always desire to acquire what is till then unacquired and should guard what is acquired.⁹ The *Nītisāra* (II. 15) says that *dama* (control or chastisement) is called *danda*, the king is called '*danda*' because control is centered in him; that the *nīti* (rules) of *danda* is called *danḍanīti* and *nīti* is so called because it leads (people).¹⁰ *Sānti* (69. 104) says that *dandanīti* is the special concern of the *ksatriya* (*rājan*). It is said in the *Vanaparva* 150. 32 that without *Dandanīti* this

6 यद्वाजशास्त्रं भृशुरङ्गिरा वा न चक्रतुर्भक्षिकरावृषी तौ ॥ तयोः सुतौ तौ च ससर्जतुस्तत्कालेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च ॥ बुद्धचरित I. 46.

7. दण्डेन नीयते चेद् दण्डं नयति वा हुनः । दण्डनीतिरिति ख्याता त्रीङोक्तानभिधत्ते ॥ शान्तिपर्व 59. 78; दण्डनीतिः स्वधर्मेभ्यश्चातुर्धन्यं नियच्छति । प्रयुक्ता स्वामिना सम्यग्धर्मेभ्यो नियच्छति ॥ शान्ति. 69. 76. स्वधर्मेभ्यः is in the dative and अधर्मेभ्यः in the ablative.

8. आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयीवार्तानां योगक्षेमसाधनो दण्डः । तस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीतिः । अलम्बलाभार्था लब्धपरितरणी रक्षितविनर्धनी बुद्धस्य तर्षेण प्रतिपादनी च ॥ अर्थशास्त्र I 4 (p. 9).

9. दण्डनीतिं पुरस्कृत्य विजानन् क्षत्रियः सदा । अनवाप्तं च लिप्तेन लब्धं च परिपालयेद् ॥ शान्ति. 69. 102.

10. दमो दण्ड इति ख्यातस्तात्पर्यादण्डो महीपतिः । तस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीतिर्नयनाक्रीतिरुच्यते ॥ नीतिसार II. 15 and शुक्र. I. 157 (latter reading तस्मादण्डो &c.)

whole world would break all bounds Vide also Śānti 15,29, 63,28, 69,74 ff (eulogy of Dandanīti) Dandanīti is said to be the support of the world (Śānti 121 24) and to have been produced by Devī Sarasvatī (Śānti 122 25)

Arthaśāstra has been a synonym for dandanīti When the Āp. Dh. S. II. 5 10 16 requires the king to appoint as purohita a brāhmana well-versed in dharma and artha, it is clear that Āpastamba has in view dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra The Anuśāsanaparva says that Brhaspati and others composed arthaśāstras (39,10-11) Dronaparva 6 1 speaks of a science of artha composed by Manu (*Mānavi arthavidyā*) Vide Jayaswal in 'Manu and Yājñavalkya' (pp. 5, 7, 16, 25, 26, 41, 42, 50, 84, for Manu and Artha) Śānti (71 14) states that a king whose sole concern is with arthaśāstra does not secure dharma and kāma and that all the wealth of such a king vanishes in (the pursuit of) improper objects. Vide Śānti 302 109 which speaks of arthaśāstra as resorted to by the best among kings. The Rāmāyana (II 100. 14) states that Sudhanvā, Upādhyāya of Rāma, was an adept in arthaśāstra. The arthaśāstra of Kautilya starts with the statement that it is the quintessence of all the arthaśāstras composed by former teachers in the whole world and at the end Kautilya states that that śāstra which is a means of acquiring and guarding the earth is arthaśāstra This mentions two of the four objects of dandanīti stated in the Kautiliya itself (as shown in n 8 above) Only two objects are mentioned by Kautilya (as in Śānti 69 102) since they are the first and principal ones to be gained by the practice of the science of government. It is not meant that there was, as regards the topics to be dealt with, any distinction between Dandanīti and Arthaśāstra The four objects mentioned by Kautilya are always placed before the ksatriya by Manu (VII 99-100), Śānti 102 57 and 140 5, Yāj. I 317, Nītisāra I 18 (while I 8 mentions only two purposes of rājavidyā) At the end (XV 1) Kautilya states 'artha is the sustenance of human beings, that is, the earth peopled by men That śāstra which is a means of acquiring and guarding that earth is arthaśāstra' Men derive their sustenance from the earth and all wealth also arises from the earth. Mr Jayaswal (Hindu Polity p 5) is not right when he translates 'Artha is human population' Vide U Ghoshal's 'Hindu Political Theories' p 74 n and p 76 for the various interpretations of this passage by Jayaswal and others Authors a few centuries later than both the Mahābhārata and the Kautiliya treat the two as

identical. Dandin in his *Daśakumāracarita* (VIII) expressly says that Visnugupta composed his work on dandanīti for the Maurya king in 6000 ślokaś, though the Kautilya states at the very beginning that the work is an arthasāstra. Dandin in the same context refers to 'Arthasāstras as helping to polish the intellect' and speaks of some of the predecessors mentioned by Kautilya as writers on the śāstra (viz. the Arthasāstra).¹¹ The *Amarakośa* treats the two as identical.¹² Medhātithi on Manu VII 43 holds that the word 'Dandanīti' therein refers to the works of Cānakya and others. The *Mitāksarā* or. Yāj. I 313 paraphrases dandanīti by arthasāstra and on Yāj. I 311 explains dandanīti as the lore useful in the acquisition and guarding of wealth (only the two objects mentioned by Kautilya in connection with arthasāstra). According to the *Sukrantisāra* (IV. 356) 'that is said to be arthasāstra in which instruction about the conduct of kings and the like is given without coming in conflict with Śruti and Smṛti and in which the acquisition of wealth with great skill is taught'.

The words arthasāstra and dandanīti are applied to the science of government from two different points of view. Artha is defined in the *Kāmasūtra* (I 20) as 'education, lands, gold, cattle, corn, domestic utensils and friends and the augmenting of what is acquired' (vide H. Dh. Vol II part I p. 9 note 22). Therefore when wealth and prosperity of all kinds is the spring and motive of giving a name the science treating of these is called arthasāstra and when the government of the people and the punishment of offenders are the main ideas the same is called dandanīti. Though works like Kautilya's Arthasāstra place a high value on dharma they are principally concerned with the treatment of central and local government, taxation, the employment of *sāma* and other upāyas, with alliances and wars, appointment of officers and punishment. Therefore Arthasāstra is mainly what is called *drstārtha* smṛti, as stated by the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* (quoted by Aparārka p. 626, the *Smṛticandrikā* p 24, vyavahāra and *Vitramitrodaya*, *parubhāṣā* p. 19). Medhātithi on Manu VII 1 explains that dharma in that verse means

11. अथैव वाचस्पत्यनीतिम् । दण्डमिदानीमाचार्यविष्णुमुनेन सौर्यायै षडभिः श्लोक सहस्रैः संक्षिप्तम् । येषि मन्त्रकर्तृणाः शास्त्रतन्त्रकाराः सुकाक्षिरसविशालाक्षबाहुदन्ति-
द्वयपराशरमभूतयः &c. । दण्डकुमारचरित VIII. pp. 131 and 133 (B.S. Series edition).

12. आन्वीक्षिकी दण्डनीतिस्तर्कविद्यार्थशास्त्रयोः । अमरकोश (शब्दार्थविचर्य). शीर-
स्वामी derives 'दण्ड्यतेन दमनं वा दण्डः स नीयते दण्ड्यं प्रति प्राप्यते यथा सा दण्ड-
नीतिरर्थशास्त्रम् ।

'duties' (dharmaśabdah kartavyatāvacaṇah), that the duties of the king are either dr̥stārtha (i.e. the effects of which are worldly and visible) such as the employment of six *gunas* (sandhi, vigraha &c) or adr̥stārtha (that have no visible effect but have a spiritual result) such as Agnihotra; here (in chap VII-IX of Manu) the remarks relate principally to dr̥stārtha matters since it is well-known that the word *rājadharmā* is applicable to such matters (the six *gunas* &c) only¹² Medhatithi here declares that the rules of *rājanīti* are not based on the canonical books of dharmaśāstra but principally on the experience of worldly affairs

Another name for the science of government is *Nitisāstra* or *Rājanītisāstra*. Śānti¹⁴ 59 74 says that in the *nitisāstra* are set forth all those means whereby people are prevented from forsaking the right path. The *Nitisāra* of Kāmandaka¹⁵ (I 6) does obeisance to Viśnugupta who extracted the nectar of *Nitisāstra* from the vast ocean of *Arthasāstra* (works). The *Pañcatantra* p 2 holds that *Arthasāstra* and *Nitisāstra* are synonymous. The *Mitākṣarā* on Yāj II 21 remarks that the *arthasāstra* referred to by Yāj is *rājanītisāstra* that is part and parcel of dharmaśāstra. The word '*rājanīti*' occurs in *Raghuvamśa* 17 68. Vide *Bhagavadgītā* X. 38, *Āśramavāsikaparva* 6.5, *Manu* VII 177, Śānti 111 73, 138, 39, 43 and 196, 268 9 and *Anuśāsana* 163 7 for *Nitisāstra* meaning *Arthasāstra* or *Rājanīti* and *Drona* 152 29 and Śānti 37 9 for the word *rājanīti*. Another noteworthy word is '*naya*' which means 'line of policy' and is employed by the *Arthasāstra* (I 2) when it says '*naya* and *anaya* (bad policy) are treated of in *Dandanīti*'. It is also used in several classical works, such as the *Kirātārjunīya* (II 3, 12, 54, XIII 17).

The relation of *arthasāstra* to dharmaśāstra has now to be understood. As stated above *rājadharmā* is a very important subject of dharmaśāstra. *Arthasāstra* which is principally concerned with the rights, privileges and responsibilities of the ruler is therefore properly speaking a part of dharmaśāstra. As shown above it is supposed to have

13 धर्मशास्त्रं कर्तव्यतावचन इत्युक्तम् । .. कर्तव्यं च हृदयं पाद्मशुण्यादि । अहहार्थ-
मग्निहोत्रादि । तत्रेह प्राधान्येन हृदयं उपदिश्यते । तत्रैव च राजधर्मप्रसिद्धिः ।
मेघा० on मनु VII I

14. चैर्यैरुपायैर्लोकस्तु न चलेदार्यवर्त्मनः । तत्सर्वं राजशाहूल नीतिज्ञासेभिर्गणितम् ॥
शांति. 59. 74

15 नीतिशास्त्राद्युक्तं धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः । समुद्रग्रे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुमुपाय वेधसे ॥
कामन्दकीयनीतिसार I. 6

like dharmaśāstra a divine source But works on arthaśāstra enter into great details about the government of a country in all its aspects, while dharmaśāstra works generally deal only with a few salient features of rājaśāstra Just as the Kāmasūtra (I. 2. 14) states that dharma is the highest goal and kāma is the lowest of the three puruṣārthas (vide H. Dh. vol. II part 1 p. 9), so Arthaśāstra also sets the highest value on dharma The Kautilya states (III. 1. at end)¹⁶ 'In any matter where there is a conflict between dharmaśāstra and practices or between dharmaśāstra and any secular transaction, (the king) should decide that matter by relying on dharma. If śāstra comes in conflict with any rational and equitable rule then the latter shall be the deciding factor and the (strict) letter of the text will be nowhere'. But Kautilya and other writers on arthaśāstra lay the greatest emphasis on artha In the eager and relentless pursuit of worldly prosperity means may be recommended or followed which may come in conflict with the strictly ethical standpoint of the dictates of dharmaśāstra. In such cases of conflict dharmaśāstra works lay down (e.g. Āp. Dh. I. 9. 24. 23, Yāj. II. 21, Nārada, vyavahāramātṛkā chap. I. 39) that dharmaśāstra rules are to be preferred to the dictates of arthaśāstra. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. II. 21) states that according to some predecessors of his the conflict between the dictates of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra is illustrated as follows. Manu VIII. 351 (which is the same as Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra V. 190 and Matsyapurāṇa 227. 116-117) when dealing with vyavahāra (a subject that pre-eminently belongs to arthaśāstra) provides that in killing an *ātātāyīn*, no fault attaches to the killer: while Manu XI. 89 in the chapter on prāyaścitta (which is pre-eminently a topic of dharmaśāstra) states that no penance is prescribed (i.e. there is no prāyaścitta for removing the guilt) when a person of set purpose kills a brāhmana. The result is that the latter rule prevails and sin is incurred by killing a brāhmana even if the latter be an *ātātāyīn* (though there may be no punishment by the king). Viśvarūpa does not accept

¹⁶ संस्थाया धर्मशास्त्रेण शास्त्रं वा व्यावहारिकम् । यस्मिन्कार्ये विरोधेयं धर्मेणार्थं विनिश्चयेत् ॥ शास्त्रं विमतिपद्येत धर्मन्यायेन केनचित् । न्यायस्तत्र प्रमाणं स्यात्तत्र पादो हि नश्यति ॥ कौटिलीय III. 1. p. 150. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar gives two inconsistent translations of these verses at pp. 54, 170 of his 'Ancient Indian Polity' (1935). धर्ममूलत्वात्कामफलत्वाच्चायस्य धर्मार्थकामाद्युपधायायस्य सिद्धिः सा सवार्थसिद्धिः । कौटिलीय IX. 7. p. 362

this illustration. The *Mitāksarā* also refers to this example, disapproves of it and gives its own example. The *Arthaśāstra* declares that a king should endeavour to secure friends, since the acquisition of friends is superior to the acquisition of gold and land (as is laid down in *Yāj I 352*). The rule of *dharmaśāstra* is that a king has to dispense justice, being free from anger and avarice and in accordance with *dharmaśāstra*. Therefore when a suit comes before a king he must decide it according to law, even though he may lose the friendship of a person if his decision goes against the latter. The *Vīramitrodaya* follows the *Mitāksarā*. *Dharmaśāstra* went by the name of *smṛti* (*Manu II 10*), while *arthaśāstra* was treated as an *Upaveda*. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa III 6, 28*, *Vāyu 61.79* and *Brahmāṇḍa 35 88-89* mention the four *Upavedas*¹⁷ viz. *Āyurveda*, *Dhanurveda*, *Gāndhārvaveda* and *Arthaśāstra* as affiliated to the four Vedas respectively viz. *R̥gveda*, *Yajurveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda*. *Kautilya (I 5)* states that the king should listen to the recital of *itihāsa* in the latter part of the day and includes both *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* under *itihāsa*¹⁸ and requires the minister knowing *arthaśāstra* to advise the king (with examples and precepts derived) from *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*.

Though *Arthaśāstra* is in theory for keeping to the path of *dharma*, one cannot blink one's eyes to the fact that the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kautilya* both support in several places the adoption of means entirely divorced from all rules of fair dealing and morality. In *Ādiparva 140* we have a discourse by *Kanika* said to have been a *mantrin* of *Dhrtarāstra* and a profound student of *Rājāśāstra*, which is almost on the same lines as *Śāntiparva chap 140* where *Bhisma* sets out what lines of policy (*niti*) should be followed by the ruler in adversity and how he should give up all thoughts of kindness in such straits. He is supposed to give the substance of the dialogue between the sage *Bhṛadvāja* and *Satrunṭapa*, king of *Sāvīra*. The whole chapter is full of *Machiavellian* advice. A few specimens may be set out here. One should be very courteous in speech, but like a razor at heart (verse 13); one desirous of prosperity may fold one's hands, may take an oath, may use

17. आशुर्वेदो धनुर्वेदो गान्धर्वश्चेति ते त्रयः । अर्थशास्त्रं चतुर्थं च विद्या अष्टादशैव सा ॥ *विष्णुपुराण III 6 28* quoted by अपराक P. 6

18. पश्चिमामितिहासअवधे । पुराणामितिहासमाख्यायां कोदाहरण धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं येनैतिहासः । कौटिलीय I. 5. p. 10.

sweet words, place his head on another's feet and even shed tears, one may carry on one's shoulders one's enemy till one accomplishes one's object and when a fit opportunity arises should break him like an earthen pot on a stone (17-18); the king should raise hopes promising their fulfilment at a distant day, but should put obstacles in the fulfilment of the hopes raised in others (32); when one is reduced to a wretched state one may extricate oneself from it by any act whatever whether gentle or horrible and practise dharma after one becomes able to do so (38); one should inspire confidence in one's enemy by some means which appear to be true (to the enemy), but one should strike him down at the right moment when he takes a wrong step (44); whoever causes obstacles to the purpose of the king, whether son or brother or father or friend, should be killed by the king who desires to prosper (47); without cutting the vitals of others, without committing horrible deeds and without killing indiscriminately as the fisherman in the case of fish one does not secure high prosperity (50); when about to strike one should utter sweet words and even after striking one should use honeyed words; even after severing another's head with a sword one should lament and shed tears (54); if some remainder is left in the case of a debt or fire or enemies, there is a tendency to grow and so no remainder should be left of these (58). It is to be noted that this chapter deals specially with what should be done in difficulties and cannot be supposed to be the real teaching of the Mahābhārata which is generally in line with the higher code of dharmaśāstra. It embodied probably the words of earlier arthaśāstra writers like Bhāradvāja. After hearing this discourse on calculated cruelty and deceit Yudhisthira stood aghast and frankly told Bhīṣma that the course of conduct outlined by him did not differ from that of robbers and that he felt bewildered and would not exert himself in the way pointed out. In chap. 142 Bhīṣma replies to this by saying that he did not base his discourse merely on the sacred texts, but also on reason and the essence was distilled by wise men, that the considered rule of conduct for the king is twofold, viz. straightforward and crooked, that one should not ordinarily employ the crooked course of conduct, but should employ it as against an enemy who employs a crooked policy and effectively meet him by such policy. He further says that *rājadharmā* cannot be based on a single source (v. 7) and that policies are to be pursued not merely by reliance on the sacred codes of law but on reason as well

(v 17) and that Indra himself has declared this rule which he derived from Bṛhaspati. In Śānti-parva a weak king is advised to harass a very powerful ruler's state by sword, fire and poison. In chap 130 it is stated that the preservation of the state is the paramount consideration and that a king whose treasury is depleted and who is therefore in difficulties may replenish his treasury even by harassing his subjects (except *tāpasas* and learned *brāhmanas*). In chap 138 it is said that self-interest makes friends or foes and that *anuvāsa* (putting trust in no one) is the grand line of policy for kings. So it is clear that the Mahābhārata was prepared to give up in certain circumstances the strict rules of dharmaśāstra for kings and to allow them to pursue devious modes of action that were far from moral i.e. it tries to effect a synthesis of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra.

The Kautiliya also discloses how arthaśāstra writers did not shrink from giving advice which, to say the least, was most cruel, selfish and immoral. For example, in the section called 'guarding the prince' (Kaut. I. 17) the views of several teachers are set out. Bhāradvāja says that princes are of the nature of crabs eating up their parent; so it is better to finish them in secret when they have no love for their father. Viśālākṣa abhorred this advice as cruel, as unsanctioned murder and as destructive of the seed of ksatriyas and recommended that it was better to keep them confined in a single spot. Vāṭavyādhi recommended that princes should be made addicted to sensual excesses. Kaut. disapproves of this as living death (for the princes), recommends proper care before conception and after birth and instruction in dharma. In Kaut. V. 6 Bhāradvāja is quoted as saying that when the king is on his death-bed, the minister may set up the kinsmen of the king and the principal princes against one another, that whoever attacks should be killed by inciting the people against him, or having secretly punished the kinsmen and chief princes and brought them under control, the minister should himself take possession of the kingdom. Kautiliya does not approve of this. But even he advises (XIV Aupanisadika) the employment of poison, herbs and incantations against those who are irreligious or wicked. In I. 18 even Kaut. does not shrink from advising that secret emissaries (of the reigning king) may kill an abandoned prince with weapons and poison and in V. 1 Kaut. remarks that, when a king cannot openly put down the principal courtiers or chiefs

who are dangerous to the kingdom, he may inflict punishment on them in secret or may induce the brother of the officer to be punished to attack the latter by promising to give him the position and wealth of the officer and then destroy that attacker with weapons or poison saying that he was guilty of fratricide. In V. 2 for replenishing a depleted treasury Kautilya coolly asks the king to deprive the temples in the kingdom of their wealth through the superintendent of religious endowments.

Sanskrit literature on rājadharmā is very extensive. Apart from the meagre materials contained in such ancient dharma-sūtras as that of Āpastamba, the following works deserve close study and have been utilized in this section; the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 150, Sabhā 5, Udyoga 33-34, Śānti 1-130, Āsrama-vāsika 5-7), the Rāmāyana (Ayodhyā, chap. 15, 67, 100; Yuddha 17-18, 63), Manusmṛti VII-IX, Arthaśāstra of Kautilya (which is the leading work on rājadharmā), Yāj I 304-367, Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti chap VII verses 188-271, Bṛhat-Parāśara chap. X pp. 277-285, Viṣṇudharmasūtra III, the Nitisāra of Kāmandaka, Agnipurāṇa chap. 218-242, Garuḍapurāṇa 108-115, Matsya 215-243, Viṣṇudharmottara II, Mārkaṇḍeya 24, Kālikā 87, the Nītiprakāśikā attributed to Vaiṣampāyana (ed by Oppert), Śukranitisāra (ed by Jīvānanda, 1890), the Abhilasītārthacintāmaṇi or Mānasollāsa (first four vimsatis) of Someśvara, Yukti-kalpataru of Bhoja, Nītivākyāmr̥ta of Somadeva (959 A. D.), Bārhaspatyasūtra (ed by Dr. F.W. Thomas), the Rājanītikāṇḍa of the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (edited from a single ms by Jagadish Lal Shastri at Lahore, 1942), Rājanīti-ratnākara of Candēśvara, Rājanīti-prakāśa of Mitrāmīśra, Nītimayūkha of Nilakantha, Rājadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva, Budhabhūṣana of Prince Sambhāji (between A. D. 1675-1680, ed by Prof. H. D. Velankar), Dandanīti of Keśavapandita (edited by V. S. Bendrey, Poona, 1943). In recent times there is a deluge of works mostly inspired by the publication of the Kautilya dealing with ancient and medieval Indian polity in its various branches. The most important of these and a few other works independent of Kautilya are mentioned in the note below.¹⁹

19. Some parts of the Śāntiparva may be later than Kāmandaka's work, since Śānti (123. 11-12) refers to the dialogue of Kāmandaka and Āṅgastha king of Aṅga. But it need hardly be said that it is not absolutely necessary to hold that the extant Nītsāra of Kāmandaka is referred to by Śāntiparva.

It would be impossible to go into all details about Government and Politics within the space at my disposal. What is

(Continued from last page)

The reference may be only to a legend. The modern works referred to above are:—'Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity' (1935) and 'Rājadharmā' (1941) by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar; 'The Nature and grounds of political obligation in the Hindu state' by J. J. Anjāna (1935); 'Development of Hindu polity and Political Theories' (Calcutta, 1929) by N. C. Bandopadhyaya; 'Public Administration in Ancient India' (1916) by Dr. P. N. Bannerjee; 'Some Aspects of ancient Hindu Polity' (1921) by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar; 'The theory of Government in Ancient India', (1927) and 'The State in Ancient India' (1928) by Dr. Beni Prasad; 'Buddhist India' (1903) by R. S. Davids; 'Hindu Administrative Institutions' (Madras, 1929) and 'Mauryan Polity' (Madras, 1932) by Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar; 'History of Hindu Political Theories' (2nd ed. Calcutta, 1927) by U. Ghoshal; Prof. E. W. Hopkins' 'Position of the Rājog Caste in Ancient India' in Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. XIII, pp. 57-372; 'Hindu Polity' (1924) by K. P. Jayaswal; 'Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas' (1938) by Dr. C. Minakshi; 'Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity' (vol. 1, 1914), 'Inter-state Relations in Ancient India' (London, 1920), 'Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity' (Oxford, 1921), 'Studies in Indian History and Culture' (1925) by Dr. Narendranath Law; 'Corporate Life in Ancient India' (Calcutta, 1919) by Dr. R. C. Majumdar; 'Local Government in Ancient India' (1919) by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee; 'Study in the Economic condition of Ancient India' by Dr. Pran Nath; 'Positive Background of Hindu Sociology' (Allahabad, 1914) and 'The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus' (1922) by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar; 'Sovereignty in Ancient Hindu Polity' by Dr. H. N. Sinha (London, 1938); 'International Law in Ancient India' by Prof. S. V. Visvanathan. I have to make general acknowledgments to these works for much useful information, particularly to those of K. P. Jayaswal and N. N. Law. For a list of Mss. on Polity or its sub-topics, vide N. N. Law's articles in Modern Review for October 1917 to January 1918 and March and June 1918 and for a list of available Mss. and printed works on 'Vārtā' (economics) vide the same writer's 'Studies in Indian History and Culture' pp. 384 ff. In my treatment of *rājadharmā* I have generally restricted myself to data derived from Sanskrit works on *dharmasūtra* and *arthasūtra* and have rarely ventured into works in Pāli. Similarly it has to be borne in mind that the works referred to cover a period of several centuries and further that India is not one country but a continent of which northern India formed one more or less homogeneous unit, while the Deccan formed another and South India formed a third unit. The institutions of these, particularly of the last of the three, differ in many particulars from those of the other two. But the authentic data furnished by South India are later by centuries than those supplied by the north and besides are comparatively meagre. Therefore in this work one has to confine oneself principally to Sanskrit works composed in North India or the Deccan.

proposed is to indicate and dilate upon only the fundamental ideas and principles of the several matters falling under rājadharmā. Nor is it possible to enter here into formal and lengthy refutations of the several views propounded by Western and Indian writers about the forms and functions of Government and the state of society in ancient India. Most of the modern works referred to in note 19 above are more or less based on the same material in Sanskrit and Pāli, but the emotional or subjective element is different in each case. Some western writers have without very solid foundations indulged in a facile and sweeping generalization that the great Empires of antiquity such as those of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Medians and Persians and the Indians were mainly tax-gathering institutions (vide Sir Henry Maine's 'Early History of Institutions' 1875, pp. 384 and 390; and Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar's 'Ancient Indian Polity' 1935, pp. 5—6 and pp. 66—69 (where passages from T. H. Green and others are cited); while some Indian writers vehemently assert that the Government in Ancient India was always some form of limited monarchy. Both characterisations are in my opinion misleading. An endeavour will be made to present from the original texts as true a picture of the polity of ancient and medieval India as it is possible for me to do. It will do no good to label the ancient institutions of India with concepts and terms current in the West during the last one hundred and fifty years or so. Even in the West true democracies or real democratic governments did not exist and the masses in no country had elective popular assemblies or councils before the last quarter of the 18th century. Such assemblies do not exist even now in several countries of Europe. Even in the ancient Greek city states the number of slaves who had no voice in the government was several times as large as the free citizens and those states were no democracies at all in the strict sense.^{19a} Indian polity has a recorded history of over two thousand years from at least the 4th century B. C. Its growth was gradual but its aims and ideals and its main elements have been the same throughout the centuries. India need not feel ashamed or fear

19a. Berolzheimer in 'the World's Legal Philosophies' (tr. by Jastrow, New York, 1929) p. 62 remarks 'Plato approved of slavery unreservedly, finding it a necessary condition for the maintenance of the proper status of the citizen. ... Thus in the maritime and industrial states there was a large slave class; in Corinth, 460000; Aegina, 470000, in Attica (according to the census of 309 B. C.) 400000'.

a comparison of its ideals and theories of State with the ideals and theories of western countries in ancient and medieval times. If western countries could boast of so-called republics and city states in ancient Greece and Rome, India also had several republics in ancient times. The ancient Hindus made their own contributions to political thought, though unfortunately Western scholars of the 19th century like Max Müller, Weber and Roth were concerned most with the Vedic and allied literature and either did not know or ignored the vast literature on politics contained in Sanskrit and Pāli works. Vide 'Some Aspects of ancient Hindu Polity' by Prof D R Bhandarkar (1929) pp 2-3 for views of Max Muller and others and criticism thereof, also Dr Beni Prasad's 'Theory of Government &c' p 1, U Ghoshal 'History of Hindu Political Theories' pp 3-4

CHAPTER II

SEVEN AṄGAS OF RĀJYA

According to almost all of our authorities a state (*rājya*) is constituted by seven elements²⁰ viz *svāmin* (ruler or sovereign), *amūtya* (minister), *janapada* or *rāṣṭra* (the territory of the State and its people), *durga* (fortified city or capital), *kośa* (accumulated wealth in the ruler's treasury), *daṇḍa* (army), *mitra* (friends or allies). These seven are called *aṅgas* or *prakṛtis*. The word *prakṛti* in works on politics is also used for the constituents of a circle of states (of a *maṇḍala*). Vide Manu VII. 156 and Kautilya (VI.2). The word also means ministers as in Śukranitisāra II. 70-73 and 'subjects' in Khāravēla's Inscription (E. I vol. 20 p. 79 l. 4), Nārada (*prakīrnaka* 5), Raghuvamśa VIII. 18. The order in which these are arranged and their names vary a good deal. The quotations given below will indicate how the order differs. The sequence is important for the reason that some of our authorities expressly state that when calamities befall or deterioration sets in each of the seven elements, those that befall each preceding one are more serious for the State than those of each succeeding one (Kautilya VIII. 1, Manu IX. 295). For *janapada* sometimes the word *jana* or *rāṣṭra* is used, for 'daṇḍa' the word 'bala' and the word 'pura' for 'durga'. The Āśramavāsisparva (58) speaks of eight *aṅgas* of *rājya*. According to Sumantu quoted by the Sarasvativilāsa (p. 46) *daṇḍa* means "punishment bodily or monetary" and 'army' is included under 'kośa'. Sumantu says that the *svāmin* has to be preserved by himself, the ministers by showing them proper respect, the people by keeping them contented, the fortified capital by abundance of wealth and grain, the *kośa* by proper expenditure, *daṇḍa*

20. स्वाभ्यन्तात्पञ्चदुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः । को. VI. 1, p. 257, स्वाभ्यन्तात्पञ्चदुर्गकोशो दण्डस्तथैव च । मित्राण्येताः प्रकृतयो राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते ॥ याज्ञ. I. 353; स्वाभ्यन्तात्पञ्चोऽपि राज्ञः कोशदण्डौ सुदृढतया । सप्त प्रकृतयो हेताः सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते ॥ मनु IX. 294; स्वाभ्यन्तात्पञ्चदुर्गकोशदण्डराष्ट्रमित्राणि प्रकृतयः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 33; स्वाभ्यन्तात्पञ्चदुर्गकोशदण्डजनाः । गौतमसूत्र quoted in सरस्वतीविलास p. 45. Vide also शान्ति 69, 64-65, मत्स्य 225, 11 and 239, अग्निपुराण 233, 12, कामन्दक I. 16 and IV. 1-2 The application of the word प्रकृति to these is lucidly explained by Aparārka (p. 588) यतः कार्यसुलभतेऽवतिष्ठते नियमेन भवति सा प्रकृतिः । यथा हिरण्यं कुण्डलस्य । राज्यं च विना स्वाभ्यादिभिर्नोत्पद्यते, उत्पन्नमपि न तैर्विना विरकालमव्यवर्तते । यतो भवति स्वाभ्यादयो राज्याङ्गानि ।

by following one's dharma, friends by truthfulness. The authorities are agreed that the ruler is the most important or the first of the seven. Kautilya puts the matter very forcibly and realistically when he states that the briefest exposition of the elements of *rājya* is to say that the king is the State²¹. This is really not the same doctrine as that emphasized by Louis XIV of France when he said '*L'Etat c'est moi*'. Kautilya makes his position clear (in VIII. 1) by saying that it is the king who appoints ministers and servants and superintendents, who takes measures of relief against calamities befalling the other *prakṛtis* and measures of prosperity, that it is he who appoints other ministers when those already appointed are under calamities, that if the ruler is prosperous he transmits prosperity to his *prakṛtis*, that the *prakṛtis* bear that character which the king has and that hence the ruler occupies the position of a permanent, never-exhausted centre of power. The *Sukranītisāra* II.4 remarks that if the king begins to act at his sweet will, it leads to calamities, to loss of ministers and of the kingdom. The *Sukranītisāra* (I. 61-62) compares the seven *angās* of *rājya* to the organs of the body viz, the king is the head, the ministers are the eyes, ally the ear, treasury the mouth, the army the mind, capital and *rāstra* are hands and feet. It is emphasized by Kām. (IV.1-2) that each of the seven elements is complementary to the others, that if the state is defective even in one out of the seven elements it does not pull well. the *Śāntiparvā* it is stated that it is not possible to say categorically that any one of the seven excels the others in merit, but that at different times a different element assumes importance over others, since that particular element is in the particular circumstances capable of accomplishing the purpose in hand. This shows that Manu and the *Mahābhārata* held that there was an organic unity in the several elements of *rājya*. All must work harmoniously towards one ideal or end. Manu (IX. 296-297) says this by means of a simile 'Just as among the three staves tied together (by a rope of cow's hair) used by a *sannyāsin* no particular staff is superior (to the others), so among

21. राजा राज्यमिति प्रकृतिसंक्षेपः । कौटिल्य VIII. 2. तत्कूटस्थानीयो हि स्वा-
मीति । कौ VIII. 1. सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते राज्यं तत्र सूर्या रूपः स्मृतः । दण्डमात्यः सुहृद्भोजं मुख-
काशो बल मनः । हस्तो पादो दुर्गरादौ (?)—शुक्रनीति I. 61-62, सप्तांगस्यापि राज्यस्य
मूलं स्वामी प्रकीर्तितः । राजनीतिम्. p. 123. सप्ताङ्गस्यास्य राज्यस्य त्रिदण्डस्यैव तिष्ठतः ।
अन्योन्यगुणयुक्तस्य कः केन गुणतोऽधिकः ॥ तेषु तेषु हि कालेषु तत्तद्द्वयं विनिश्चयते । येन यत्
निश्चयते कार्यं तत्प्रधान्याय कल्पते ॥ शान्तिपर्वः । मनु IX. 296-297 contain almost
these very words and ideas मत्स्य 239.1 has परस्परोपकारीदं सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते ।

the seven elements of the state no particular one can be said to excel the others, since each of them has a particular excellence of its own; a particular element is pre-eminent in some particular matter and therefore the superiority of one to the others when expressed (as e. g. in Manu IX. 295) is to be confined to that matter alone.' Manu here emphasizes the harmonious working or unity of the seven elements though they are diverse in their individual characters. The analysis of the elements and nature of the State led ancient Indian writers to hold that a mere conglomeration of people did not by itself constitute a State, but that for a State there must be people who live within certain definite geographical limits (rāstra), they must be bound by the bond to render allegiance to a ruler (svāmi), have a certain system of government (amātya), must have a regulated economic system, a force for defence and international relationships. That is, the most essential elements of a state are (1) a sovereign, (2) a system of government, (3) a definite territory and (4) a population of some size. These four were known even to the most ancient sūtras. Vide Gaut. XI 1 (rājā), Āp. II. 6. 25. 10 (amātya), Āp. II. 10. 25. 11, II. 10. 26. 4 (visaya, nagara, grāma), Gaut. XI 5-8 (prajā).

These seven elements will now be dealt with one after another.

It should be noted that neither Kauṭilya nor Kāmandaka defines *rājya*. Etymologically it means the 'karma' or 'bhāva' (activity or state of a king), being derived from 'rājan' with the affix 'ya' (syañ or 'yak', acc. to Pāṇini V. 1. 124 and 128). This is the etymological meaning. But 'rājya' is employed in the sense of 'kingdom' in popular parlance and also in the smṛtis and works on polity as in Manu VII. 111, Kām. XIII. 81-82. But when it is said that 'rājya' has seven elements then 'rājya' has a very wide meaning and stands for the king, the ministers, the country and its people and the economic and military resources and in such a case it is proper to translate the word as 'the State' (as including both the Government and the governed). In some cases 'rājya' should be rendered as 'government' which includes only the king and his ministers and conveys also in modern times the agency or machinery through which the will of the State is formulated, realized or carried out; vide Mānasollāsa II 8, verses 688, 689, 691. The Nītivākyaṃṛta (p. 43) says "rājya means the activity of the ruler that would be appropriate to protecting the earth".

Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 1 remarks that *rājya* means 'a prosperous people'. In XIII. 4 Kauṭilya states (*na hyajano janapado rājyam janapadam vā bhavātīti Kauṭilyah*) it as his opinion that a territory without any inhabitants cannot become a *rājya* (a kingdom) or a *janapada* (as one of the seven elements). Śābara on Jai. II. 3. 3 has a discourse on the derivation of *rājya*.

Prof. Bhandarkar in 'Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity' (pp. 66-89), Jayaswal in 'Hindu Polity' part II p 9, Prof. B K Sarkar in 'Positive Background of Hindu Sociology' Book II pp 34-39 and others maintain that this ancient analysis of *rājya* into seven elements shows that the idea of the State as an organism, that is, the organic theory of the State was known to Hindu thinkers and that this doctrine of *saptāṅga rājya*^{21a} satisfies the definition of the State given by Bluntschli and others. On the other hand Mr Anjaria in chapter IV of his 'Nature and grounds of political obligation in the Hindu state' after pointing out how there are different versions of the organic theory of the state denies vehemently that the Hindu theory can be called a proper organic theory of the State, particularly because the Hindu thinkers did not regard the State as a moral organism, because they attached a permanent stigma of inferiority to large sections of the community on the bare ground of birth and that the Hindu conceptions did not harmonize the authority of the State and the liberty of the individual. It would be far beyond the scope of the present work to enter into any discussion of this problem. All that may be said is that Mr Anjaria tilts the balance to the other side too much. The faults he points out in the Hindu theory and practice beset almost all theories of the State almost in all countries. Even in the times of Plato and Aristotle huge populations of slaves had no voice in the affairs of the state. Up to the 19th century true democracies never existed even in Europe.

The Ruler—The necessity of a ruler is forcibly emphasized in several works. The Ait. Br. I. 14 says that the gods thought they were worsted because they had no king, that therefore they elected one by consent. This shows that military necessities

21a Korkunov in 'General Theory of Law' (tr by W G Hastings, New York, 1922) says 'Bluntschli' assimilates government to the head, as it is the head of the State, the ministry of the interior to the ears, and that of foreign affairs to the nose' (p. 274).

led to kingship. Manu VII 3 (=Śukranītisāra I 71) says 'the Creator created the king for the protection of all this world when everything ran through fear hither and thither, as there was then no ruler in the world'. It goes on to say that the Creator proceeded to create Danda (the power of punishment) for the sake of the king and that if the king does not sedulously employ danda for punishing those that deserve it, the strong would torment the weak as fish are fried on a pike or as in water fish devour each other (Manu VII 14 and 20, the last also showing a variant 'jale' for 'śūle'). This idea of *mātsyanyāya* (the maxim of the larger fish devouring the smaller ones or the strong despoiling the weak) is frequently dwelt upon by Kautilya, the Mahābhārata and other works. It can be traced back to the Śatapatha-brāhmana XI 1. 6. 24 'whenever there is drought, then the stronger seizes upon the weaker, for the waters are the law', which appears to mean that when there is no rain, the reign of law comes to an end and *mātsyanyāya* begins to operate. Kautilya says 'if danda be not employed, it gives rise to the condition of *mātsyanyāya*, since in the absence of a chastiser the strong devour the weak' and 'the people overwhelmed by the operation of *mātsyanyāya* made Manu Vaivasvata their king.'²² That in the absence of a king (*arājaka*) or when there is no fear of punishment, the condition of *mātsyanyāya* follows is declared by several works such as the Rāmāyana II chap. 67, Śāntiparva 15. 30 and 67. 16, Kāmandaka II. 40, Matsyapurāna 225. 9, Mānasollāsa II. 20 verse 1295. Numerous works contain eulogies of danda. The king is called dandadhara in many works e.g. in Śāntiparva 67.16 and Kām. I 1. Gautama XI 28 says that the word danda is derived by the wise from the root 'dam' (to control), that he (the king) should control by means of danda those who observe no restraint and (XI. 31) that the instructions of the teacher and the power of punishment (wielded by the king) guard those who violate the rules of varnas and āśramas. The Matsyapurāna²³

22. (दण्डः) अपणीतो हि मात्स्यन्यायसुद्भाषयति । बलीयानबलं हि प्रसते दण्डधराभावे । कौटिल्य I. 4; मात्स्यन्यायामिभूताः प्रजा मर्त्यं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे । कौ. I. 13; मत्स्या इव जना नित्यं भक्षयन्ति परस्परम् । अयोध्या 67. 31; दण्डश्चेक भवेद्धोके विनश्येदुरिति; प्रजाः । जले मत्स्यानिबन्धनदुर्बलं बलवत्तराः ॥ शान्ति 15. 30; राजा चेक भवेद्धोके प्रथित्वा दण्डधारकः । जले ... बलवत्तराः ॥ शान्ति 67. 16; दण्डभावे परिणमन्ती मात्स्यो न्यायः प्रवर्तते । कामन्दक II. 40.

23 यस्माद्दण्डान्तादुभयत्यक्षिणोदण्डवत्परि । दमनादण्डभावे च तस्मादण्डं विदुर्धृषाः ॥ शान्ति 15. 8, अग्नि. 226. 16 (reads =दुमयत्यदण्डवत्तदण्डवत्परि), मत्स्य 225. 17 (reads दुर्मदवत् दण्डवत्परि).

225. 17, Agnipurāṇa 226. 16 and Śāntiparva 15. 8 state that danda is so called because it suppresses those that are not restrained (from the root 'dam') and punishes those that are imprudent or ungentlemanlike (from the root 'dand'). Danda is raised to the position of a divinity by Manu ²⁴ VII. 25 (= Vismudharma-sūtra III. 95 = Matsya 225. 8), Yāj. I. 354, Śānti 121. 15. Danda rules over all people, it protects all of them, danda is awake even when (the guardians of law) have gone to sleep, the wise regard danda as dharma (Manu VII. 18 = Śānti 15. 2 = Matsya 225. 14-15). The whole world is under the heel of danda, for it is difficult to find a man who is pure by nature (Manu VII. 22 = Śānti 15. 34). The conception of danda is therefore this that the State's will and coercive power keep the individual and nation within the bounds of dharma, punish for breaches and effect the good of the whole. The gods, *dānavas*, *gandharvas*, the *rākṣasas* and reptiles—these also tend to bring about enjoyment for men because they are pressed down by danda (Manu VII. 23) ²⁵ The Bhagavadgītā (X. 38) identifies danda with the divine Kṛṣṇa 'I am danda in the hands of those who control others, I am *nīti* (i. e. *rājanīti*) for the conquerors'. For the detailed effects and long eulogies of danda, vide Manu VII. 14-31, Matsya 225. 4-17, Kāmandaka II. 38-44. These eulogies of danda presuppose the theory that people obey law and the dictates of the śāstra through the fear of force or punishment. Danda should be neither too severe nor too mild, but should be appropriate to the fault committed (Kaut. I. 4, Kāmandaka II. 37, Manu VII. 16, Śānti 15. 1ff, Śānti 56. 21, 103. 34). Śānti 57. 41 advises that one should first secure a king, then wife and then wealth, for in the absence of the ruler there would be no wife nor private property ²⁶ This shows that the institutions of family and private property and the protection of the weak are bound up with the existence of a ruler. Kātyāyana (in Rāja N. P. p. 30) says the king is the

24. यत्र दयानो लोहिताक्षो दण्डश्चरति पापदा । मजास्तत्र न मुह्यति नेता चेत्साधु पश्यति ॥ मनु VII. 25 = मत्स्य 225. 8 = विश्वसुधर्मसूत्र '56' III शान्ति (121. 15-16) has नीलोत्पलदलदयानश्चतुर्वैदुष्यहर्षजः । ... एतद्वृत्तं विभक्त्युक्तं दण्डो नित्यं दुरासदः ॥

25. This appears to be suggested by the words of the Tai. Up. II. 8 'भीबात्माहातः पश्ये भीबादेति चर्यः । भीबात्मादग्निश्चेन्मृज्य सृष्टुर्वापति पञ्चमः ॥'

26. राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत्ततो भार्या ततो धनम् । राज्यम्यसति लोकस्य कुतो भार्या कुतो धनम् ॥ शान्ति 57. 41. The first half is आदिपर्व 160. 12 (Cr. ed. 148. 12). This verse is said to have been uttered by Bhṛṅgava.

protector of the helpless, the home of the homeless, the son of the sonless and the father of the fatherless

In order to magnify the importance of the kingly office, certain works state that the king has in him parts of the gods. For example, Manu says "the Creator created the king with the essential parts taken from Indra, the Wind god, Yama, the Sun, Agni, Varuna, the Moon and Kubera the lord of wealth and therefore he surpasses all beings by his majesty (VII. 4-5 and compare Manu V. 96); one should not disrespect a boy-king with the thought 'he is a human being (like others)' for it is a great deity that stands (before people) in human form as a king" (Manu VII 8=Śānti 68. 40). This conception goes back to Gautama XI 32 ('Therefore a king and a spiritual teacher must not be reviled') and Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 5 ('he shall not speak harsh or abusive words of the gods or of the king'). Manu VII 3-4 are the same as Śukranītisāra I. 71-72. The Matsyapurāṇa 226. 1 states that the king was created by Brahmā by taking portions of gods for wielding the power of punishment for the protection of all beings. Manu (IX. 303-311) puts forward a slightly diluted theory, viz. the king should possess the majesty of and imitate in his actions the first seven deities enumerated above with the Earth as the 8th and Manu sets out what the eight characteristic actions are. Matsya 226. 9-12 are the same as Manu IX. 303-306. The Agnipurāṇa (226. 17-20) states that as the king exercises the functions of nine deities viz. the Sun, the Moon, Vāyu, Yama, Varuna, Fire, Kubera, the Earth and Viṣṇu he has the form of these. Vide Śukranītisāra I. 73-79 for similar ideas. These verses do not amount to the express theory of divine origin, but assimilate by analogy the king's functions to those of certain deities. The Nārada-smṛti (prakṛnaka section, verses 20-31) contains²⁷ several interesting dicta. It says that in the form of the king it is really Indra himself who moves about on the earth (v. 20), that a king even when devoid of qualities deserves honour from the people, that kings exercise the functions of five deities viz. of Agni, Indra, Soma, Yama

27. राजेति सञ्चरत्येष धूमौ साक्षात्सहस्रहृत् । प्रजानां विदुषोऽप्येवं पूज्य एव प्रजापतिः ॥
पञ्च कृपाणि राजानो धारयन्त्यमितोजसः । अग्रेऽहिन्द्रस्य सोमस्य यमस्य धनदस्य च ॥
अशुचिर्वचनाशयस्य शुचिर्भवति मानवः । शुचिश्चैवाशुचिः सन्त्यक् कथं राजा न दैवतम् ॥
नारदस्तुतिः, प्रकीर्णक 20, 22, 26, 52, इन्द्रमेव प्रवृत्तते यद्वाजानमिति श्रुतिः । यथैवेन्द्रस्तथा
राजा संपूज्यो द्युतिमिच्छता ॥ ज्ञान्ति. 67. 4; कात्यायन says 'सुराध्यक्षश्चतुतः स्वर्गान्द्रुप-
रूपेण विदति । कर्तव्यं तेन तज्जित्यं येन तत्त्वं समाप्युयात्' ॥ quoted by राजधर्मकोण्ड
III p. 16. तत्त्वं means सुरेश्वरत्वम्.

and Kubera (vv. 26-31). The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (27. 21-26) mentions the same five deities. 'The Veda says that when a king is chosen it is Indra himself that is chosen; one desirous of prosperity should honour the king just as one worships Indra'—says Śānti 67 4 Śānti 69 states that all the gods are invisible, but the king is a deity that can be seen. The Vāyupurāṇa (57. 72) remarks ²⁸ that in all past and future *manvantaras* universal emperors (*cakravartin*) are born on the earth with parts of Viṣṇu. The Matsyapurāṇa (226. 1-12) mixes up the theory of the creation of the king from parts of the gods with the lesser idea of his functions being similar to those of certain deities. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (IV. 14. 26-27) states that Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, Indra, Vāyu, Varuna—these and other gods—exist in the body of the king and that the king is full of (the parts of) all gods. It is to strengthen this conception that ancient kṣātriya dynasties and their panegyrists tried to trace for those dynasties descent from the Sun or the Moon and in later times from Fire. The practice of addressing the king as 'deva' in Sanskrit dramas is due to the same tendency of the glorification of the royal office. Aśoka was styled 'devānām priya' (beloved of the gods) and Kushana emperors like Kaniska and Huviska styled themselves Devaputra (E. I. vol. I pp 371 at pp 381 and 386). This phenomenon is not confined to India. Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar had their descent traced to gods and goddesses. Alexander was deified during his life-time in 324 B. C. by the Greek world (vide Cambridge Ancient History, vol. VI p 433) and Cæsar's image was carried among those of the immortal gods. Kautilya (I. 13) makes a spy say among pauras and jānapadas 'kings are (in) the place of (perform the functions of) Indra and Yama, since they visibly inflict punishment and bestow favours. Even divine punishment affects those who despise them (kings). Therefore kings should not be despised'. Hence it must be said that the conception of the divine nature of the kingly office was well-known in Kautilya's days and he was not above recommending the employment of this conception for safeguarding the king's position. Vide Rāmāyana, III. 1. 18-19 and VII. 76. 37-45 and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 24. 23-28, Viṣṇudharmotara II. 2. 9 for similar ideas. The phrase 'nā viṣṇuḥ prthivīpatiḥ'

28. विष्णोरङ्गेन जायन्ते पृथिव्यां चक्रवर्तिनः॥ सन्वन्तरेषु सर्वेषु अतीतानागेषु च ॥ वायु 57. 72, compare कादम्बरी para 80 about prince Candrabīḍa 'सर्वेषां नमोस्ते कृपास्तरधारिणे भगवते चन्द्रापीडश्चक्रेने पुण्डरीकेक्षणाय'.

is well-known and may be interpreted in two ways viz. the ruler of the earth is Visnu incarnated as man or no king is not Visnu i. e. every king is Visnu. The Pañcatantra²⁹ (I. 120 p. 19) states 'Manu has declared that the king is made up (of parts) of all gods'. The Rājanītiprakāśa is careful to point out that the idea of the king having in him parts of the deities applied only to the mahārāja (the sovereign ruler), while the idea of a ruler doing the functions of five deities applies to vassal kings.³⁰ For eulogy of the kingly office, vide Manu VII 6-17, Śānti 63. 24-30, Śānti 68, Kām. I. 9-11, Rājanītiprakāśa pp. 17-31.

But it should not be supposed that this glorification of the king resulted in the full-fledged theory of the divine right of kings or that every king, however bad, was looked upon as a divinity or could do what he liked. In the first place, the Rājanītiratnākara³¹ (p. 83) when speaking of the coronation of a prince by his abdicating royal father quotes a verse where the people (*prajā*) themselves are called Viṣṇu. In the second place the king's authority over brāhmanas was limited (vide H. Dh. vol. II. part 1 pp. 139-140). The Gautama-dharmasūtra (XI 1, 7 and 8) says³² 'the king rules over all, except over brāhmanas; all, except brāhmanas, should while sitting low on the ground wait upon (worship) him (the king) who occupies a high seat; they (the brāhmanas) too should honour him'. From the time of the Ait. Br. (37. 5) the harmony between the king and the brāhmanas and the king's following the advice of brāhmanas had been insisted upon. Vide Ait. Br. 40. 1, Gaut. VIII 1. XI 27. Further the Śukranītisāra (I 70) states that a king who oppresses the subjects and causes loss of dharma is made up of the parts of *rākṣasas*.³³ Manu (VII 111-112) states that

29. सर्वदेवमयो राजा मनुना संप्रकीर्तितः । तस्मात्तमेव सेवेत न इत्यलीकेन कर्हिचित् ॥ पञ्चतन्त्र I. Some editions read तस्मात् सर्वदेवमयश्चेत् ।

30. इयं च पूर्वोक्तदेवांशरूपता महाराजरूपैव । पञ्च रूपाणि... धनद्वयं च-इतीयं नारदोक्तपञ्चरूपता तु कियन्माण्डलिकस्य भूपस्य । राजनीतिम्. p. 20. Vide Śānti 68. 41-47 for the five

31. इति सर्वम् (सर्व?) मजाविष्टं साक्षिणं आचयेन्महः । राजनीतिर, p. 83.

32. राजा सर्वस्येव ब्राह्मणवर्ज्यः । तद्वत्पर्यासीनमथस्तादृशात्परिजनस्ये ब्राह्मणस्यः । तेष्वेनं मन्येरत् । गौ. XI 1, 7-8. गौ. XI 7 is quoted by मेघ. on मनु VII. 6 and by राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 17.

33. यो हि धर्मघरो राजा देवांशोऽन्यश्च रक्षसात् । अंशभूतो धर्मलोपी मजापीडाकरो भवेत् ॥ शुक्रनीति I. 70; नीचहीनो दीर्घदुर्गा ब्रह्मसेवी सुनीतिवृद्धः । शुण्डिब्रह्मस्त यो राजा स केशो देववांशकः । विपरीतस्तु रक्षोऽंशः स वै नरकभाजनः । दृष्टांशस्तदुशा नित्यं तत्सहायगणाः किल ॥ शुक्रनीति. I. 86-87.

the king who harasses his subjects loses his life, family and kingdom. Moreover stories of kings killed for their tyranny are found in the ancient Literature. For example, Vena, who was jealous of the gods, wanted sacrificial offerings to be made to himself (and not to the gods) and violated dharma, was killed by the brāhmanas (Śāntiparva 59 93-95, Bhāgavata-purāṇa IV. 14). The Anusāsanaparva³⁴ (61 32-33) solemnly sanctions the killing of a king in certain circumstances "The people should gird themselves up and kill a cruel king who does not protect his subjects, who extracts taxes and simply robs them of their wealth, who gives no lead. Such a king is *Kal* (evil and strife) incarnate. That king who after declaring 'I shall protect you' does not protect his subjects should be killed (by the people) after forming a confederacy, like a dog that is afflicted with madness". Manu (VII 27-28) states that the great principle of *danda* if properly wielded conduces to the advancement of the three *puruṣārthas*, but if a voluptuous, mean and unjust king wields it, it recoils on his head and destroys the king together with his relations. Kām 2. 38 makes it clear that *danda* foolishly wielded might exasperate even hermits. The Śāntiparva 92 19 recommends that a king who has false and very wicked ministers and who puts down dharma should be killed by the people. Even as early as the Tai S II 3 1 it appears that kings were driven away, while the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XII 9 3. 1 and 3) mentions a king *Dustaritu* *Paumsāyana* who had been expelled from the kingdom which had descended to him through ten ancestors. The *Sautrāmani* *ṛṣi* is prescribed as a rite for a king to regain a kingdom from which he had been driven away (vide H Dh vol II p 1227). Śānti 92. 6 and 9, Manu VII 27 and 34, Yāj I 356 appear to justify at least deposing a king, if not tyrannicide. Similarly, the *Sukranītisāra* (II. 274-275) states³⁵ that a king, though of a noble pedigree, should be abandoned, if he violates dharma, if he hates good qualities (in others), lines of policy and the army and if his conduct would lead to the destruction of the kingdom and that the family priest with the consent of the principal

34. अरक्षितारं हतारं विलोसारमनायकम् । तं वै राजकलिं हन्तुः मजाः सख्यं निर्गुणम् ॥
अहं यो रक्षितेष्टुषत्वा यो न रक्षति धूमिपः । स संहत्यां निहन्तव्यः श्वेद सोन्माव आदुरः ॥
अनुशासन 61 32-33, असत्यपिष्ठसन्निवो बह्व्यो लोकस्य धर्महा । शान्ति 92 19

35. गुणनीतियल्लेखी कुलधूलोत्पथानिकः । दुर्यो यदि भवेत्तु त्वयजेद्वाप्राविनाशकम् ॥
तस्यै तस्य कुलजं गुणयुक्तं पुरोहितः । मकुत्पयुक्तं कृत्वा स्थापयेद्वाग्यश्रवणे ॥ शुक्रः
II. 274-275.

officers of state should place on the throne another scion of the royal family who is possessed of the requisite virtues. Nārada props up the theory of divine right by stating that the king secures dominion over (lit. purchases) his subjects by his austerities (performed in former lives) and therefore the king is their lord (prakīrnaka 25). Śukranīti I. 20 also brings in the doctrine of Karma 'the king holds the earth by the actions of his former lives and by his austerities' Compare Manu VII. 111-112, Śānti 78. 36. The Śukranītisāra (IV. 7. 332-333) says that brāhmanas may even fight and destroy an oppressive ksatriya king and would thereby incur no sin. The Yāśastilaka (III. p. 431) gives examples of kings killed by their subjects, one being a Kalinga king who made a barber his commander-in-chief. In fact in all works on polity we find comparatively little about the king's rights and special privileges, but on the other hand the greatest emphasis is laid on the king's duties and responsibilities. Some works describe the king as a servant of the people whose wages or remuneration for the protection he affords is the taxes he raises. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 1, Śukranīti I. 188, Nārada (prakīrnaka 48), Śānti 71. 10.³⁶ It may be said here that the apparently inconsistent dicta about the divinity of the king and about his being liable to be deposed or even killed for evil deeds are delivered from two different standpoints and are addressed to different persons. The writers believed in maintaining the *status quo* about the duties of varnas and āśramas, in the privileges of the respective castes and in the progressive deterioration of dharma in the ages to come and wanted a strong king to preserve the social order; therefore the king was raised to divinity and absolute obedience to his orders was demanded. This was addressed to the people in general. There was danger however of bad kings and ministers oppressing the people by misrule. Hence the king and his ministers were threatened with destruction and death. These dicta were principally meant for the king and his advisers.

In the Kautiliya V. 3 we meet with these words "In Rājasūya and other solemn (or elaborate) sacrifices the 'rājā' gets three times the salary given to others who are as learned as he is" (samānavidyebhyas-trigunavetano rājā rājasūyādīsu

36. अन्यप्रकारादुचिताद् धनैः षड्भागसंज्ञितात् । बलिः स तस्य विहितः प्रजापालन-
वेतनम् ॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक verse 48) ; बलिषट्केन शुल्केन दण्डेनाथपराधिनाम् । शास्त्रा-
नीतेन लिप्तेषां वेतनेन धनागमम् ॥ शान्ति 71. 10 ; स्वभागभूत्या दास्यन्ते प्रजानां च वृषः
कुतः । बह्वर्णा स्वामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्वदा ॥ शुक्रनीति I, 188.

kratusu). Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity' part II, p 136) seizes upon this passage to show that the king was a salaried person like the prime minister or the commander-in-chief. The words 'in Rājasūya and other *kratus*' should have raised doubts in his mind about his interpretation, but he entirely missed the significance of the passage. Kautilya in that passage is not referring to the king himself but to his representative or deputy when the king is engaged in numerous ceremonial duties during sacrifices of long duration like the *Aśvamedha*. The *Āp Śrautasūtra* (XX 3. 1-2), *Baudhāyana Śrauta* XV 4, *Satyāsadhā Śr.* XIV. 1 24-25 state that the *adhvaryu* priest was to deputize for the king when the latter was engaged in the *Aśvamedha* ³⁷ (which was spread over a period of about two years). The salary referred to by Kautilya is to be paid to the *adhvaryu* when representing the king. Vide H. Dh. vol II p 1232 for this. In X. 3 it is said by Kautilya that a virtuous king on the eve of a battle should urge on his soldiers the fact 'I am a wage-earner like yourselves, this kingdom is to be enjoyed by me along with you. You have to strike down the enemy pointed out by me' ³⁸. Here the theory of the king being a wage-earner or a servant of the State is emphasized in a striking manner.

The word 'rājan' is derived in the *Nirukta* (II. 3) from the root 'rāj' to shine, but the *Mahābhārata* (Śānti 59. 125) likes to say that the king is styled 'rājā' since he keeps all people contented, that is, it derives the word 'rājan' from the root 'rañj'. Great poets like Kālidāsa (*Raghu* IV. 12) follow the *Mahābhārata* in this, as also in deriving the word 'ksatriya' from 'ksata' and the root 'traj', meaning one who protects from wound and injury (Śānti 59. 126 and *Raghu-vamśa* II. 53). Br. quoted in the *Rāja Dh. K.* (I p 5) appears to derive the word both from 'rāj' and 'rañj' ('balena caturangena yato rañjayati prajāh | dipyamānah sa vapusā tena rājābhidyate').

There are in our authorities germs of several theories about the origin of kingship. Rg X 173 (which corresponds to

37. अत्र ये क्षत्रस्याभियेकारस्तेऽध्वर्युमभिविञ्चन्ति । स आह । माह्वणाच्च राजानश्चाध्वर्युरेते द्वौ संवत्सरो राजा भविष्यति तस्य शुश्रूषध्वं यो हारय न शुश्रूषिष्यते सर्वस्वं ते जायन्तीति । अथाध्वर्युरेते द्वौ संवत्सरो राजा भवति । यजमान इतीतरमाचक्षते । बी. औ. XV. 4

38. निर्दिष्टकालो धर्मिष्ठः संहत्य दण्डं ब्रूयात् । हृत्यवेतनोस्मि । भवन्तिः सह भोग्य-निदं राज्यम् । मयाभिहितः परोमिहन्तप्यः । कौटिल्य X. 3. p. 367.

Atharvaveda VI. 87 and 88. 1-2) has been taken as an election hymn by some writers (e. g. Jayaswal in 'Hindu polity' p. 7). But one is constrained to say that it is probably nothing of the kind. The only words that may lend some colour to the theory of election are 'let all the people desire thee (as king)' in Rg. X. 173. 1, but those words may apply as a benediction even in the case of one who is already a king. In the Atharvaveda III. 4. 2 there³⁹ is a reference to the election of a king by the people 'the people (viśah) chose thee to govern the kingdom, these quarters, the five goddesses (chose thee)'. In Atharvaveda III. 5, 6 and 7 also there is a faint allusion to the election of a king by nobles, king-makers, sūtas and headmen of villages, by the clever makers of chariots and the skilled workers in metals. These 'king-makers' are called 'ratnins' in other Vedic texts and the Tai. Br. I. 7.3 states in connection with the twelve offerings in the Rājasūya called 'ratninām havīṃsi' that the 'ratnins' give the (rāstra) kingdom (to the king). Vide H. Dh. vol. II. p. 1215 n 2648 and p. 1216 for the 'ratnins'. So it appears that the conception was that the king got the kingdom from nobles, high functionaries and the common people. For the coronation bath (and its implications) mentioned in the Ait. Br. vide note 105 below. The Ayodhyākāṇḍa (chap. 1 and 2) describes how Daśaratha when he grew old desired to make his eldest son Rāma the Crown Prince (yuvarāja), how he called together an assembly of vassal kings, citizens and rural inhabitants and placed before the assembly his idea, how they acclaimed loudly the old emperor's proposal and readily gave their consent. This shows that though kingship became hereditary in course of time some element of popular approval was sought for. But such passages referring to the approval of the people cannot be stretched to mean that the king was chosen by a parliament the members of which were elected by the people. All that happened appears to have been only this that citizens that approved assembled spontaneously and expressed their feelings in the assembly. In the Rāmāyaṇa II. 67. 2 it is said that when Daśaratha died sages like Mārkaṇḍeya and Vāmadeva declared along with the *amātyas* in the presence of the family priest (purohita) Vasistha that as Rāma and Lakṣmana had gone into exile and Bharata and Śatrughna were in the Kekaya country, some scion

39. त्वं विशो ब्रूता राज्याय त्वामिमाः मद्भिः पञ्च देवीः । अथर्व III. 4. 2; ये राजा नो राजकृतः सता ग्रामण्यश्च ये । उपस्तीन् पर्णं मन्त्रं त्वं सर्वान्कुण्वमिती जनान् ॥ अथर्व III. 5. 7.

of the Ikṣvāku race should be chosen as king. These sages and ministers are spoken of as king-makers ('rāja-kartārah') here and in chap. 79 1. In the Ādiparva 44. 6 it is stated that all the citizens of the capital in one voice elected Janamejaya, though a boy, as a king on the death of Parīkṣit and Janamejaya ruled with the help of his ministers and purohita. There are historical examples of the election of kings. The *ksatriya* Rudradāman was elected king by the people of Surāstra (who at one time formed a republic, acc to Kautilya XI. 1) and he took an oath as stated in his Junagadh inscription in the year 72 (150 A. D.)⁴⁰ Vide E. I. Vol. VIII p. 36 at p. 40. Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal (730-740 A. D.), was elected a king (E. I. Vol. IV. p. 243 at p. 248 and Jayaswal's 'History of India,' 150-350 A. D. pp. 44-45). It appears that it was the business of the chief ministers and brāhmanas to propose somebody as king and such persons were called 'rājakartārah'. In Ayodhyā 67. 8 they say 'our country is without a ruler and may therefore encounter disaster'. *Arājaka* does not necessarily mean in Ayodhyā 67 anarchy but a condition in which there is no king nor ruler. Though this is so, it is not possible to agree with Mr. K. P. Jayaswal ('Hindu Polity', part I, pp. 97-98, 134, 173) that 'arājaka' was 'an idealistic constitution, that it was an extreme democracy almost Tolstoian in ideal, that it was based on a legal and communal basis, that it was a case of extreme individualism in which government itself was regarded as an evil'. Ayodhyā 67 8-31, Ādi 41 27 ff, Śānti 67 3 ff, Matsyapurāṇa 225. 8-9 are the principal passages on *arājaka*. A perusal of these will convince any one not carried away by the over-patriotic desire to find the latest European thought in our ancient books that *arājaka* was viewed as a state of chaos and the negation of any constitution; that when a country was without a ruler, no private property in anything existed or was respected and people preyed upon each other like fishes (Ayodhyā 67 31) and that no Tolstoian ideals were present before the eyes of the writers that drew such a harrowing picture of a State without a ruler. The famous Chinese traveller Hiouen T'sang notices (vide Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, 1884, vol. I pp. 210-216) that when Rājyavardhana was

40 आ गर्भात्पुत्र्यविहितसहवितराजलक्ष्मीधारणघुणतः सर्ववर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षगार्थं पतित्वे हतेन आ प्राणीच्छुत्सात्पुरुषवचननिवृत्तिकृतसत्यप्रतिज्ञेनान्यत्र संग्रामे ॥ E. I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 40. मात्स्यन्यायमपोहितं प्रकृतिभिरक्ष्मः करं ग्राहितं श्रीगोपाल इति क्षितीकाक्षित्सां चूडामणिस्तदुक्तः ॥ E. I. vol. IV. p. 243 at p. 248 about गोपाल

treacherously murdered by king Śaśāṅka, the great minister Bhandin (who was also a cousin of Harsa) called an assembly of ministers and made to the young Harsavardhana a proposal to assume the royal authority, which proposal was backed up by all the ministers and magistrates, that thereupon Harsa agreed to become king after consulting the oracle of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. After the death of Parameśvaravarman II (of the Pallava dynasty), when the Pallava kingdom was subject to anarchy, the subjects chose a king. For the details of this election, vide the important constitutional document of the Vainkuntha Perumal temple (Dr. C. Minakshi's 'Administration and Social life under the Pallavas', 1938, p. 38). The *Rājataranginī* narrates (V. 461-463) that Yaśaskara who was originally a poor man was chosen as king by the brāhmanas.

In some other places a theory somewhat like the theory of social contract expounded by Rousseau is adumbrated. The theory of social contract is presented in modern times under two forms. In one there is supposed to be a tacit or explicit agreement between the Government and the people. In the 2nd form it is supposed that a political society was constituted by a compact among individuals (to which the ruler was not a party). This theory puts forward the notion that government depended on the consent of the people. Kautilya (I 13) refers to the legend that Manu Vaivasvata was made a king by the people, who agreed to assign one-sixth of the grain raised by them as the king's share in return for the protection afforded by him. But Kautilya is silent as to whether Manu made any promise to the people. *Sāntiparva*, chap. 59, states how Vainya, the first king, was called upon by the gods and sages to take an oath and how he promised them that he would protect the world, and would carry out his duties as laid down in the science of government and not act at his sweet will.⁴¹ When this theory of an agreement between the king who took an oath and the people spread among the people, the theory of the divine right of kings, if ever seriously held, would recede more and more into the back-ground. Vide Dr Beni Prasad's 'Theory of Government in Ancient India' chap. VIII and 'Pre-Buddhist India' (1939) by Mr R. N. Mehta, chap. II pp. 79 ff. and 101 for election of

41. प्रतिज्ञां चाभिरुहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा । पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्मेत्येवाह
वासकम् ॥ यश्चात्र धर्मो नीत्युक्तो दुष्कृतोतिष्ठपाभयः । तमशङ्कः करिष्यामि स्ववशो न
कदाचन ॥ शान्ति १. 106-108.

kings and for Buddhist theories of government. It is not possible to hold as Jayaswal, U. Ghosal and others do (e. g. 'Manu and Yājñavalkya' II, 'Hindu Polity' part II pp 54-57) that the theory of social contract was the earlier one and that the theory of divine right of kings was later on propounded by the Manusmṛti to support the brāhmaṇa empire of Pūṣyamitra. Jayaswal is wrong in saying (in 'Hindu Polity' part II p. 57) 'the theory of the Mānava was never approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book'. It has been shown above that Nārada and others espoused the same theory. Manu himself eulogises the supreme power of danda over the king himself (Manu VII. 28). He makes use of both the theories as occasion demands

The germ of the theory of Divine Right of kings probably goes back even to the Rgveda. Rg IV. 42 is a hymn of king Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa. Some of the ideas therein are startling enough. He says 'the gods rely on the might of Varuna, while I am the lord of the people (verse 1, *kratum sacante Varunasya devā rājānu kṛsteḥ &c*); I am Indra and Varuna, I am the wide and the deep Heaven and Earth, I am the son of Aditi (verses 3 and 4)'. Here there is an explicit claim by a king to be identical with the mightiest and greatest gods of the Vedic pantheon. In the Atharvaveda VI. 87. 1-2 it is said about the king 'May all the people long for you, may not the kingdom be lost from your hands, may you stand firm in the world like Indra and may you uphold the kingdom' In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa V. 1. 5. 14 (when describing the shooting of arrows in the Vājapeya) it is said 'the *rājanya* is most manifestly of Prajāpati, while being one he rules over many'. Here the position of the *rājanya* appears to be regarded as due to his being the representative of Prajāpati. In the Śat Br V. 4. 3. 4 the sacrificer in the Rājāsūya is identified with Indra and it is said that that position is due to two causes viz. (1) his being a member of the *kṣatriya* order and (2) his participating in a solemn sacrifice. But passages like the last and Śat. Br V. 1. 3. 4, V. 1. 4. 2, V. 2. 14 should not be relied upon in support of the theory of the divine right of kings (as done by U. Ghoshal in 'Hindu Political Theories', pp. 28-29), since every participator (whether a brāhmaṇa or a *kṣatriya*) in such solemn sacrifices as the Agnistoma and Vājapeya was supposed to possess a celestial body after *dikṣā* and Pravargya and was often spoken of as identified with Indra and other gods. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 350 quotes a long vedic passage (*āgama*) in which it is stated "the gods said to Prajāpati 'we shall arrange for a king in human

form by taking from the moon, the sun, Indra, Visnu, Vaiśṛavana (Kubera) and Yama respectively majesty, brilliance, valour, victoriousness, liberality and control" and that the king thus formed asked the gods to give to him Dharma as his friend and that then he would protect the people and then the gods made Dharma (i. e. danda) his friend.

We may examine the theories of the origin of kingship in the Mahābhārata. The Śāntiparva deals with this subject in two places, in chap. 59 and 67. In chap. 59 Yudhishthira asks the great warrior and statesman Bhīṣma how the title 'king' arose and how one man, who has fundamentally the same physical and mental equipment as other men, rules over all men. These are not really two questions but only two aspects of the same question. Then Bhīṣma starts by saying that there was originally a state of perfection (*Kṛtayuga*) in which there was no king, no kingdom, no punishment and no chastiser. Gradually *moha* (delusion or aberration of mind) spread among people and then greed, sexual desire and passions arose and the Vedas and dharma perished. The gods did not receive offerings and went to Brahmā, who composed a vast treatise as stated above (p. 4) that dealt with the four goals of existence for the benefit of the world and that was the cream of learning. Then the gods went to Visnu and requested him to appoint (as king) one who deserved to be the best among men. Visnu created a son from his mind called Virajas who did not want to be a king. Fifth in descent from Virajas was Vena who destroyed dharma and so the brāhmanas killed him and from his right arm they churned Prthu, handsome, well-armed and proficient in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas and Dandanīti. Gods and sages asked him to follow settled dharma, to control his senses and to take an oath (set out above in note 41). He was crowned by the gods and sages for the protection of the people. Visnu himself established him saying 'Oh king, no man will go contrary to your order' and then Visnu entered the king Prthu (verse 128) and it is therefore that this world since then bows to kings as to gods. In this account the oath administered to Prthu was so administered by the gods and sages and not by the people in the mass, nor does Prthu expressly promise anything to the people as such. Probably it was thought that the promise to the sages was impliedly a promise to the people in general. But the account, such as it is, rather appears to emphasize the divine origin of kingship.

Chap 67 contains a much shorter version of the origin of kingship, probably because a few chapters before another version has already been given or because it embodies the views of some prior work or teacher. It begins by saying that the most desirable thing for a State is to crown a king, that in a kingless country there is no dharma, no security of life nor of property, that therefore the gods appointed kings for protecting people. Then it proceeds to say that the people assembled and made compacts (*samayān*) amongst themselves that whoever would commit libel or assault or adultery and break the compacts made by the people should be abandoned. All people went to Brahṃā and requested him to appoint a ruler whom they would all honour and who would protect them. Brahṃā appointed Manu for that purpose, but Manu did not at first like the idea, saying 'Government is a very difficult business among men who are always deceitful and I am afraid of the sinful acts of men'. The people asked him not to be afraid as the sins committed by men will affect the perpetrators (and not Manu) and that the people would give him shares of produce (one-tenth of grain, one-fifth of cattle, one-fourth of their dharma &c.) Manu then agreed, went round the world, terrorizing evil-doers and making them conform to dharma. This story about Manu and the people is alluded to by Kautilya (vide p. 31 above). Even here Manu promises nothing expressly, while the people agree to pay taxes and answer for their own sins. There is no doubt that some of the details in the two chapters are different. In chap 67 there is no reference to an original state of perfection nor to a vast work nor to any oath; so also in one it is Vainya who becomes the first king and in the other it is Manu. But the conception in both is mythological and the fundamental fact in both is the same. God gives a king to the people in both, when they were without a king and degeneracy had set in. Though there is no offer to give a share in chap 59 yet it is to be inferred from the *prahjñā* of Vainya that every subsequent king was deemed to do the same. It may be said that in chap 67 there is a blending of the theory of Divine Right and of an original compact between king and people. In both, however, the emphasis is on the theory of the divine origin of kingship. Śānti 67.4 states 'one desirous of prosperity should honour the king as one honours Indra', while chap. 59.139 asks 'what is the cause but the divine character (the king possesses) on account of which people remain under his control'? It must be said that in both

chapters of the Śāntiparva there is no proper theory of contract between king and people.

The Nāradaśmṛti as indicated above (pp. 23, 27 and note 27) is a thorough-going advocate of the theory of divine right. It says (prakīrnaka 20-22) 'It is Indra himself who moves about on the earth as king; people can nowhere live after transgressing his orders. Since the privilege of protection is his because of his supreme power (majesty) and on account of the fact that he is benign to all creatures, the settled rule is that whatever a king does is right. Just as the husband, though weak, must be honoured by the wife, so a ruler though devoid of qualities must be honoured by his subjects'. Verse 25 inculcates the duty of obedience to the king.

According to Mr. J. N. Figgis in his book 'The divine right of kings' (1934) pp. 5-6, the theory of the Divine Right of kings in its completest form involved the following propositions: (I) monarchy is a divinely ordained institution; (II) hereditary right is indefeasible i. e. the right acquired by birth and descending by the law of primogeniture cannot be forfeited through any acts of usurpation, or by any incapacity of the heirs or by any act of deposition; (III) kings are accountable to God alone, i. e. a limited monarchy is a contradiction in terms; (IV) non-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God i. e. in any circumstances resistance to the king is a sin and leads to damnation and that when the king issues a command directly contrary to God's law, the latter is to be obeyed and also all penalties attached to the breach of the king's law are to be patiently borne. This theory was very much to the fore in the 16th and 17th centuries when in Europe theology and politics were in close union.

It is to be seen how far the ancient Hindu theory agreed with this full-fledged theory of the divine right of kings. As regards proposition I it has been shown above that the Manusmṛti, the Mahābhārata and other works held that the king was either God himself, or god's vicar or vicegerent performing functions similar to those of several gods. As regards proposition II all Sanskrit works recognised hereditary right and primogeniture, but they allowed exceptions as will be shown later on. Our ancient books did not accept the third and the fourth propositions *in toto*. They say that the king cannot do as he likes, that he has to carry out the dictates of dharma, his

power to make new rules is limited and if he does not act up to the rules of dharma he may be deposed, disobeyed or killed. Vide quotations from Śukranīti and Anuśāsanaparva cited above. When Manu (VII. 111-112) says that a king who harasses his kingdom loses his life, his family and his kingdom, it is implied that people are not bound to suffer silently all the wrongs heaped upon them by a bad king but that they may turn round and either depose him or kill him. Fick (pp. 103-104) gives examples from the Buddhist Jātakas where bad kings were killed by the people and others were elected in their place. There is no doubt that obedience to the king is enjoined by Nārada and others, but it is due to the king only so long as he does not swerve from the path of right and virtue. Nārada⁴² (prakīrṇaka verses 12 and 32) says 'on account of his majesty and sanctity a king and brāhmaṇa are not to be abused if they do not swerve from the right path; one should not treat with contempt or scold the king, one should abide by his order, since (the penalty of) death may follow from violating it (king's order)'. Here the duty of obedience is not based on the divine origin of kingship, but on the practical worldly ground that an offended king may punish with death. Nārada's doctrine does not lead to the requirement of absolute submission and non-resistance to a wicked king.

It is impossible to hold that the theory of divine right was put forward as a counterblast to the theory of social contract. The theory of divine right would arise very naturally even in the oldest days, while the theory of social contract is the product of a more advanced stage of political thought. The theory of divine right is not more absurd than the theory of social contract and was popularly held not only in India, but in many Christian countries, relying on passages in the Bible such as Daniel 4 and Romans 13. 1-7. The theory of divine right was circumscribed in India by another theory from very ancient times. The cry of the American colonists against England in the 18th century was that taxation and representation went hand in hand; that of the ancient Hindu political and dharmaśāstra writers was that taxation and protection went hand in hand (see n 45). Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 1. says 'the king being hired for the sixth

42 अनिर्देश्यावनिर्णयौ च राजा ब्राह्मण एव च । द्वीतितत्त्वाच्छुचिर्त्वाच्च यदि न स्यात्पञ्चश्च्युतः ॥ तपःकीर्ता मजा राज्ञा मधुरासा ततो ह्यपः । ततस्तद्वचसि स्थेय वार्ता चासा तदाश्रया ॥ तस्मात् तं नावजानीयात्ताकोक्षेच्च विज्ञेयतः । आज्ञाया चास्य तिष्ठत घृष्टश्च स्यात्तद्व्यतिक्रमात् ॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक 12, 25, 32) Vide Manu VII. 12-13, Gautama XI. 32. (rājācāryāvanindyaṇ).

part (that he takes as tax) should protect the subjects'. Yāj. I. 337 states 'The king shares half of that evil which the subjects do when not protected by the king, since he takes taxes (from the people)' and Yāj. I. 334 lays down that a king who protects according to śāstras receives the 6th part of the merit (*punya*) of the subjects. Śāntiparva (57. 44-45) states 'One should abandon six persons like a leaking boat in the ocean viz. a teacher who does not explain, a priest who does not study the Veda, a king who does not protect &c.' Śukraniti I. 121 affirms 'the gods destroy a king who does not protect, a brāhmana who does not perform austerities, a wealthy man who makes no gifts.' Vide Vasistha I. 44-46, Gaut. XI 11, Visnu Dh. S. III. 28, Udyogaparva 132. 12, Śānti 67. 27 (4th part of *punya*), Śānti 24. 12 (4th part), Śānti 72. 20, Āśramavāsi 3.40, Anuśāsana 61.34 and 36, Kām. II. 10 for the idea that the king receives a part (generally 6th part) of the *punya* (and also sin) of the people. The king had to protect even forest hermits who paid no taxes, as he would share in their *punya*⁴³. Vide Rāmāyana III. 6. 14. Kālidāsa echoes this in the Śakuntala II. 13 Ādiparva 213. 9 looks upon the king who takes the sixth part as tax and affords no protection as the arch-sinner in the world. Śānti 71. 29 says that the spiritual merit that a king gathers by protection according to the sacred code yields rewards for him in heaven for ten thousand years.

From the preceding pages it is clear that the following are put forward as the grounds on which the obligation to render obedience to the ruler is based: (1) the king has divinity in him, (2) the great utility of the ruler affording protection as regards life, liberty and property, (3) the fear of punishment (Manu VII. 22), (4) a primeval contract between the ruler and the people, (5) the interdependence of the ruler and the people as parts of one organism (viz. the State). Vide Medhātithi on Manu IX. 294 for this last.

Who should be king? There were several views on this point. One meaning of the word 'rājan' is 'ksatriya'. Manu (VII. 1) states that he will declare *rājadharmas* and in the very next verse he employs the word 'ksatriya' and remarks that a ksatriya who has undergone the upanayana *saṁskāra* (or *abhiṣeka* according to some commentators) should afford protection to all in his kingdom. Therefore a ksatriya is the most proper person

43. यत्करोति परं धर्मं मुनिर्मुलफलदायकः । तत्र राज्ञश्चतुर्भागः प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षतः ॥ अरण्यकाण्ड 6. 14.

to be a king. Some of the works such as the Rājadharmakaushtubha, Rājanītiprakāśa, the Nītimayūkha, and Par. M. vol I. pp. 449-451 refer to the discussion in the Pūrvamīmāṃsā works on the topic of the *Avesti* sacrifice. On Jaimini II 3.3 Śābara and Kumārila hold an elaborate discussion. The Vedic texts say 'rājā rājasūyena yajeta' ('the Rājasūya should be performed by a rājan'). Among the numerous constituents of that sacrifice there is an *ṛṣi* called *Avesti*, with reference to which a Vedic passage says 'if a brāhmana performs *avesti*, he places the *āhuti* (offering) for Brhaspati in the middle, if a ksatriya performs it the offering to Indra is placed in the middle of the offerings &c.'. The *pūrvapakṣa* (prima facie view) is that the word 'rājan' applies to any one (whether a brāhmana, a ksatriya or a vaiśya) who protects the people. The *siddhānta* (the established conclusion) is that in this text the word *rājan* means a ksatriya and that by the other passage about brāhmanas &c. what is meant is that brāhmanas and vaiśyas may independently perform the *Avesti* sacrifice, but that only a ksatriya can perform the *Avesti* as part of the Rājasūya rites. Śābara makes the interesting remark that in the Āndhra country the word 'rājan' is applied to a man of the ksatriya caste even though he does not pursue the occupation of protecting a country or a city; while Kumārila observes that persons of all the four varnas are seen as rulers of kingdoms.⁴⁴ In the literature on dharmaśāstra the word 'rājan' is understood in the sense of 'one who rules over or protects a country' (i.e. the *pūrvapakṣa* view in the Pūrvamīmāṃsā). Vide Medhātithi on Manu VII. 1. Aparārka⁴⁵ (on Yā. I 366) remarks "when he who is not a ksatriya performs the work of a ksatriya (i.e. becomes a king) he should do all this (that a ksatriya king has to do) since the maxim is 'that by assuming the position or the work of a particular person or thing one receives what is due to that other' and the

44. अवैद्यो यज्ञस्ययोगात्कृतमधानमुच्यते । जै. II 3. 3, ननु जनपददुष्परिरक्षणदृष्टि-
मनुपजीवत्यपि क्षत्रिये राज्ञाचक्षुमान्धा मनुजते प्रयोक्तारः । शबर (p. 580), तच्च राज्य-
मविदोषेण चत्वारोपि वर्णा कुर्वाणा दृश्यन्ते । तस्मात्सर्वे राजानः । तन्त्रवार्तिक p 580

45. एतत्सर्वं क्षत्रियस्य राज्यं कुर्वतः प्रविहितम् । यदा पुनरक्षत्रियः क्षत्रियकार्यं
कुर्यात्तदानीनाप्येतत्सर्वमनुष्ठेयम् । तत्कार्यापत्त्या तद्धर्मलाभः—इति न्यायात् । करादानप्रमुक्त-
बाह्य मजापालनस्य । सर्वो हि धर्मं प्रयच्छन्नात्मसमवाये प्रयोजनमुद्दिशति । न च करादानस्य
स्वयुक्तेरन्यथयोजनमस्ति । तस्मात्करमाददानेन मजापालनं विधेयमिति सिद्धम् । अपरार्क on
या. I. 366 This maxim is taken from the महाभाष्य on the first वार्तिक on
पाणिनि I 1. 56 'लोके यो यस्य प्रसङ्गे भवति लभतेऽसौ तत्कार्याणि । तद्यथा । उपास्यापस्य
शिष्यो राज्यकुलानि गत्वायासनादीनि लभते' Kielhorn's ed. vol I, p 133. Its
form in grammatical works is तस्यानापके तद्धर्मलाभः ।

duty of protecting the subjects arises from the fact of taking taxes from them. For everyone when giving wealth does so with reference to a purpose related to himself and there is no purpose except one's protection that is intended in rendering taxes. Hence it is established that whoever receives taxes must secure protection of the subjects". According to Kullūka the word 'rājan' means 'any person who is crowned king and protects the country and capital' and is not used in the sense of 'a person of the ksatriya caste'. The Rājanīratnākara (p. 2) after citing Kullūka and Kāmadhenu states that many hold that 'rājan' means 'any one who takes upon himself the task of protecting the subjects'. The Rājanītiprakāśa holds⁴⁶ a long discussion (pp. 10-15), states that the word 'rājan' may have three meanings viz. any one who protects people, a ksatriya in general or a ksatriya who is crowned and ultimately gives it as its opinion that the word 'rājan' is applied in popular usage to any one, whether crowned as king or not, who is the ruler of a country. The Vaijayanti on Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 44 explains 'rājñam' as 'of ksatriyas' by following the Avesti maxim.

Several brāhmaṇa families founded kingdoms and empires. Puṣyamitra, founder of the Śunga empire, was a brāhmaṇa (Harivamśa III. 2. 35 ff, E. I. vol. 20 p. 54); the Kānvāyanas, who followed the Śungas, were brāhmaṇas and so were the Vākātakas, the Kadambas (vide Talagunda pillar Inscription of Kakusthavarman in E. I. vol. VIII. p. 24) and several others. Vide H. Dh. vol. II. pp. 122-123 for texts on the question as to when a brāhmaṇa should follow the profession of arms. Manu XII. 100 states that a brāhmaṇa who knows the Veda deserves to be made a king, a commander-in-chief, the wielder of the power of punishment. Kumārila's dictum that persons of all varṇas are seen to be rulers has been already quoted. Gopāla the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal was a śūdra. Manu IV. 61 directs a brāhmaṇa not to stay in a country where the ruler was a śūdra. Medhātithi⁴⁷ explains this by saying

46. दृष्टवद्भ्येन जनपदैश्वर्यवतोधिकारमाह । प्रमाणान्तरमूला ह्यत्र धर्मा उच्यन्ते न सर्वे वेदमूलाः । मेधा० on मनु VII. 1; तथा विज्ञानेश्वरोपि अभिषेकादिशुण्डकस्य राज्ञः प्रजापालनं यतो धर्मः । तथापि दृष्टवद्भ्येन जनपदैश्वर्यवतो अधिकारमिति लोकमतसिद्ध्या राजज्ञानेनोक्तं वर्तते । राजनीतिम्. p. 14, अवेष्टिन्पापेन राज्ञां क्षत्रियाणां न पार्थिवानामेव वैजयन्ती.

47. यो जनपदः शुद्धवशावर्त्तमानस्तत्र न वसेत् । मन्त्रिसेनापातिदुष्टकारिकायाः सप्त प्रकृतयो राज्यं यत्र सर्वाः शुद्धजातीयाः तत्र निवासनिर्देशोऽयम् । मेधा० on मनु IV. 61. It is not clear who दुष्टकारिक (inflicter of punishment?) is. Should we read दुष्टपाशिक (as in the Valabhi plates in E. I. XI pp. 83 and 94 or XV. p. 257) or दुष्टनायक (as in E. I. IX. p. 289 or E. I. XX. p. 7)?

that the prohibition applies only to a country where all the seven high functionaries such as the chief minister, the commander-in-chief are of the sūdra caste; compare *Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 18*. Manu's dictum related to a time when there was hardly any sūdra king. But the logic of facts was too much for Medhātithi who had to twist the plain words of Manu. Medhātithi on Manu VIII 1 remarks that 'persons of other varnas who subvert by the mode prescribed for ksatriyas have power over the kingdom and have to protect the people'. Śāntiparva remarks that whoever protects people from the hordes of dasyus and wields the power of punishment according to smṛti rules must be considered as king. The *Harivamśa* (III 3. 6 'aksatriyāśca rājāno viprah sūdropajvinah') and some of the Purāṇas in depicting the awful degeneracy of the Kali age in a prophetic strain state that the kings in the Kali age will be mostly sūdras and that sūdra kings will celebrate *Asvamedha* sacrifices. Vide, for example, *Matsya* 144 40 and 43 and *Lingapurāṇa* 40. 7 and 42. Hiouen T'sang notices that in the first half of the 7th century A. D. Sindh was under a sūdra king (Beal's *B. R. W. W.* vol II p 272)

It was almost a universal rule that a male alone was to be the ruler. There appear to have been stray exceptions. The Śāntiparva (33.43-46) enjoins⁴⁸ upon a conqueror the duty to place on the throne of a conquered country the brother, son or grandson of the vanquished king and if no prince be available, then to crown even the daughter of the late king. The *Rājataranginī* (V 249 and VI 332) describes at great length the regime of the notorious queens Sugandhā (904-906 A. D.) and Diddā (980-81 A. D.) of Kashmir. In India for many centuries there has been no Salic Law expressly declaring that daughters cannot inherit land, though on account of the general position of women, the requirements of disturbed times and military necessity women did not generally assume the role of sovereigns. In a copper-plate grant from Ganjam (of about the 13th century) it is stated that when a certain king named Subhākara died his queen ascended the throne and after her her daughter Dandī-mahādevī, who is styled 'parama-bhattārīkā-mahārājādhīrājā-parameśvarī' ruled the earth for a long time (*E. I.* vol VI p 133 at p. 138). Whether the grandiloquent titles were deserved by the queen or were only the exaggerated effusions of a courtier,

48 तेषां पुत्राणि राष्ट्राणि गत्वा राजन् सुदृढवृत् । भ्रातृन् पुत्रांश्च पौत्रांश्च स्वे स्वे राष्ट्रे-
भिरेष्वप ॥ ... कुमारी नास्ति तेषां च कन्यास्तत्राभिषेचय । शान्ति 33. 43 and 45

it is clear that the widow and daughter of the last male ruler succeeded to the throne. The Raghuvamśa (XIX. 55, 57) states that the widowed queen of king Agnivarna sat on the throne and carried on the government with the help of hereditary ministers.

Apart from conquest and election in rare cases, monarchy was hereditary and generally descended by primogeniture. The passage from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XII. 9.3, 1 and 3) mentioning the descent of kingship for ten generations in succession has already been referred to (p 26). Though succession was hereditary it was the general rule that the eldest son ascended the throne when the reigning monarch died or abdicated. The rights of the eldest son or daughter as against the younger son or daughter were very jealously guarded in the vedic age. It has already been shown how marrying before one's elder brother or sister was condemned in the vedic age and also in the times of the smṛtis (H. Dh. II. pp. 546-549). Even the R̥gveda several times refers to *jyasthya* (rights of seniority) of Indra (R̥g. I 5.6, III 50.3). The Tai. S. II. 2.11.5 states that the gods agreed to treat Indra as the 'jyestha' (the eldest) and Tai. S. II. 49.5.2.7 refers to the ancient practice of giving all wealth (of the father) to the eldest son. The Ait. Br. 19.4 narrates the story that the gods did not accept Indra's position as the eldest and most exalted among them and that Indra then induced Bṛhaspati to perform the Dvādaśāha sacrifice for him, whereby he secured that position. The Nirukta II. 10 sets out the interesting story that Devāpi and Śantanu were two brothers, scions of the Kuru family, of whom Devāpi was the eldest, but Śantanu the younger one got himself crowned king and so Devāpi practised austerities. The result was that there was a drought in Śantanu's kingdom for 12 years. The brāhmanas said to him 'You are guilty of having violated dharma in that passing over the eldest brother you got yourself crowned. Therefore God does not send down rain.' Then Śantanu desired to give the kingdom to Devāpi, who however said that he would be his purohita and make him perform a sacrifice. The R̥gveda hymn X 98 was then composed by Devāpi for bringing down rain. This story shows how long before Yāska the popular belief was that it was a great sin to

49 तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं घनेन निरवसाययन्ति । ते सं II 5. 2. 7, Āp. Dh. S (II. 6. 14 12-13) cites this text and says that it is a mere *anuvāda* and not a *vidhi* and gives it as its own view that sons equally share the paternal wealth.

pass over an elder brother in marriage and other matters and doing so brought down the serious displeasure of the gods. Vide *Brhad-devatā* VII. 156-157 and VIII. 1-9 for the same story in a little greater detail, viz that Devāpi suffered from a skin disease, that when Devāpi said to the subjects that he did not deserve the kingdom and that Śantanu should be their king, the subjects crowned Śantanu as king. When Yayāti desired to pass over his elder sons Yadu and others because they disobeyed him and wanted to make the younger Pūru his successor the brāhmanas and citizens protested 'How can the younger son secure the kingdom passing over the elder one⁵⁰?' Arjuna upbraids Bhīmasena who got enraged against Yudhishthira 'who would act against one's eldest brother that follows the path of dharma?' (*Sabbhā* 688). In the *Rāmāyana*⁵¹ Daśaratha addresses Rāma (II. 340) 'you are born of my eldest queen, who is of the same class as myself (i.e. of ksatriya blood)' and Vasiṣṭha says to Rāma 'Among all Ikṣvākus the eldest son becomes the king; a younger brother is not crowned king when the elder exists' (II. 11036). The *Ayodhyakāṇḍa* in several places (8.23-24, 101.2) reiterates the idea that all the sons of a king do not succeed but only the eldest, although the other sons may be equally fit and endowed with qualities. Kautilya (I. 17)⁵² states that people esteem rulership going to the eldest except in the case of some calamity. *Manu* IX. 106 says that by the very birth of the eldest son, a man becomes free from the debt he owes to his *pitrs* and therefore the eldest deserves to get everything from the father. The *Rājadharmak.* (pp. 234-235) after quoting the *Kālikāpurāṇa* and the *Rāmāyana* lays down the following propositions: (1) the aurasa son of a king alone succeeds in preference to the eleven kinds of secondary sons (whether he is junior or senior in age); (2) if the son of a junior queen (of the same caste) is senior by birth, he succeeds in preference to the son of the senior queen,

50 कथं ज्येष्ठानतिक्रम्य कनीयात् राज्यमर्हति ॥ ... मातापित्रोर्वचनकृद्भितः पश्यन् च
सुतः । स पुत्रः पुत्रवद्वत् वर्तते पितृमातुषु ॥ आदिपर्व 85, 22 and 25 = वाङ् 93,
79 and 81.

51 ज्येष्ठायामपि मे पत्न्यां सदृश्या सदृशः सुतः । उत्पन्नस्त्वं शुण्ज्येष्ठो मम रामात्मजः
मित्रः । ... तस्मात्त्वं शुण्ज्ययोगेन यौवराज्यमवाप्स्यसि । अयोध्याकाण्ड II § 39-41. These
are quoted in *राजधर्मकौ.* p. 234 and *राजधर्मकाण्ड* II p. 13 (with variations).
इदं वाक्यं हि सर्वेषां राजा भवति पूर्वजः । पूर्वजे नावदः पुत्रो ज्येष्ठो राजाभिषिच्यते ॥
अयोध्या 110 36

52 अन्यत्रापि तु ऐश्वर्यं ज्येष्ठभागी (?) तु पूज्यते । कौटिल्य I 17 last verse
but one.

who (son) is younger in age; (3) if two sons are born to two queens at the same moment, the son of the senior queen is preferred; (4) if twins are born to the senior queen, the son who is born first is to be preferred.

If the eldest son suffers from a physical or mental defect (such as blindness or lunacy) he is to be passed over and his younger brother becomes king (vide Manu IX. 201 for grounds of exclusion from inheritance). Ādiparva⁵³ 109. 25 states that Dhṛtarāstra because he was blind did not succeed to the kingdom. Vide also Udyoga 147. 39. The Śukranitisāra (I. 343-344) states that if the eldest prince suffers from deafness, dumbness, blindness, leprosy or impotence he is unfit to rule and that in such a case his younger brother or son should succeed.⁵⁴ The Śukranitisāra further points out that by dividing a kingdom among the several princes no benefit results, but on the contrary the small parts would fall an easy prey to enemies; therefore when the eldest alone succeeds he should make his younger brothers provincial governors or superintendents over the treasury, horses &c. (I. 346-348). The Rājadharmakaustubha lays down a few additional propositions: (1) even if the eldest does not succeed owing to some mental or physical defect, his son's right will remain intact and R. D. K. quotes the words of the fisherman chief to Bhīma in Ādi 100. 92.⁵⁵ The Bālabhāṭṭi on Yāj. I. 309 and Rājanītiprakāśa p. 40 say the same. Another example is that of Ansumān who became king when his father Asamañja was exiled from the state by Sagara for his misdeeds. (2) When a younger son is crowned king because the eldest is disqualified, then after the former's death his son succeeds and not the son of the disqualified eldest son who is born after the coronation of the younger (e.g. Yudhiṣṭhira deserved the kingdom on Pāṇdu's death and not Duryodhana). The Nītivākyāmrta (sec. 24 p. 249) lays down the order of succession in the case of kings as follows: the son, full brother, half-brother, uncle, a male of the same family, daughter's son, a stranger (who is either elected or who takes up the kingdom⁵⁶).

53. धृतराष्ट्रस्त्वचक्षुष्मद्वाज्यं न मत्स्यपद्यत । आदिपर्व 109. 25 quoted by राज-धर्मको p. 235.

54. ज्येष्ठोऽपि बधिरः कुष्ठो सूकोन्मथः पण्ड एव च । स राज्याहो भवेन्नैव भ्राता तस्युत्र एव हि ॥ शुक्रनी. I. 343-344.

55. तवापत्यं भवेद्यस्तु तत्र नः संशयो महान् । आदि 100. 92.

56. सुतसोऽद्वयस्यत्पितृभ्यः कुलपदौहित्रागन्तुकेषु पूर्वपूर्वमात्रे भवत्युत्तरस्य राज्यपदा-वाप्तिः । नीतिवाक्यामृत (राजरासासमुद्देश) p. 249.

Sometimes a king selected a younger son to succeed him. There are famous historical examples. The great Gupta Emperor Samudragupta though a younger son was nominated by his father Chandragupta I to succeed and by his brilliant and most successful career Samudragupta more than justified the choice. Vide the Allahabad Pillar Inscription verse 4 (Gupta Inscriptions p 6) Similarly Chandragupta II, though younger, was nominated by his father Samudragupta to succeed himself. Yayāti selected his youngest son Pūru because he was devoted and obedient and the eldest and other sons disobeyed him. Vide Adiparva chap 75 ff and above p 42. The principle of hereditary succession was so strong that even a boy king was placed on the throne. Vide Raghu XVIII 39.

In almost all works on rājasāstra there is a disquisition on the qualities that a good king should possess. Vide Kaut VI 1, Manu VII 32-44, Yāj I 309-311 and 334, Śankha-Lukhita quoted in R. D. K III p 14 and Rājaniti-prakāśa p 116, Śānti 57 12 ff. and 70, Kām I. 21-22, IV 6-24, XV 31, Mānasollāsa II. 1 1-9 (p. 29), Śukra I 73-86, Visnudharmottara II. 3. Only one or two passages can be set out here. Yāj (I 309-311 and 334) states 'a king should have great energy, should be generous, mindful of past (good or bad) turns done by others, dependent on those who are advanced (in austerities, knowledge and experience), possessed of a disciplined mind, endowed with an even temper (in good or bad luck), born of a noble family (on both sides), truthful, pure (in body and mind), prompt in action, of strong memory, not mean-minded, not harsh (in words or acts), observant of the rules of *dharma* (as to varnas and āśramas), free from vices, talented, brave, clever in concealing secrets (or acc. to Bhāruchi and Aparārka 'clever in scenting the secrets of his enemies'), guarding the weak points of his state, well-taught as regards logic, the science of government, the science of wealth and the three vedas. He should be forbearing towards brāhmanas, straightforward towards his friends, wrathful towards his enemies, and should be (kind) like a father towards his servants and subjects'. Manu VII 32 is very similar to Yāj I 334. The Mit says that the qualities specified in Yāj I 309-311 are *antaraṅga* (inward or more essential). The 2nd quality 'sthūla-lakṣa' occurs also in the inscription of Rudradāman (E. I vol. VIII. at p 44). From I 312 Yāj. states the *bahuraṅga* qualities viz selection of ministers, purohita and sacrificial priests, gifts to worthy brāhmapas, protection &c.

Kautilya VI. 1 contains several lists of the king's qualities from several points of view. First, there is a list of qualities that make the king win the heart of the people (or make him approachable) viz. being of a noble family, godly, spirited, consulting the aged, virtuous, truthful, not failing in his promises, grateful, taking broad views (not pusillanimous), highly enthusiastic, not given to procrastination, powerful enough to control his feudatories, firm in mind, having a council of ministers of no mean calibre, desirous of self-discipline. These are called 'ābhigāṃika-guṇas' which word occurs in the Palitana plates of Dharasena II (of Valabhi) in EI vol. XI p 83 and in the Māliya plate of the same king (Gupta Ins. pp. 164, 169). The Daśakumāracarita VIII appears to make a pointed reference to this list when it makes a character say that the king (there referred to) has in him all the qualities beginning from good family (sarvāivātma-sampad-abhijanāt-prabhṛti &c.) Then the intellectual qualities he should possess are: desire to learn, study, understanding of what is studied and retaining it, reflection, discussion and devotion to the principles accepted after discussion. Almost the same qualities of the intellect (*dhi*) are mentioned by Kām. IV. 22. The word 'śakyasāmanta' (in Kaut. VI. 1) occurs also in Agnipurāṇa 239. 4. The qualities that are the different aspects of his enthusiasm (or energy) are: valour, non-endurance (of the might of others), quickness (of action) and assiduity. The same occur in Kām. IV. 23. Then follows a long list of qualities that go to make up the personal endowment of the king (*ātma-sampat*). Gaut. (XI. 2, 4-6) requires that the king should do what is right (acc. to śāstras) and speak (or decide) rightly, should be pure (at heart and externally), should control his senses, be possessed of qualified servants and endowed with knowledge of the means of policy, should be even-handed towards all his subjects and look after their welfare. The long list of Śaṅkha-likhita agrees more or less with those of Kautilya and Yaj. Śāntiparva 70 states that the king should possess 36 qualities, viz. he should not speak bitterly, he should be godly, not wicked, not haughty, of agreeable address &c. Kām. I. 21-22 mentions 15 qualities that lead to the well-equipped personality of the king (*ātma-sampat*), viz. study of śāstra (Dandānīti), intellect, serenity, cleverness, boldness, power of comprehension, energy, eloquence, firmness, capacity to endure the worries of adversities, majesty, purity, kindness, liberality, truthfulness, gratefulness, noble family, character, self-restraint. Then Kām. in IV. 15-19 sets out the qualities called *ātma-sampat*, which

generally agree with Kauṭilya's enumeration (in VI 1). Acc to Kām. IV 24 liberality, truthfulness and valour are the three greatest qualities in a king, who, when endowed with these, acquires all other qualities. The Mānasollāsa (II 1 2-7) first enumerates 44 qualities such as truthfulness, spiritedness (which agree more or less with Kauṭilya's enumeration) and then states that the five most essential qualities in a king are truthfulness, valour, forbearance, liberality and capacity to appreciate the worth of others. The Agnipurāṇa (239. 2-5) enumerates 21 qualities such as noble family, character &c. In the Paraśurāma-pratāpa 96 qualities are enumerated in the Rājavallabhakāṇḍa (Ms 239 of Visrāmabāg collection II, folio 21b). The Sabhāparva 5 107-109 and Rāmāyana II. 100 65-67 require the king to avoid 14 faults viz. atheism, falsehood, hot temper, carelessness, procrastination, not seeing the wise, laziness, addiction to five pleasures of sense, considering state matters alone (without *mantrins*), taking counsel with those who do not know politics, not starting to do what is decided upon, not guarding secret royal policy, not practising auspicious acts, taking up undertakings on all sides at one and the same time. Vanaparva 251. 5 says that subjects do not like a king who is very timid, very weak, procrastinating, careless and immersed in pleasures on account of vices. Sabhā 5 125 states that sleep (by day), laziness, timidity, hot temper, softness and dilatoriness are six calamities in a king.

The works on dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra devote a good deal of space to the education of the king and to his moral discipline. Gaut XI 3 requires that the king should have received instruction in Trayī (the three Vedas) and Ānvīkṣikī. This last has been differently interpreted by different writers. Kaut I 2 says that Ānvīkṣikī comprehends Sāṅkhya,⁵⁷ Yoga and Lokā-

57. सार्वं योगो लोकायतं चैवान्वीक्षिकी । .. बलायते चैतत्ता हेतुभिरन्वीक्षमाणं लोकस्योपकरोति व्यसनेभ्युद्ये च बुद्धिमवस्थापयति मज्ञानाव्यक्रियावेशारथ च करोति । यदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् । आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां शश्वदान्वीक्षिकी मता ॥ अर्थशास्त्र I 2 This last verse occurs in वात्स्यायनभाष्य on न्यायसूत्र I 1 1, where the 4th pāda is विद्योद्देशे प्रकीर्तिता. Some read आन्वीक्षिकी (Jolly's ed of अर्थशास्त्र) but आन्वीक्षिकी seems to be more grammatical and to be the reading of most classical works. The Trivandrum ed reads आन्वीक्षिकी. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya has a sentence बर्णिका मातुरी लोकायतस्य (Bhāgūrī expounds the Lokāyata system), vol III p 325 on Pāṇini VII 3 45. Later on Lokāyata came to be identified with atheistic views that denied the existence of a soul or the next world. Sāṅkara on Vedāntasūtra II 2 1 and

(Continued on the next page)

yata and that it examines the relative strength of the three other *vidyās* with reasons, and thereby benefits the world, steadies the mind in calamities and prosperity and imparts excellence in intellect, speech and actions. It is always the torch of (sheds light on) all *vidyās*, it is the means of (inducing to go in for) all undertakings, it is the source of all *dharma*s. Kautilya derives the name from the root 'iks' with 'anu' and he takes it to mean the science of ratiocination. It is somewhat strange that Lokāyata is included in *Ānvīksikī*, one of the subjects of study for the prince. But it appears from the remarks he makes that Kaut. uses it only in the sense of logic based on premises derived from ordinary experience (*loka*) though in later literature Lokāyata came to mean 'nāstika' (atheist, materialist). Acc.⁵⁸

(Continued from last page)

III. 3 53 and 54 states that the *Laukāyatikas* held the view that consciousness is a quality of the body (and there is no soul over and above the body). The *Tantravārtika* runs them down as fools and apes (on *Jaimini* 1. 3. 3). In the *Rāmāyana* Rāma asks Bharata not to resort to Lokāyatika brāhmanas, who, though childish, look upon themselves as learned and who relying on the knowledge acquired by *Ānvīksikī* speak nonsense in spite of the fact that there are principal *Dharmaśāstras* (that point out the sensible path). काश्चित् लोकयतिकान् ब्राह्मणान्स्तात सेवसे । अनर्थकुशलं ह्येते बालाः पण्डितमानिनः ॥ धर्मशास्त्रेषु मूल्यापेक्ष्य विद्यमानेषु दुर्बुधाः । बुद्धिमान्नीक्षिकीं प्राप्य निरर्थं प्रवदन्ति ते ॥ अयोध्याकाण्ड 100 38-39. The *Kāmasūtra* (I 2 30) says that the *Laukāyatikas* hold that a *kāśāpana* (copper coin) which one is certain of is better than a *niska* (a gold coin) which is doubtful. वरं सांशयिकाक्षिकादसांशयिकः कार्षापण इति लोकयतिकाः । कामसूत्र I 2. 30 Rājasekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* p 37 (Gaekwad's O. series, ed of 1934) refers to the opinion of the *Laukāyatika* logicians that the consciousness in human beings arises from the *bhūtas* (elements) just as the power of intoxication (in wine) is due to the mixture of several ingredients (none of which may by itself be intoxicating). The *Nītvākyāmrta* p. 76 remarks "the Lokāyatika view leads to the effectuation of worldly affairs, for the king is able to uproot the thorns of the country by the help of Lokāyata". ऐहिकव्यवहारप्रसाधनपरं लोकायतिकम् । लोकायतसो हि राजा राष्ट्रकण्ठकाच्छेदयति । नीतिवा p. 76. Vide J. R. A. S. for 1917 p. 175 n. 2, article on लोकायत in J. A. O. S. 1930 p. 132 ff., H. Dh. vol II p. 359 n.; 'Historical Notices of the Lokāyatas' in the Silver Jubilee vol. of the B. O. R. Institute, Poona pp 386-397.

58. आन्वीक्षिकी समस्तसामुद्रिकनिरूपणक्षमा हेतुविद्या । विश्वरूप on या. I, 306; आन्वीक्षिक्यां तर्कशास्त्रं वेदान्ताद्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् । शुक्रनीति. I. 153, आन्वीक्षिकी वेदाद्यविरुद्धा आत्मज्ञानोपयोगिनी न्यायविद्या । राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 118. The word आन्वीक्षिकी is derived as अन्वीक्षा प्रयोजनं, (फलं) अस्याः इति आन्वीक्षिकी acc. to पाणिनि V. 1. 109, क्षीरस्वामी on अमरकोश explains 'प्रत्यक्षागमभ्यामीक्षितस्य पश्चादमीक्षणमन्वीक्षा सा प्रयोजनं यस्याः'; while विश्वनाथ on न्यायसूत्रभाष्य I. 1. 1 'अवणाद्वृद्ध पश्चात् ईक्षा अन्वीक्षा उक्तयनं तस्मिन्निहा सा यमान्वीक्षिकी न्यायतर्कादिशाब्देरापि व्यवहियते ।', Vide नीलकण्ठ on शान्ति 319, 28 for a similar derivation.

to the Amarakosa, Visvarūpa on Yāj I 306, Haradatta on Gaut. (XI 3), Aparārka and several others *Ānvīksiki* means 'Logic'. Acc. to Kām. II 7 and 11, the Mit on Yāj I 311, Śukranīti I 158 it means 'Ātma-vidyā' (Metaphysics), while Śukranīti I 153 and Rājanīti-prakāśa p 118 combine the two by saying that it is logic that leads on to or is useful for acquiring knowledge of the Self. The Nītimayūkha (p. 34) includes logic and Vedānta in *Ānvīksiki* and *Mīmāṃsā* and *smṛtis* under Trayī. The Bārhaspatyasūtra (II 5-6) advises the king to follow the Laukāyatika doctrines at the time of securing *artha* (wealth) and the Kāpālika-sāstra in achieving his sexual and similar desires⁵⁹

Great divergence of views prevailed as to the vidyās that were essential for the education of the king. According to the Manusmṛti VII 43, Śānti 59 33, Kaut I 2, Yāj I 311, Kām II 2, Śukranīti I 152, Agni. 238 8, the subjects for the king's education are four viz, *Anvīksiki*, Trayī, Vārtā and Dandanīti. Kaut notes that the school of the Mānavas held the view that the *vidyās* were three and regarded *Ānvīksiki* as a special branch of Trayī; that the Bārhaspatya school was of opinion that they were only two, Vārtā and Dandanīti, since Trayī only acted as a screen (to obscure the intellect) of one (the king) who wants to know the ways of the world; and the Ausanasas regarded Dandanīti as the only vidyā for a king, since according to them, the efforts to learn all vidyās are tied down to it (i.e. are ultimately intended to lead on to the mastery of Dandanīti). It will be seen how the Ausanasas and Bārhaspatyas had an entirely secular view in the science of government and divorced it from the study of sacred books and metaphysics in the case of the king. The Dasakumāracarita VIII (that displays a deep study of Kautilya) says that the vidyās for the king are four (cetasro rājavidyās-trayīvārtānvīksikīdandanītiḥ). The Bārhaspatyasūtra I 3 (Dandanītireva vidyā) holds that Dandanīti is the only (essential) vidyā for the king. Kautilya further explains that dharma and its opposite are learnt from the three Vedas, viz. Sāmaveda, R̥gveda and Yajurveda, that the Atharvaveda and Itihāśaveda (i.e. Itihāśa and Purāṇa) are the other Vedas and that the six Angas also (viz. phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, metrics and astronomy) are comprehend-

59. सर्वथा लौकायतिकमेव शास्त्रमर्थसाधनकाले । कापालिकमेव कामसाधने ।
बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र II, 5-6

ed in the word 'Trayī'⁶⁰. Śukranīti I. 155 says that the 14 vidyās (enumerated in Yāj. I. 3) are comprehended in Trayī. Gaut. XI. 19 expressly says that in doing his duty of making the people observe the rules of the sacred codes the king would have to rely on the Veda, Dharmasāstras, the Āngas, Upavedas and Purāṇa. In the Rāmāyana, Rāma and his brothers are often spoken of as proficient in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, in Dhanurveda, Gāndhārvaveda, Rājavidyā &c. (I. 18. 24 and 26, II. 1. 20, II. 2. 34-35, V. 35. 13-14). In the Vanaparva 277. 4 it is said that the princes were proficient in the Vedas with their secret doctrine and in Dhanurveda. In the Ādiparva 221. 72-74 Abhimanyu is said to have learned from Arjuna before he became 16 the Dhanurveda in four sections, the knowledge of *asthas*, and the theory and practice of these. Vide also Anuśāsana 104. 146-147. Khāravela in his Hathigumphā Inscription (E. I. vol. XX. p. 79 II. 2 and 5) states that he learnt Lekha (official correspondence), Rūpa (currency), Ganānā (Accountancy) and the administration of justice, when he was the crown prince and also Gāndhārvaveda (music). In the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman (E. I. vol. VIII at page 44) the Mahākṣatrapa is said to have attained great fame by his deep study, retention, and actual practice of grammar, artha (either lexicography or politics), music, logic and other vidyās and to have been a fine rider of horses, elephants, chariots and a great adept in wielding the sword and shield and in wrestling⁶¹. The personal attainments of Samudragupta (in Gupta Inscriptions No. 1 pp. 12, 15-16) show how thorough the education of at least some princes was or at least what the ideal about their education was. Vide H. Dh. vol. II. p. 364 for the education of princes and Dr. Beni

60. धर्माधर्मो ब्रह्मयाम् । अधर्माधर्मो पातयाम् । नयानयो दण्डनीत्याम् । सामर्थ्य-
शुर्वेदोत्तरी । अधर्मेवेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदः । शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिष-
मिति चाङ्गानि । अधर्माश्च I. 2 and 3. In the Raghuvamśa XVIII. 50 Kālidāsa
speaks of only three princely vidyās and Mallinātha quotes the very words of
कौटिल्य cited here and also Kām. II ब्रह्मो वर्ता दण्डनीतिरित्येवो विद्या मनोमताः ।
ब्रह्मा एव विभागोऽयं येन साम्नीक्षिकी मता ॥ It should be noted that the Sāmaveda
is here mentioned first. Probably Kāṭilya was a student of that Veda. In
the Brāhmanas and Upanisads Rgveda comes first in the enumeration. Iti-
hāsa and Purāṇa are called the fifth Veda in Chāndogya VII. 1. 2. Compare
Agnipurāṇa 238, 9 for words similar to धर्माधर्मो ब्रह्मयाम् etc.

61. शस्त्रार्थशास्त्रधर्मपाद्याद्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारम्यधारणविज्ञानमयोनासिदुल
कीर्तिना दुरगगजराजचर्यासिचर्मनिदुद्धात (broken) बललापवसौष्ठवक्रियेण &c
E. I. vol. VIII p. 44 l. 13.

Prasad's 'Theory of Government in Ancient India' p. 218 for an ideal course of education for a prince quoted from the Buddhist work, *Sūtrāṅkāra* of Āśvaghoṣa. The *Nītiśākyāmṛta*⁶² adds a long list of the accomplishments which a prince should possess viz. all scripts, valuing of jewels, knowledge of arms &c. On reading the ideal courses prescribed for the education of the prince by ancient Indian writers one cannot help feeling that they were probably actuated by the same sentiments that are attributed to Socrates by Plato in his 'Republic' (tr. by Jowett, ed. of 1875, vol. III. p. 357) viz. 'Until philosophers are kings or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy and political greatness and wisdom meet in one and these commoner natures who follow either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never cease from ill-no, nor the human race as I believe-and then only will our State have a possibility of light and behold the light of day &c' The *Agnipurāṇa* (225. 1-4) prescribes that the prince should be taught *dharmasāstra*, *kāmasāstra*, *arhasāstra*, science of archery (*dhanurveda*), the various arts and crafts by trusted teachers, that he should not be allowed to be associated with those who are angry with the king or disrespected by him or who are greedy and that if it is impossible to impart good qualities to him he should be confined, surrounded by pleasures. The princes were sometimes educated in their own capital or in a nearby college. Vide H. Dh. vol. II p 364. Sometimes, it appears, princes went to such famous seats of learning as *Takṣaśīla* (vide *Jātakas* ed. by Fausböll II 87, 278, 319, 323, 400, III. 158, 168, 415, 463) The subjects of study there were the three *vedas* and 18 *śilpāni* or *vidyās* (*Jātakas*, vol. II 87, III. 115). Kautilya (I. 4) explains that *Vārtā* is constituted by agriculture, the rearing of cattle and trade; it benefits (the State) by bringing in grain, cattle, gold, baser metals, and free labour; by means of *vārtā* the king secures treasury and army whereby he brings under control his own side and the enemy. In the *Sabbhāparva*⁶³ 5. 79 and *Ayodhyakāṇḍa* 100 47 it is declared

62. शिक्षालापक्रियासमः राजपुत्रः सर्वास्तु लिपिषु प्रसूयमाने पदप्रमाणयोगकर्ताणि नीत्यामनेषु रत्नपरीक्षायां संयोगप्रदर्शनीयवाक्यविद्यास्तु च । नीतिवा. p. 161.

63. वार्तायां संमितस्तात लोकोयं सुखमेधते ॥ समा 5. 79, अयोध्या 100. 47; पण्य-करवणिज्याभिः कृष्या गोजाविपोषणैः । वार्ताया धार्यते सर्वं धर्मैरेतैर्द्विजातिभिः ॥ वनपर्व 150 30, वार्तामूलो ह्ययं लोककल्याणाय धार्यते सदा ॥ शान्ति 68. 35; नहि वर्तेद्य लोको वार्तासुख्य केवलम् । शान्ति. 263. 3, वार्तासुख्यौ सर्वाः समुद्रयो राज्ञः । तस्य स्रुतं संसारसुखं यद्य कृषिर्धनवः शाकपाटः सज्ज्युव्याने च । नीतिवा. p. 93.

that when the world relies on *vārtā* it easily prospers. The Śānti-parva (263.3) gives the warning that this world would cease to exist if *vārtā* was given up, that this world is rooted in *vārtā* and is sustained by the three vedas (68.35). The Vanaparva (150.30) states that the whole world is sustained by *vārtā* i.e. by merchandise, mines, trade, agriculture and tending cows, she-goats and ewes. The Nītivākyaṃṛta (p. 93) after defining *vārtā* as above emphasizes that the king secures the abundance of everything when *vārtā* is prosperous and that the man who has his own agriculture, milch-cattle, plot for growing vegetables and a well in his own house has indeed all the pleasures of this world. These quotations indicate what importance was attached to agriculture and the economic structure of society. The result is that in the Arthasāstra economic matters occupy a very large space.

Kautilya (I 5) starts by saying that the three vidyās (except *dandānīti*) in the case of the prince depend upon *danda*, that *danda* in its turn is based upon discipline, which is of two kinds, natural and induced (or acquired). Vidyās produce discipline (of the 2nd kind) in him who possesses the qualities of intellect specified above. Then he goes on to say that the prince should learn the alphabet and arithmetic after his *aula* is performed (in the 3rd year or later) and after *upanayana* he should learn the three vedas and *ānvīksiki* from the *śiṣṭas* (those learned in the veda), *vārtā* from the heads or superintendents (of the various departments thereof) and *dandānīti* from expounders (of the *vidyā*) and from practical politicians. Vide Manu VII. 43 (= Matsya 215. 54 and Agni 225. 21-22) for directions as to from whom the prince was to learn the four vidyās. Kautilya prescribes that the prince should study these up to the 16th year, should then marry and that in order to foster the growth of the discipline of the intellect he should always associate with those who are advanced in the vidyās enumerated above (after his 16th year) and that the king should spend the first part of the day in practising the riding of elephants, horses, chariots and in the science of arms and the latter part of the day in listening to Itihāsa which comprises Purāṇa, history, stories, panegyrics, dharmasāstra and arthasāstra. A king whose intellect is thus disciplined and who is devoted to disciplining his subjects also and to doing good to all will be the sole ruler of the earth. The Nītivākyaṃṛta (p. 162) defines *vinaya* as 'acting with humility towards those

who excel in *vratas*, *vidyās* and are aged' Manu VII. 38-39. Kām. I 19-20 and 59-63, Śukra I. 92-93 (taken from Kām. I. 19-20) extol the value and importance of *vinaya*, and waiting upon the aged and the learned. Manu (VII. 40-42) states that many kings perished with their vast paraphernalia through want of discipline while others, though residing in a forest (i.e. without an army &c), gained kingdoms through *vinaya*, and names Vena, Nahusa, Sudās son of Pijavana and Sumukha Nimi as those who perished through lack of *vinaya* and gives Prthu and Manu as examples of those who secured kingdoms through *vinaya*. Matsya 215.53 is the same as Manu VII. 40. Ancient Indian writers harp on the education of the prince so much because their ideal of kingship was that the king should be a *rājarṣi* (a royal sage). Kālidāsa frequently speaks of this e.g. in Śikuntalā II. 14 and Raghuvamśa (I. 58). They were aware, like Socrates, that until either philosophers became⁶⁴ kings or kings philosophers States will never succeed in remedying their short-comings (vide p. 50 above). Not only was an extensive course of intellectual training prescribed for the king, but both *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* works strongly and frequently insist upon the necessity of moral discipline and the right direction of the emotions and will in the case of the king.

Kautilya (I. 6) emphasizes that control of the organs of sense is the cause of (proficiency in) *vidyās* and discipline should be attempted by giving up the six enemical tendencies viz. lust, hot temper, greed, vanity (*māna*), haughtiness or insolence (*māda*), overjoy. He says that (the whole purpose or insistence of) all *sāstras* is the restraint of the senses, that even a supreme ruler of the whole earth up to its four borders whose senses are not under control will at once perish and cites two examples on each of these six tendencies, viz. Dāṇḍakya Bhoja who attempted to rape a brāhmana girl through lust and perished with his kingdom and kinsmen and Karāla king of Videha; Janamejaya (perished) who attacked brāhmanas through hot temper and Tālajangha who did so against the Bhrgus, Aila who exacted through greed excessive taxes from persons of the four varnas and Ajabindu, the king of Sauvira; Ravana who did not restore another's wife through his conceit and Duryodhana who did not give even a part from his kingdom; Dambhodbhava who despised all beings through his insolence and

⁶⁴ The word 'philosopher' used by Plato has not the narrow meaning of modern times.

Arjuna of the Haihaya dynasty; Vātāpi through overjoy when he attacked Agastya and also the oligarchy of the Vṛsnis when they attacked Dvaipāyana⁶⁵. These six evil tendencies are called *śatru-śaḍ-varga* or *ari-śaḍvarga*. Kautilya adds that by the conquest of these six evil tendencies Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) and Ambarisa enjoyed the earth for a long time. Kām. (I. 55-58) and Śukra. I. 144-146 give six of the twelve examples of Kaut and Kām. I. 58 is the same as the last verse of Kautilya I. 6. Vide Mārkaṇḍeya 27. 12-13. In the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu (Hall's ed pp. 273-276) there is a long list of the kings of antiquity (Purūravas, Nahusa, Yayāti, Sudyumna, Nala and nine others) who suffered owing to some failing or other in themselves. The Udyogaparva (74. 13-18) mentions by name 18 kings who by their evil career destroyed themselves, their friends and relatives (such as Mudāvarta of the Haihayas, Janamejaya of the Nipās, Bahula of Tālajanghas, Dhautamūlaka of the Cinas). This shows that Cina does not probably stand for modern China in the epic. Manu VII. 44 (= Matsya 215. 55) also emphasizes the necessity for the king incessantly to curb the senses and not to fall a prey to vices arising from *kāma* and *krodha*. Manu (VII. 45-48) enumerates ten vicious tendencies due to *kāma* (desire for pleasures) viz. hunting, gambling, sleep by day, finding fault (with others), women, drunkenness, (excessive indulgence in) dancing, singing and instrumental music, and aimless wandering; and eight vicious tendencies due to *krodha* (hot temper) viz. tale-bearing, violence, treachery, envy, slander, (improper) seizure of property, reviling and assault. Manu further declares (VII. 50) that among the vices due to *kāma*, drinking wine, gambling, women and hunting are the most harmful, each preceding one being worse than each succeeding

65. Most of these stories occur in the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, and Buddhist works. Vide Jolly's ed. of the Kautilya vol. II. p. 5 But the story of the Vṛsnis and Dvaipāyana is not known. For Janamejaya (different from the descendant of Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava) incurring the sin of brāhmaṇa-killing, vide Śānti 150. 3. For Arjuna (called Kārtavīrya) king of Haihayas, vide Sabhāparva 22. 24, Vanaparva 115. 12, Anuśāsana 153. 3 ff, Śānti 49. 35 ff. and Āśvamedhikaparva 29, Matsyapurāṇa 43, Vāyu 94. For Agastya and Vātāpi vide Vanaparva 96. In the Mārkaṇḍeya the instances of kings that came to grief through *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha* &c. are different except that of Aila (chap. 27. 14-17). For Dambhodhbhava vide Sabhā 22. 24 and Udyoga 96. 7 (cr. ed 94. 7). For the story of Danda who raped a maiden of the Bhṛgu family vide Rāmāyana VII. 80-81. Dāṇḍakya Bhoja is mentioned (along with Rāvana and Kicaka) by the Kāmasūtra I. 2. 44-45.

one and (VII. 52) that among the vices due to hot temper, causing physical injury, reviling and deprivation of wealth are the worst. Manu (VII. 52) has a sly hit that these seven vices are more or less prevalent among kings (*sarvātrāṇūsangīnah*) and therefore the only choice is that of the lesser or least of evils. Kautilya (VIII. 3) has a lengthy disquisition on the views of his predecessors about the relative harmfulness of the three vices due to hot temper and of the four due to *kāma* and states his own opinion that *arthadhūśana* meaning loss of the means of livelihood by gifts, exactions (by the king), loss or abandonment of property is more harmful than reviling and *dandapārusya* is more harmful than *arthadhūśana*. He points out the benefits derived from hunting viz exercise, the disappearance of phlegm, bile, fat and sweat, the acquisition of skill in aiming at stationary and moving hodies, the ascertainment of the minds of beasts when they are provoked and occasional travel⁶⁶ These are echoed, almost in the same words by Kām XIV. 25 and in the *Sakuntala* (II. 25) by Kālidāsa. Vide *Sabhā* 68. 20, *Udyoga* 33. 92 for the seven principal vices. Kām (XIV. 6 and 7) enumerates the three vices of hot temper and the four of *kāma* and holds an elaborate discussion on their respective demerits. He defines *arthadhūśana* (XIV. 17) somewhat differently (viz as the abandoning of an important object or of great wealth in order to show that what really merits blame is not so). Vide the *Visnudharmot-tara* II. 65. 12-15 for the two meanings of *arthadhūśana*⁶⁷. Kām does not agree that hunting has many good points in its favour and advises the king to prepare a separate well-guarded hunting ground of one-half *yojana* in length and breadth if he really desires to hunt (XIV. 28-42). The *Mānasollāsa* (vol. II) in the 15th chapter of the 4th vimsati deals with hunting as a sport for kings and points out how a forest is to be preserved for royal hunting and how it is to be guarded and enumerates 31 methods of hunting. Kām warns the king who wants to retain

66. सुगवाया ह्युग्यायाम् । श्लेष्मपित्तमेदस्वेदनाशश्चले स्थिरे च काये लक्षपरिचयः कोपरस्थाने हि तेषु च सुगणां चित्तज्ञानमनित्वयानं चेति । कौटिल्य VIII. 3; नितभ्रमत्वं व्यायाम आत्मवेदकफलस्य । चरस्थिरेषु लक्षेषु बाणसिद्धिरुत्तमा ॥ सुगवायां शुणाने-तानाहुरन्ये न तत्क्षमम् । दोषाः प्राणहराः प्रायस्तस्माच्चद्वयसनं महत् ॥ काम. XIV. 25-26. The reading कोपभयस्थाने in some Mss. of the Kautilya is preferable in view of Kālidāsa's words 'चित्तं भयकोषयोः.'

67. Vide the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (II. 65. 12-15) 'अर्थस्य दूषणं राम द्विपकारं विवर्जयेत् । अर्थानां दूषणं चैकं तथा चार्थेन दूषणम् । प्राकाराणां सङ्कल्लेदो दुर्गादीनां समक्रिया ॥ अर्थानां दूषणं शोक विपकीर्णत्वमेव च । अद्वेष्टकाले यद्दानमपाने दानमेव च ॥ अर्थेस्तु दूषणं शोकमसत्कर्मवर्तनम् ।'

his kingdom against fondness for women (XIV. 57-58). He further says that a king may even indulge in fondness for women and may even drink moderately, but he must totally avoid gambling and hunting (XIV. 65). Kautilya regards gambling as the worst of the vices for a king (VIII. 3 last sentence in prose). In the *Daśakumāracarita* (VIII) there is an elaborate (but ironical) description of the mental and other benefits derived from the four principal vices due to *kāma*. *Kām.* I. 54 states that hunting, gambling and wine in the case of kings must be condemned, since calamities befell Pāṇḍu, Nala and the Vṛṣṇis (respectively) by being addicted to these. Even an ideal king like Rāma was fond of hunting. Śukra (I. 332-333) points out that hunting has much in its favour, but there is one great defect in it viz. slaughter of animals. Śukra (I. 109-119) denounces gambling, drinking and fondness for women as the worst of vices and points out that Indra, Daṇḍakya, Nahusa and Bāvaṇa came to grief through their passion for women (I. 114) and that a king who is excessively fond of dancers, singers, courtesans, wrestlers, eunuchs and men of low birth falls an easy prey to his enemies (I. 128). *Kām.* (I. 40-46, which are almost the same as Śukra I. 102-107) gives a poetic description of how animals like the deer, the elephant, the moth, the fish and the bee meet death or become confined by extreme attachment to one only out of the five objects of sense and emphasizes that man who can and does enjoy all the pleasures of the five senses must practise great restraint.

CHAPTER III

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE RULER.

All works are agreed that the first and foremost duty of the king is the protection of subjects. *Sāntiparva* (68 1-4) notes that all the seven expounders of polity (*rājasāstra*pranātārāḥ) named by it extol protection as the highest *dharma* of the king. *Manu* VII. 144 states that the protection of subjects is the highest *dharma* and *Kālidāsa* in *Raghuvamśa* 14.67 alludes to this dictum of *Manu*. Protection consists in punishing internal aggression (such as by thieves and robbers and by persons who invade a man's rights) and in meeting external⁶⁸ aggression. Vide quotation from *Brhaspati* below. *Gautama* (X. 7-8) prescribes that the special responsibility of the king is to protect all beings, to award just punishment and that he has to protect the several *varnas* and *āśramas* according to the rules of *śāstra* and to bring them round to the path of their proper duties when they swerve from it (XI 9-10). *Vasistha* (19 1-2) states that the wise say that protection is a life-long *satra* in which he has to give up fear and softness of heart. *Vas* 19 7-8 and *Viṣṇu Dh S III* 2-3 are similar to *Gaut* XI 9-10. The *Sāntiparva* (23 15) repeats a *gāthā* of *Brhaspati* 'As a snake swallows mice lying in holes, so the earth swallows these two viz a king who does not fight (an invader) and a *brāhmana* who does not go on a journey (for acquiring knowledge from famous teachers)^{69a}. *Manu* IX 306 states that the king protecting his subjects according to the *śāstra* and meting out punishment to those who deserve it performs every day sacrifices in which the fees are one hundred thousand cows (i.e. he secures the spiritual reward of very solemn sacrifices). *Yāj* I. 335 is to the same effect. *Kautilya* also lays emphasis on the duty to keep the *varnas* and *āśramas* to their duties 'Therefore the

68. बृहस्पतिः । तत्प्रजापालनं प्रोक्तं त्रिविधं न्यायवेदिभिः । परचक्राच्चौरभयाद्बलि-
नोन्वयवर्तिनः ॥ परानीकस्तेनभयमुपायैः शमयेन्नुप । पलवत्परिभूतानां मत्स्यं न्यायवर्जने ॥
quoted by राजनीतिप्र pp 254-255.

68a. धूमिरेतौ निगिरति सर्पौ बिलशयानिव । राजानं चाविरोद्धारं ब्राह्मणं चाभवा-
सिनम् ॥ शान्ति 23. 15. This is attributed to Uśanas in *Sānti* 57 3 (but
the words are द्वाविनी यस्यते धूमिः सर्पौ &c.). Vide also *Sabbh* 55 14. The same
verse is धुक्नीतिसार IV. 7. 303

king should not allow the people to swerve from their duties. He, who keeps dharma intact (without breach), enjoys bliss in this world and the next'. Nārada⁶⁹ (prakīrnaka 33) states 'His duty is to protect the subjects, to (honour or) listen to the aged and the wise, to look into the disputes of people and to be energetic in his functions as king'. Śukra (I. 14) says that the highest dharma of the king is to protect the subjects and to put down the wicked. According to Atri (verse 28),⁷⁰ to punish the wicked, to honour the good, to increase the treasury in the right way, to deal impartially with litigants and to protect the kingdom—these five are declared to be sacrifices in the case of kings. The Visnudharmottara (III. 323. 25-26) refers to the five sacrifices in very similar words. In Śānti 77. 33 the king's duty to restrain brāhmanas from engaging in unworthy actions is specially emphasized. These passages establish that the principal duties of the king were conceived to be to protect the subjects, to see that the rules of varnas and āśramas were carried out by them, to punish the wicked and to do justice.

The duty to protect involved fighting and probable death. Therefore the ancient works on dharma-śāstra always insist that it is the duty of the ksatriya to fight and that death on the battlefield is to be his highest ideal. Manu (VII. 87-89) enjoins upon the king, when protecting his subjects against invasion, not to run away from battle and promises heaven as the reward for kings who die fighting in battle. Yaj I 324 holds forth the same reward for all soldiers who are killed in battle. Vide Striparva 2. 16 and 18 and 11. 8-9. The Bhagavadgītā (II. 31-37) most solemnly declares that there is nothing higher for a ksatriya than a righteous war, that a ksatriya's duty requires him not to quail in battle, that if he dies in battle he goes to heaven and if he survives he rules over the world, that he should fight as a duty without caring for gain or loss, victory or defeat and if he fights with this attitude no sin attaches to him. Śānti-parva 78. 31 states that just as those who join in the bath of the king at the end of the Āśvamedha are purified of all sins, so all

69. तस्य धर्मः प्रजां रक्षां वृद्धमाज्ञोपसेवनम् । दर्शनं व्यवहाराणामुत्थानं च स्वधर्मम् ॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक 33) ; वृषस्य परमो धर्मः प्रजानां परिपालनम् । दुष्टनिग्रहणं निर्यं च नीत्या ते विना ह्यने ॥ शुकः I. 14.

70. दुष्टस्य दण्डः राज्ञस्य पूजा न्यायेन कोशस्य च समवृद्धिः । अपक्षपातोऽधिपु राज्ञ-रक्षा पञ्चैव यज्ञाः कथिता वृषणाश्च ॥ अत्रि verse 28. compare दुष्टदण्डः सत्ता पूजा धनेण च धनार्जनम् । राज्ञरक्षा समत्वं च व्यवहारेषु पञ्चकम् ॥ भूमिपाना महायज्ञाः सर्वाकल्मष-नाशनाः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 323, 25-26.

soldiers (of whatever caste and on whatever side) killed in battle become pure by the destruction of their sins. Manu (VII 94-95) sets out the results for a soldier when he flees from the battlefield. Parāśara⁷¹ III 37 says "Two men pierce the orb of the sun (i.e. reach heavenly worlds) viz. an ascetic endowed with Yoga and a soldier killed while facing the enemy" and the following verses (III 38 ff) dilate upon how the slain warrior is waited upon in heaven by divine damsels. A verse of the Rgveda X 154 3 (= Atharva 18 2 17) appears to hold that warriors losing life in battle reap the same rewards that those who make gifts of a thousand cows in sacrifices secure.⁷² It is probably this passage which Kautilya has in mind when in X 3 he refers to the Veda for inciting the soldiers to fight without regard to life. Āp Dh. S. (II 10 26 2-3) states that a king, who strives to recover the wealth of brāhmanas (stolen by thieves) and dies in the effort, is said to perform a sacrifice, in which his body is the sacrificial post and the fees are incalculable and that other valiant men losing life in fighting for a (good) cause are in a similar position. To die fighting for the protection of cows and brāhmanas is specially commended (vide Śānti 21. 19 and 77. 28 and 30). The Visnudharmasūtra III. 44-46 prescribes 'there is no duty for kings equal to losing one's life in battle; those who meet death in protecting a cow, a brāhmana, a king, a friend, their own wealth and their wife enter heaven as also those who meet death in preventing confusion of varnas (caused by adultery &c.)'. On the eve of battle the great warrior Bhīṣma says to his officers 'it is a sinful act for a ksatriya to die in his house from some disease; the ancient code of conduct for him is that he should meet death from steel' (Bhīṣmaparva 17 11). The same idea is presented in Śālyaparva 5 32, Śānti 97 23 and 25.

Kāmandaka⁷³ (V. 82-83) makes it clear that the subjects require protection against the king's officers, thieves, enemies of the king, royal favourites (like the queen and the princes) and

71 द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके सूर्यमण्डलभेदिनौ । परिवाहयोगयुक्तश्च रणे चाभिमुखे हतः ॥ पराशर III 37, quoted by मेधातिथि on मनु VII 89. The same is उद्योगपर्व 33. 61 which reads पुरुषस्याग्र in the first *pāda*.

72 ये युष्यन्ते मघनेषु शूरास्तौ ये तच्छ्रुजः । ये वा सहस्रदक्षिणास्तौश्चिदेवापि गच्छताम् ॥ ऋ X 154 3 = अथर्व 18 2 17. This also is quoted by मेधा. on मनु VII 89. अर्थशास्त्र (X 3) has 'वेदेव्यहृश्रूयते — समासदक्षिणानां यज्ञानामवश्रूयते सा ते गतिर्या शूराणामिति ।'

73. आयुक्तेभ्यश्चोरेभ्यः परेभ्यो राजवह्नुभात् । पृथिवीपतिलोभाच्च मजाना पञ्चधा भयम् ॥ पञ्चप्रकारमप्येतदपीह कृपतेर्भयम् । कामन्दक V. 82-83.

the greed of the king himself As an extension of the king's duty to protect, the works lay down that it is his duty to support students, learned brāhmanas, and sacrificers.⁷⁴ Vide Gaut. X. 9-12, XVIII 31, Kaut. II. 1, Anuśāna 61. 28-30, Śānti 165. 6-7, Visnudharmasūtra III. 79-80, Manu VII. 82 and 134, Yāj I. 315 and 323 and III 44, Matsya 215. 58, Atri 24 The Hindu kings of ancient and medieval India followed this advice with great liberality for centuries and the subject has already been treated in vol II. pp 113, 856-864. The functions of Government were not supposed to end with the maintenance of peace and order, but Government must be an instrument of the diffusion of culture. The king is also called upon to support helpless and aged people, the blind, the cripple, lunatics, widows, orphans, those suffering from diseases and calamities, pregnant women by giving them medicines, lodging, food and clothing according to their requirements⁷⁵. Vide Vas 19. 35-36, Visnudharmasūtra III 65, Matsya 215. 62, Agni 225 25, Ādiparva 49. 11, Sabhā 18. 24, Virātaparva 18. 24, Śānti 77. 18 The Rājāniti-prakāśa (pp. 130-131) quotes⁷⁶ the Visnudharmottara requiring the king to honour and protect chaste women (pativrātās) and Śāṅkha-Likhita to the effect that even ksatriyas and vaiśyas who cannot maintain themselves by the methods prescribed by the śāstras for them should approach the king who should help them with the means of livelihood and they should work for the king in the manner laid down for them and that sūdras also should apply their skill and crafts for the benefit of the king when so maintained⁷⁷ Medhātithi on Manu V. 94 states that when a king supports his subjects in a famine by distributing food from his treasury no question of his being in mourning would come in the way These provisions for the old, the blind, the widows, orphans and helpless persons and for the relief of unemployed ksatriyas, vaiśyas and sūdras strike one as

74. कृत्विगाचार्यपुरोहितश्रोत्रियेभ्यो ब्रह्मवेद्यान्यदण्डकारण्यभिरुपवायकानि मय-
च्छेत् । ... चालवृद्धयाधित्यसन्पनाथाश्च राजा विधृयात् । स्त्रियमजलां यजतायाश्च
पुत्रान् । कौटिल्य II. 1.

75. कृपणानाथवृद्धानां विधवानां च योषिताम् । योगक्षेमं च वृत्तिं च नित्यमेव प्रक-
ल्पयेत् ॥ शान्ति 86. 24 (= मत्स्य 215 62 = अग्निपुराण 225. 25 with slight varia-
tions); कृपणातुरानाथवृद्धविधवायालवृद्धानौषधावसथाशनाच्छादनैर्विधृयात् । शङ्ख-
लिखितौ quoted in राजनीतिम्. p 138, कच्छिदन्धाश्च मूकाश्च पङ्कजं व्यङ्गानां च धृवात् ।
पितृव पाप्मं धर्मज्ञा तथा प्रजजितानपि ॥ सभा 5. 124.

76. साध्वीनां पालनं कुर्यात्पूजनं च महीपतिः । एकपत्न्यः स्त्रियः सर्वा धारयन्ति
जगत्त्रयम् ॥ राजनीतिम् p. 130.

77. राजन्यवैश्यावप्यजीवन्तो राजानमुपलब्धेयात् साधुभौ शक्तिः संविभक्ताः उपकुर्यात्
स्वरथधर्माद्वृष्टानेन शिल्पिनः कारवश्च ब्रह्मा ॥ शङ्खलिखितौ quoted in राजनीतिम् p. 141.

rather modern in tone. In many modern countries the State has become the means of providing services for the greater part of its subjects, not only armed forces and the police, but social services such as education, public health, medical attendance, insurance against unemployment, old age, widowhood, and orphanage, relief of poverty &c. In ancient India, though there were naturally no Acts of Parliament guaranteeing the above services to the subjects, public opinion, the views of eminent writers and the practice of the best kings created an atmosphere in which it was thought that it was imperative for the king representing the State and its resources to encourage learning, to care for the blind, the decrepit, the old and the widowed and to give employment to those who were unemployed. Asoka constructed hospitals for men and animals (2nd Rock Edict at Kalsi in C. I. I. vol. 1, p. 28), alms-houses, rest houses, watering places, shady trees on the highways and irrigation works, visited and supported the aged (8th Girnar Rock Edict in C. I. I. p. 15). In the 2nd century B. C. Khāravela, emperor of Kalinga, declares in his Hathigumpha Inscription (E. I. vol. XX p. 71 at p. 86) that in the very first year of his reign he constructed embankments round the Khibira lake in the Kalinga capital and renovated all public gardens. Rudradāman in the 2nd century A. D. repaired the Sudarśana lake at great cost from his own treasury without levying fresh taxes or benevolences (*pranaya*) or forced labour. The *Anuśāsanaparva* says that good kings should⁷⁸ construct meeting halls, *prapās*, tanks, temples and lodging places for brāhmanas. The *Matsyapurāṇa* 215. 64 remarks that the king should give to those who stay in hermitages food, oil and pots. Vide *Āp. Dh. S.* II. 2. 4, 21 and Haradatta thereon as to provision for śūdra guests. It is quite possible that these rules of the texts were not literally followed by all kings, but it is well-known how even legislative enactments are carried out by the subordinate staff in all countries including those of the West. One has only to turn to Dickens' 'Oliver Twist' for some indication of the administration of Poor Laws and work-houses in England about a hundred years ago.

As regards the king's daily routine Kaut. I. 19, Manu VII. 145-147, 216-226, Yāj. I. 327-333, Śukraniti I. 276-285, Agnīpurāṇa 235, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 151, Bhāgavata X. 70. 4-17, Nītiprakāśikā VIII. 9 ff., Rājānītiprakāśa pp. 153-169 and other works lay down

78. शास्त्राप्रवृत्तानि देवतायतनानि च । ब्राह्मणावस्थाश्चैव कर्तव्यं वृषसत्तैः ॥
अनुशासनपर्वे quoted in परा. म. I. part 1 p. 466.

detailed rules, which have been already set out (H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 805-806) Every day on rising from his bed the king was advised (by Manu VII. 37) to wait upon brāhmanas learned in the three Vedas and endowed with wisdom and to abide by their directions. Vas. I. 39-41, Gout. XI. 13-14 say the same. In giving this advice exaggerated claims were made for brāhmanas which have been already set out before Vide H. Dh. vol II pp. 135-136 and Anusāsana 33 2-8. The king was also expected to show himself to all people every day (Ayodhyā 100 51, Sabhā 5. 90)⁷⁹.

An extremely high ideal was placed before the king by the Kautiliya, the Mahābhārata and other works. In the Arthashastra I. 19 Kautilya⁸⁰ proclaims the magnificent ideal 'in the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king, in their welfare lies his welfare; the good of the king does not consist in what is pleasing to himself, but what is pleasing to the subjects constitutes his good'. Similar words occur in the Visnudharmasūtra III. last verse⁸¹ The Mahābhārata (Śānti 69. 72-73) purports to quote two verses of Angiras (i.e. Bṛhaspati), one of which says 'of what use is *tapas* to that king or of what use are even sacrifices to him who has well looked after his subjects? He is surely one who knows all dharmas' Kautilya compares the king to the performer of a sacrifice, in which his *vratas*⁸² (in the case of the sacrificer observances about food, scratching the body &c.) consists in being ever active, the sacrifice consists in issuing orders for carrying out the business (of the State), the sacrificial fee (that the king pays) is his

79. कचिद्दर्शयसे नित्यं मनुष्यान्समलकृतः । सभापर्व 5 90.

80. राजो हि व्रतसुधानं यज्ञः कार्यानुशासनम् । दक्षिणा वृत्तिसाधनं च वृक्षितस्याभिवचनम् ॥ यज्ञासुखे सुखे राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् । नात्ममित्रं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु भियं हितम् ॥ अर्थशास्त्र I 19

81. प्रजासुखे सुखी राजा तद्दुःखे यश्च दुःखितः । स कीर्तियुक्तो लोकेऽस्मिन् मेत्युत्तमं नदीयते ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III last verse quoted in राजधर्मकाण्ड p. 15; कृत्वा सर्वाणि कार्याणि सम्यक् संपाल्य मेदिनीयम् । पालयित्वा तथा पौरान् परत्र सुखमेयते ॥ किं तस्य तपसा राज्ञः किं च तस्याहरेरपि । सुपालितप्रजो यः स्यात्सर्वधर्मविद्वज्ज सः ॥ शान्ति 69 72-73. These words remind one of the famous proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1857 (called an impossible charter by a notably energetic but retrograde Viceroy) which breathes the same high and noble sentiments 'in their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward'.

82 Vide Āp Sr X 12-15, Band Sr VI. 6 for long lists of observances (*vratas*) some of which are set out in H Dh. vol II pp 1139-1140 and ibid p. 1135 for the bath of the sacrificer.

impartiality to all (lit behaving in the same way to all), and his coronation corresponds to the bath of the person who is consecrated for a sacrifice Śāntiparva⁸³ (56. 44 and 46) and Nitiprakāsikā VIII 2 declare that a king like a pregnant woman should not do what is pleasing to him, but what would conduce to the good of the people and the ancient dharma for a king is to keep the subjects contented. In Śānti 90 1 and 5 it is said 'the king is there for the upholding of dharma and not for acting as he likes and that all beings have to depend on dharma which in its turn depends on the king'. In Udyogaparva 118. 13-14 a king exclaims 'the wealth I possess is for the benefit of the urban and rural population and not for my own enjoyment; for, that king who at his sweet will gives away what (really is not his but) belongs to others does not become endowed with spiritual merit nor with fame'. King Marutta is warned by his grand-mother in the Mārkaṇḍeya⁸⁴ (130. 33-34) that the king's body is not meant for pleasures but for undergoing great trouble in protecting the earth and carrying out his duties. Ancient writers loved to dwell upon the rule of the king as paternal. Kaut. II 1 states that the king should favour like a father those who are outside the rules for remission of taxes Yāj I. 334 requires the king to be like a father to his subjects and servants Vide Śānti 139. 104-105 for the same idea.⁸⁵ In the Rāmāyaṇa II. 2. 28-47 and V 35. 9-14 the virtues of the prince Rāma are set out in great detail, where it is said that Rāma behaved like a father (II 2 39), that he sympathized with the people in their sorrows and was pleased like a father when the subjects celebrated festivals. The Rāmāyaṇa⁸⁶ III 6 11 declares that it would be a great *adharma* on the part of that king who takes a

83. लोकरक्षणमेवात्र राज्ञा धर्मः सनातन । शान्ति. 57 11; यथा हि गर्भिणी हित्वा स्वं म्रियं मनसोऽनुगम्य । गर्भस्य हितमाधत्ते तथा राज्ञाप्यसङ्गम्य ॥ धर्मोऽनुवर्तिना । स्वं म्रियं तु परित्यज्य यद्यल्लोकहितं भवेत् ॥ शान्ति 56 45-46; the first is नीतिप्रकाशिका VIII. 2 which reads the last pāda तथा कुर्वन्मजाहितम्. धर्मस्य राजा भवति न कामकरणाद्यतु । ... धर्मे तिष्ठन्ति भूतानि धर्मो राजनि तिष्ठति ॥ शान्ति 90 1 and 5 पौरजानपदार्थं तु ममार्थो नात्मभोगतः ॥ कामतो हि धनं राजा यः पारक्यं प्रपच्छति । न स धर्मेण धर्मात्मन्युच्यते यज्ञसा न च ॥ उद्योग 118 13-14.

84. राज्ञां शरीरग्रहणं न भोगाय महीपते । क्लेशाय महते वृद्धमीस्वधर्मपाषाणलेन ॥ मार्कण्डेय 130 33-34.

85. पिता भ्राता सुहृः शास्ता बह्विधैश्वर्यो यमः । सप्त राज्ञो गुणानेतान्महाराह प्रजापतिः । पिता हि राजा लोकस्य प्रजानां योऽनुकम्पितः । शान्ति 139. 104-105.

86. अधर्मः सुमहाकाय भवेत्तस्य महीपते । यो हरेद् बलिवद्भागं न च रक्षति पुत्रवत् ॥ अरण्यकाण्ड 6 11.

sixth part of the produce (of fields) and does not protect his subjects as if they were his children. These sentiments are echoed by classical poets like Kālidāsa in the Śākuntala V. 5 and VI. 23 and the Raghuvamśa (I. 24). In the Harsacarita (V) the dying king Prabhākaravardhana consoles his young and favourite son Harsa by exhorting him to reflect over the idea that kings are to be deemed to have relatives in their subjects and not merely in agnates.^{86a} Asoka also in his Edicts harps on the paternal relation 'all men are my children' (the first separate Jaugadh Edict, C. I. I. vol I pp. 111 and 114).

There were, it appears, several grades of rulers from the most ancient times. The word *rajan* occurs in numerous places in the Rgveda. It is applied to such gods as Mitra and Varuna (Rg. VII 64. 2), Varuna (Rg. I 24. 12 and 13, X. 173. 5). It appears to be used in two senses, viz (1) 'king' as in Rg. I 65. 7, III 43. 5 ('will you make me the protector of people, the king, O Indra'), IV. 4. 1, IX. 7. 5, X. 174. 4) and (2) 'noble' as in Rg. IX. 10. 3, X. 78. 1, X. 97. 6 ('where the plants come together as nobles in an assembly' *rājūnaḥ samitāviva*). In Rg. VIII 21. 18 it is said⁸⁷ 'Citra who gave thousands and ten thousands is the only king, others are only small chiefs along the bank of the Sarasvatī'. The word 'samraj' is known to the Rgveda and is used as an epithet of Varuna (in Rg. VI 68. 9) and of Indra (in Rg. VIII 16. 1) and the word *sāmraja* also occurs in relation to Varuna in Rg. I 25. 10. In Rg. VIII 37. 3 Indra is said to be sole ruler of the world (*ekarāt*). It is not unlikely therefore that the idea of an emperor who had suzerainty over several kings was known, though it is possible that in Rg. VIII 37. 3 the word is used only in a metaphorical sense. In Rg. VII 83. 7-8^{87a} it is said that ten kings though they formed a confederacy could not vanquish king Sudās and that in the ten kings' battle (*dūśarājñe*) Indra and Varuna helped Sudās who was surrounded by them on all sides. A very large number of kings is mentioned by name in numerous places in the Rgveda (e. g. I 53. 8 and 10, I 54. 6, I 100. 17, VII 33. 2, VIII 3. 12, VIII 4. 2). Besides these it appears that there were

86a. मज्जाभिस्तु बन्धुमन्तो राजानो न ज्ञातिभिः । हर्षचरित V.

87. चित्र इन्द्रा राजका इदंन्यके यके सरस्वतीमनु । पर्जन्य इष ततनक्षि वृष्ट्या सहस्रमयुता ददत् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 21. 18.

87a. दश राजानः समिता अयज्यवः सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणा न युयुधुः ।... दशराज्ञे परिय-
चाय विश्वतः सुदास इन्द्रावरुणावक्षिप्तम् । ऋ. VII. 83. 7-8.

tribal chiefs or governments of such clans or tribes as the Anus, Druhyus, Turvasas, Pūrus, Yadus (Rg I 108 8, all in the plural, VII 18 6 and VIII 6 46) But sometimes these words are used in the singular, when they mean 'a king or chief of that clan'. Vide Rg VIII 4. 7, VIII 10 5, IV 30 17 In the Atharvaveda III 4 1 (may you shine forth as the sole ruler of men) that word (*ekarāt*) is used in its literal sense and in Atharva VI 98.1 (may^{87b} Indra conquer and may he never be defeated, may he shine as the overlord among kings) the idea of an emperor (*adhmāja*) is clearly set forth In Rg. X 128 9⁸⁸ the word 'adhiraāja' must be taken in the same sense The Atharvaveda speaks of an Ugra which word seems to mean a formidable king (or emperor) 'Then you chase away disease as a formidable (king) who is in the midst (of many kings presses hard each of them)' IV 9 4 In the Atharvaveda III. 4. 3 it is said 'May the *ugra* see a lot of tribute'. In Rg X 34 8 the word *ugra* has probably the same sense viz 'a formidable king' In the Tai S II 6 2. 2 it is said that men are held (supported or restrained) by the king (tasmād rājñā manusyā vidhrtāh) In the Tai S I 8 10 2 occur⁸⁹ the words in the *And* formula recited in the Rājasūya 'May the gods extract for men great power, great overlordship, great sovereignty over people, this, O Bharatas, is your king, while Soma is king of us brāhmanas'. The exact relation of the two words 'ādhipatya' and 'jānarāja' is not clear. Similar words occur in Vāj S IX 40 and X. 18 and in Kāthaka XV 5 In the Ait Br (39 1) it is said⁹⁰ that 'whoever desires the king to attain supremacy over all kings, to attain to the rank of emperor and desires that he be the supreme ruler, the sole emperor (*ekarāt*) of the whole earth bounded by the sea up to its very extremities should be consecrated and crowned with the *Andra Mahābhuseka* after making him take an oath.' In this passage the meanings of the words 'bhaujya', 'svārāja', 'vairāja' and 'pārameṣṭhya' in

87b इन्द्रो जयाति न परा जयाता अधिराजो राजसु राजयाते। अथर्ववेद VI 98 1

88 ये न सपत्ना अप ते भवन्विबुद्धाग्निम्यामव वाधामहे तान् । वसवो रुद्रा आदित्या उपरिस्पशं मोक्षं चेत्तारमधिराजमक्रन् ॥ ऋ X 128 9.

89. ये देवा देवसुवः स्य त इममाहुष्यायणमनमित्राय सुवध्वं महते क्षत्राय महव आधिपत्याय महते जानराज्यायै वो भरता राजा सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणाना राजा । तै स I 8. 10. 2 Vide H Dh vol II p 1217 and n 2651.

90 स य इच्छेद्देवचित्क्षान्नियमं .. सर्वल्लोकोन्विन्देतायं सर्वेषा राज्ञां श्रेष्ठश्चमतिष्ठा परमतां गच्छेत्त सप्ताज्यं भोज्यं स्वाराज्यं वैराज्यं पारमेष्ठ्यं राज्यं महाराज्यमाधिपत्यमयं समन्तपर्यायी स्यात्सर्वभौमः सार्वभुव आन्ताद्दशार्थात् पृथिव्यै समुद्रपर्यान्ताया एकरात्रिंति तमेतेनैन्द्रेण महाभिकेण क्षत्रिय क्षापयित्वाभिविञ्चेत् । ऐ भा 39 1.

relation to sovereignty over people are not clear. They are probably hyperbolic and grandiloquent words to convey supreme power. Even a brāhmana, according to vedic texts, may perform the Vājapeya if he desires 'svārāja' which means supereminence. Paramesthin means 'Prajāpati' and so pāramesthya simply means godlike power. Further there is no apparent reason why, after rising high from sāmājya to 'pāramesthya' there should be a descent to mere 'rāja' and 'māhārāja'. Sāyana⁹¹ takes 'rāja' and 'māhārāja' at the end of the passage as referring to the position of the king in the next world. This is rather far-fetched. Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity', part I pp. 89-90 and p. 133) takes these words to mean 'the Bhaujya constitution &c.' relying on the occurrence of the Bhojas in Aśoka's Rock Edicts V and XIII and in Khāravēla's Inscription, on the appearance of Bhojas as rulers in Western India and the town of Bhuj in Cutch and 'vairāja' as kingless system and 'svārāja' as 'self-ruling system'; but this is all unwarranted and is a fair sample of the way in which some of Jayaswal's theories are built up. It passes one's understanding how a paramount sovereign is promised *vairāja* (in Jayaswal's sense) in the Ait. Br. In the R̥gveda (V. 66. 6) we have the word 'svārāja' (which probably means the same thing as 'svārāja') in 'Let us strive for an all-embracing sovereignty, which will afford protection to many'⁹². In the Śatapatha Brāhmana the distinction between a king (rājan) and an emperor is very clearly expressed as follows: 'For, by offering the Rajasūya he becomes king and by the Vājapeya he becomes emperor; and the office of king is the lower and that of emperor higher' (V. 1. 1. 13). Śatapatha IX. 3. 4. 8 contains the same idea again. In Śatapatha I 6. 4. 21 it is said 'before the slaying of Vrtra he was Indra, it is true; but after slaying Vrtra he became Mahendra, even as a king (rājan) becomes a mahārāja after obtaining victory'. These passages are sufficient to establish that the idea of a suzerainty extending over many kingdoms was known in the times of the R̥gveda and had been fully developed before the composition of the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmanas.

91. सायण (on ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 2 where also these words occur) explains 'साम्राज्यं धर्मेण पालनं भोज्यं भोगसमुद्धिः स्वाराज्यमपराधीनत्वं वैराज्यमितरेभ्यो भूपतिभ्यो वैशिष्ट्यम् । एतद्वृत्तमैहिकम् । अपासुत्तिकमुच्यते । पारमेष्ठ्यं प्रजापालिलोकमाप्तिः । तत्र राज्यमेभ्यः साहाराज्यं तत्रत्येभ्य इतरेभ्य आविष्कृतम् ।'; बाणपुराण 45. 87 says 'अथ लोकस्तु वै सम्राट्स्वरीको विराट्स्मृतः । स्वराट्स्वः स्मृतो लोकः पुनर्वक्ष्यामि विस्तरम् ।'

92. आ यद्वासीयच्छसा मित्रं वर्यं च सुर्यः । अविष्टे बहुपात्रे यतेमहि स्वराज्ये ॥
झ. V. 66. 6.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions by name twelve emperors of ancient India and the Śatapatha thirteen (XIII. 5. 4. 1-19) Pāṇini explains (V. 1. 41-42) 'sārva-bhauma' as 'the lord of the whole earth'. The Amarakośa states that the words 'rāj', 'pārthiva', 'kṣmābhrt', 'nrpa', 'bhūpa' and 'mahikṣit' are synonyms and mean 'king', that a king before whom all feudatories humble themselves is styled 'adhiśvara', 'cakravartin', 'sārvabhauma' i. e. these three last words are synonyms. The word 'cakravartin' is derived⁹³ by Kṣīrasvāmin as 'one who wields lordship over a circle of kings' or 'who makes the circle (i. e. kingdom) abide by his orders'. The word 'cakravartin', though not so ancient as 'sārvabhauma', has been employed from very ancient times. The Maitri Upaniṣad 1. 4 mentions⁹⁴ 15 cakravartins. The Rājānītiprakāśa (p. 58) quotes⁹⁵ a passage from the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (III. 5. 2) 'the priest should perform the coronation with the Ekavṛṣa Sāman for that king whom he desires to be the sole ruler and whose circle of territory (he does not desire) to be overwhelmed (by an enemy)'. Here probably is one of the earliest references to the derivation of the word cakravartin. In the Mahāvagga (Selasutta, S. B. E. vol. X p. 102). Lord Buddha is made to say 'I am a king, an incomparable, religious king (dhammarāja); with justice (dhammena) I turn the wheel, a wheel that is irresistible'. Here the idea of the secular cakravartin is carried into the moral and spiritual sphere. In the Nānāghāt Inscription (of about 200 B. C.) occurs the word 'apratihatacakasa' (i. e. —cakrasya). Vide A. S. W. I, vol. V p. 50 at p. 60. Khāravela is styled Kalinga-cakravartin in the Mañchapuri record of his chief queen (E. I. vol. XX p. 86n), 'supavataṭṭijaya-caka' (supravṛttavijaya-cakra, in l. 14) and 'pavata-caka' (pravṛtta-cakra in l. 17) of his Hāthigūphā Inscription (E. I. vol. XX at pp. 88-89). Kautilya (IX. 1) defines the land of the cakravartin⁹⁶ as the territory on the earth spreading towards the

93. चक्रचक्रे राजके वर्तते स्वाम्येन चक्रं राष्ट्रं वर्तयति वा चक्रवर्ती । क्षीरस्वामी

94. अथ किमेतैर्वा परेन्ये महावज्रधराश्चक्रवर्तिनः । केचित्समुद्रमूर्धिर्युक्तेन्द्रियमन्-
कुबलयान्धयौवनाम्बवध्रन्ध्वान्धपातिकाशविन्दुदरिश्चन्द्राम्बरीषननकु (नहुष ?) सत्यतियया-
त्पनरण्याक्षसेनादयः । मैत्री उप. I. 4.

95. यमेवं कामयेतैकराज स्यान्नास्य चक्रं प्रतिहन्त्येतेत्येकहृयेणाभिपिञ्चते । साम-
धानभाष्य III. 5. 2, q in राजनीतिम् p. 58 सायण paraphrases चक्रं by मण्डलम्.

96. देवाः पृथिवीं तस्या हिनवत्समुद्रान्तरद्वीचीं योजनसहस्रपरिमाणमतिर्ष-
चक्रवर्तिकेत्रम् । कौटिल्य IX. 1; कुमारिपुरात्ममृति विन्दुसरोवधि योजनानां दशशती
चक्रवर्तिकेत्रम् । तं विजयमानश्चक्रवर्ती भवति । काव्यमीमांसा p. 92 Vide Jayaswal's
'History of India' plate IV after p. 211 where there is a wheel with eight
spokes on a pillar with an inscription (vākātakēnām).

north from the sea to the Himālaya, which is a thousand *yojanas* in extent when measured in a straight line. The same idea occurs in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara (p. 92). Kautilya also employs the expression 'cāturanto rājā' (a king of the earth up to its four boundaries). Śānti-parva⁹⁷ speaks of a ruler who brings the whole earth under one umbrella. On the birth of Harsa, the chief astrologer told his father Prabhākaravardhana that the boy would be the leader of the seven cakravartins (Harsacarita IV). In some works the six cakravartins are said to be Māndhātā, Dhundhumāra, Hariścandra, Purūravas, Bharata, Kārtavīrya. The *Sabhāparva* (15. 15-16) mentions five emperors of old viz. Yauvanāśva (Māndhātā), Bhagīratha, Kārtavīrya, Bharata and Marutta. Vide Dr. N. N. Law's 'Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity' pp. 17-21 for exhaustive lists of ancient emperors, from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and other works. This ideal of cakravartin was set before them by all ambitious and energetic Indian rulers from ancient times. The result was that constant wars took place. We have a galaxy of historical emperors that emulated such mythical heroes and emperors as Māndhātā and Bharata and practically realized the ideal. To name only a few, Candragupta, Aśoka, Puṣyamitra, Bhavanāga of the Bhāraṣīvas, Pravarasena Vākātaka, Samudragupta and Harsa are great names in our ancient history. Even if this ideal of universal empire had not been there, wars could not have been avoided. That was a very usual thing everywhere in the ancient world. Only about 700 years ago, Britain, which is a very small country compared to India, had three kingdoms engaged in constant warfare.

The *Matsya-purāṇa* (114 9-10) first gives the dimensions of Bharata-varṣa from South to North (from Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganges) as one thousand *yojanas*, states that its extent is ten thousand *yojanas* (when measured upwards across the boundaries) and that on all borders of it there are Mlecchas and that Yavanas and Kirātas dwell to its east and west (verse 11) and that the king who conquers the whole of Bharatavarṣa is styled 'samrāt' (verse 15). Vide *Brahmapurāṇa* 17. 8 ff for almost the same words. The *Śukranītisāra* (I. 183-187) states that a sāmanta is one whose yearly revenue is from 1 to 3 lakhs of silver karsas without oppressing the people, the revenue of a māṇḍalika is from 4 to 10 lakhs, that of a rājan is from 11 to 20

97. य इमां पृथिवीं कुल्लभेत्कञ्चनो ब्रह्मर्षिर्ह । शान्तिपर्व.

lakhs, of a mahārāja from 21 to 50 lakhs, of a svarāt from 51 lakhs to a crore, of a virāt from two crores to ten, of the sārva-bhauma (who wields suzerainty over the whole earth i. e. Bharatavarṣa) from 11 crores to 50. Though these definitions may be regarded as scholastic and too rigid to have been practically followed they do convey a sufficiently clear idea about the power of a feudatory, a king and an emperor. The Sabhāparva⁹⁸ (15. 2) says 'there are kings in each house, who do what pleases them, but they do not reach the position of emperor, which title can be acquired with great difficulty', and 'that king under whose sole dominion the world abides secures the position of *samrāj*'. In these and other places 'world' means 'Bharatavarṣa' for which see H. Dh. vol. II pp 17-18. Sovereignty (*sāmrajya*) consisted in ancient India not necessarily or invariably in acquiring control over vassal kings in all their affairs. Generally the supreme ruler did not hanker after territory so much as after having his superior prowess acknowledged. The descriptions of *digvijayas* (world conquests) in the Mahābhārata (e g. of Pāṇḍu in Ādi 113, of Arjuna and the other Pāṇḍava brothers in Sabhā, chap. 26-32) show that there was no aggrandizement by acquiring fresh territory but all that was desired was to make the several kings submit and pay tribute or offer presents. Arjuna expressly says in Sabhā 25.3 that he would bring tribute from all kings and the conquered kings are generally represented as submitting and making presents of gems, golds, horses, cows to the conqueror. The Allahabad stone pillar⁹⁹ Inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Ins p 8) states that the *pratyanta* (bordering) kings of Samatata and other countries and the Mālava and other tribal oligarchies fully gratified Samudragupta's commands by giving all tribute, by obeying his orders and by coming to perform obeisance. Śānti 96 insists that conquests should be made according to dharma. Empire did not mean imposition of the language or the government system of the conqueror on the conquered country. The conqueror's duty as understood by ancient Indian works was quite different

98 गृहे गृहे हि राजान स्वस्य स्वस्य मियकरा । न च साम्राज्यमाप्तास्ते सम्राट्शब्दो हि कृद्भाक् ॥ सभा 15. 2, प्रहुर्यस्तु परो राजा यस्मिन्नेकवशे जगत् । स साम्राज्य महा-राज प्राप्नो भवति योगत ॥ सभा 14. 9-10.

99 समतट-डवाक-कामरूप कर्तुंपुरादिमत्स्यस्तदुपतिभिर्मालवार्जुनायनयोधेयमद्र-काभीरुमार्जुनसकनिककाकखरपरिकादिभिश्च सर्वकरदानाज्ञाकरणमणामगमनपस्तिवित-प्रचण्डशासनरय । Gupta Inscriptions p. 8.

as will be presently shown. Kautilya (XII. 1) declares¹⁰⁰ that there are three kinds of invaders, viz. *dharmavijayin* (who is satisfied with mere submission or obeisance), *lobhavijayin* (who is satisfied with gain in land and money), *asuravijayin* (who is not satisfied with land and money only but robs the defeated king of his son, wife and life). The *Nītivākyaṃrta* (pp. 362-363, *Yuddhasamuddesa*) defines the three almost in the same words. This shows that in the first two kinds of conquests the conquered state retained its own institutions, organization and government intact. Bāna gives¹⁰¹ in very striking language what Harsa proclaimed when he started against the treacherous king of Gauda and on *digvijaya*. It appears that even the queens of vanquished chiefs had to perform the duties of maids at the time of the coronation of the emperor and empress, as queen Yaśomati says to Harsa (in *Harsacarita* V). Vide *Sabhā* 31. 73-74 where Bibhisana is said to have come with presents to Sahadeva. Asoka (in *Kālsi Edict* No. XIII in C. I. I. I, pp. 44 and 46, ed by Hultzsch) speaks of his conquest being *dharma-vijaya*. This means that he foreswore greed and cruelty and wanted that his influence be only acknowledged. The Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (of Kāñci) who had performed the Agnistoma, Vājapeya and Āsvamedha sacrifices calls himself *dharmamahārājādhirāja* (a dharma-vijayī emperor) in E. I. vol. I p. 5. In the Dudia plate of Pravarasena II, Prthvisena is styled dharma-vijayin (E. I. vol. III p. 258 at p. 261). Samudragupta's conquest of South India seems to have been only a dharmavijaya. As time went on the titles of kings grew in grandiloquence. Asoka whose empire extended at least from Afganistan to the Bay of Bengal and included some part of the Deccan and Mysore calls himself '*rājā*'. Khāravela is styled only mahārāja and Kalingādhpati in the Hāthigumpha Inscription.

100. त्रयोभिविजयी धर्मासुरलोभविजयिन इति । तेषामभ्यवपरा धर्मविजयी हृष्यति । तस्यभ्यवपरोऽतः । परंपरामपि भवादृशं भूमिद्वयहरणेन लोभविजयी हृष्यति तस्येनाभ्यवपरोऽतः । भूमिद्वयपुत्रद्वाराप्राणहरणेनासुरविजयी तं भूमिद्वयभ्यामुपगृह्णाद्याहः प्रतिकुर्वति । कौटिल्य XII 1, स धर्मविजयी राजा विधेयमात्रेणैव सन्तुष्टः प्राणार्थमिमानेषु न व्यभिचरति । स लोभविजयी राजा यो द्वयेण कृतधीतिः प्राणमिमानेषु न व्यभिचरति । सोऽसुरविजयी यः प्राणार्थमानोपघातेन महीमभिलषति । नीतिवा. pp. 362-363. Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II 145 21 for धर्मविजयी king and अधर्मविजयी.

101. सर्वेषां राज्ञां सज्जीक्रियन्तां कराः करदानाय शस्त्रग्रहणाय वा गृह्यन्तां दिक्षुश्चाभ्यासं वा नमन्तु शिरांसि धव्यं वा कर्णपूरणीक्रियन्तामाङ्गा मोक्ष्यं वा शेषरीभवनं पादरज्जोऽंति शिरस्त्राणि वा घटन्तामखलयः करिष्यन्तश्च वा सुख्यन्तां भूमय इषवो वा समालम्ब्यन्ता वज्रपटयः कुन्तपटयो वा सुदृढः क्रियतामात्मा मञ्जरणनखेषु कृपाणदर्पणेषु वा । हर्षचरित VI.

Huviska, the Kusana emperor, is styled *Mahārāja-rājātirāja-devaputra* (E I. vol. I pp. 371, 386). Samudragupta is simply mahārāja (Gupta Inscriptions p 8). But later emperors styled themselves paramabhattachāraka-mahārājādhirāja (Gupta Inscriptions p. 70, Indore copperplate of Skandagupta of Gupta year 146 i. e. 465-66 A. D.) or sometimes 'parama-bhattachāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara' (Gupta Inscriptions No. 39, p. 176 copperplate of the Valabhi king Śilāditya in 447 of the Valabhi era i. e. 766-67 A. D.). Ancient works are not very particular about the epithets they employ when speaking of a king or an emperor Śānti (68 54) says that a king is praised with the epithets rājan, bhoja, virāt, samrāt, ksatriya, bhūpati and nrpa.¹⁰² Dasaratha is styled rājā in Ayodhyā 22, and mahārāja in 18.15 and 57.32. The Rājanītiratnākara (pp 3-4) holds that kings are of three kinds; viz. emperor (samrāt), one who pays tribute and one who does not pay even tribute (but is not a samrāt), quotes several verses from a work of Nārada on politics and states that the words cakravartin, samrāt, adhiśvara and mahārāja are synonyms. Kings aspiring to be called samrāt performed the Rājasūya and Āśvamedha in ancient India. The Sabhāparva 13.30 speaks of Rājasūya as fit to be performed by a samrāt. Senāpati Puṣyamitra (about 180 B C) is said to have performed two Āśvamedhas (vide E. I. vol XX p 54, 57). The Ghosundi Inscription (E I. vol. 16 p. 25 and E I. vol 22 p 198) speaks of Sarvatāta, a great devotee of Viṣṇu, as a performer of Āśvamedha. Khāravela (who was a Jain) performed Rājasūya (E. I. vol. XX at p 79) The Vākātaka king Pravarasena I had performed four Āśvamedhas (E. I. vol. III p 258 and Gupta Inscriptions No 55). In the Vākātaka copperplates the Bhāraśivas are extolled as having performed ten Āśvamedhas (E. I. III 258 at p. 260) The Śālikāyana king Vijayadevavarman, whose capital was at Vengi in Āndhra, is said to have performed an Āśvamedha (E. I. IX p 56, about 350 A. D.) The Cālukya king Pulakeśin I had performed Āśvamedha (E. I. vol. VI p 1 and IX. p 100) about 550 A. D. Puṣyamitra is styled simply Senāpati in the Mālavikāgnimitra Act V when he sends a message to his son about attending the Rājasūya in which he had been engaged For the significance of the Abhiśecanīya rite in Rājasūya vide H of Dh. vol. II pp 1216-1218. The Kadambas are said to have performed Āśvamedhas in the Nilambur plates (E. I. vol. VIII p. 148) The Viṣṇukundin

102 राजा भोजो विराट् सम्राट् क्षत्रियो भूपतिर्द्वयः । य एभिः स्तूयते शब्दैः कस्तं नान्विदुमर्हति ॥ शान्ति 68. 54.

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman performed eleven *Aśvamedhas* and one thousand *Agnistomas* (I. H. Q. vol. IX p 278). Vide H. Dh. vol II pages 1238-1239 for a few more historic examples of the performers of *Aśvamedha*.

Kautilya (VII 16) prescribes that the conqueror should not covet the territory, wealth, sons and wives of the slain (in battle), that he should re-instate the late king's kinsmen in their proper places (or positions), that he should instal the son of the deceased king on the throne of his father and adds that the emperor who kills or imprisons the kings that submit and covets their lands, wealth, sons or wives provokes the *maṇḍala* (the circle of States) and makes it rise against himself. Yājñavalkya (I 342-43) prescribes that it is the duty of the conqueror to protect the conquered country in the same way as his own country and the conqueror is to respect the customs of the conquered country, its laws and the usages of the families therein

The *Visnudharmasūtra*¹⁰³ (III 42 and 47-49) enjoins upon the conqueror not to uproot the usages of the conquered country, to establish in its capital some kinsman (of the slain king) and not to destroy the royal family unless it be of low birth. Manu (VII 202-203) and *Agnipurāṇa* 236-22 prescribe similar rules. The *Rāmāyana* (VII 62-18-19) requires the conqueror, after uprooting the king, to establish another king there in order to ensure stable government. Vide *Sānti* 33-43-46 quoted above on p. 40. *Kātyāyana* (q in the *Rājanītiprakāśa* p. 411) prescribes that even when the (vanquished) king is at fault, the conqueror should not ruin the country (for the fault of the vanquished king), since he (the vanquished king) did not start (on his career of) wrong-doing with the consent of his subjects. The *Rājanītiprakāśa* draws from this the conclusion that the ministers with whose consent the war was started may be harassed by the conqueror. This advice was generally followed by ancient conquerors and emperors. Rudradāman (150 A. D.) is styled the establisher of kings that had lost their territories (in the *Junāgaḍh Ins.*, E. I. vol. VIII at p. 44) and in the *Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription* of *Samudragupta* it is said that his fame travelled over the whole world because of his

103. परदेसावाप्तौ तद्वैशाधर्माजोच्छिन्नात् । ... राजा परदुरावाप्तौ तु तत्र तत्कुलीन-
मभिविभेत् । न राजकुलमुच्छिन्नात् । अन्यत्राकुलीनराजकुलात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र. III 42,
47-49; दुष्टस्यापि नरेन्द्रस्य तद्वाज्यं न विनाशयेत् । न प्रजाहंसतो यस्मादुन्धयेत् प्रवर्तते ॥
कात्यायन quoted by राजनीतिप्र p 411, which adds येषाममत्यादीनामहमत्याऽन्याये
महत्विस्तात् पीडयेदेति श्रवेयम्.

having re-established several royal families that had lost their kingdoms (Gupta Inscriptions, p 8). The Śukranītisāra (IV. 7-397-399) requires the conqueror to support the well-behaved son and the queen of the vanquished king or to give a fourth of the conquered kingdom to him and only $\frac{1}{4}$ part of it to one who is not endowed with good qualities and the conqueror may appropriate the whole treasury of the conquered

The coronation of a king was a very solemn and important ceremony. Reasons of space forbid any lengthy treatment but something must be said about it. In the medieval text-books, various procedures are described from different sources. The Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 42-112), the Nīti-mayūkha (pp 1-13) and the Rājadharmakaustubha (pp. 237-374), the Rāja Dh K (II. pp. 6-10) quote procedures of coronation from the Ait Br., the Gopatha Br., the Sāmavidhāna Br., the Brahmapurāṇa, the Visnudharmottara and other works. The procedure from the Purāṇas probably originated when persons of the śūdra caste frequently became kings. The Rājanītiprakāśa¹⁰⁴ (p 112) says that there being different procedures of coronation rites based on Vedic texts, some hold, following the dictum of Śabara (on Jaimini II. 4 9), that the coronation rite should comprehend all the different items mentioned in the several vedic texts (provided they do not contradict each other), while others hold that there should be no comprehensive inclusion of all items but each vedic or smṛti procedure should be followed separately by itself. Mitrāmīśra concludes that the purohita should follow that course which is nearest to his own śākhā. The Rājadharmakaustubha (p 339) says that as the rite described in the Visnudharmottara contains the largest number of details, one who is able to do so, may follow that Purāṇa, while for those who cannot do so there is an option or students of the Rgveda may follow the Rgvidhāna mode, of the Sāmaveda the Sāmavidhāna Br and all may follow the Purāṇa mode of coronation. I shall first briefly indicate what procedure was followed in some vedic texts such as the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, the Sāmavidhāna Br. and in the Grhyasūtras, then point out what was done in the times of the

104. पूर्वोक्तानां श्रौतानामभिषेकाणामविद्वद्भूतानामेकत्रोपसंहारेणैकोभिषेकः कार्यः सर्वशास्त्राप्रत्ययमेकं कर्मेति न्यायादित्येकं । अन्ये तु श्रौतानां स्मार्तानां च तत्तत्पुनः स्मृतिपाठितानामनुपसंहारेणैकैकप्रयोगमिच्छन्ति । तदेवं यस्य पुरोहितस्य स्वशास्त्राविहितत्वेन यः पक्षः समिहितस्तेनैव तेनाभिषेकः कार्यः । राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 112 On एकं वा सयोग-रूपचोदनाख्याविशेषात्, (Jai II 4 9) Śabara remarks न चैतदस्ति यदुक्तं शास्त्रा-न्तरेषु कर्मभेद इति । सर्वशास्त्राप्रत्ययं सर्वशास्त्राणामप्रत्ययं त्वैकं कर्म । अयं सयोगस्याविशेषात्.

epics and set out the prominent items in the procedure of the purāṇas.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (38) describes the Great Coronation of Indra (*Aindra mṛhūbhiseka*) and in that connection mentions how the kings of the Sātvatas in the south were called 'Bhoja' after coronation, the kings of the eastern countries were called 'samrāt', the kings in the west were called 'svarāt' and the kings of the north i. e. of countries beyond the Hīmalāya (viz. Uttarākurus and Uttaramadras) were called 'virāt'. Then (in 39) it states that the ksatriya king is to be made to take an oath and is to be crowned in the manner of the Aindra Mahābhiseka¹⁰⁵. The oath which the ksatriya is to take before the priest with faith is: 'the merit of sacrifices and good works that belongs to me from the night I was born up to the night on which I shall die, my worlds, good deeds, life, progeny,—these you may destroy if I hate (or prove false to) thee'. Vide note 41 above for the coronation oath in Śānti 59. 106 ff. It will be noticed that this passage of the Ait. Br. contains no undertaking given by the king to the people to rule according to dharma or for their welfare. So this passage cannot strictly be interpreted as postulating a contractual basis for the authority or power of the king, as done by Jayaswal ('in Hindu Polity' part II. p. 28). The Ait. Br. sets out the materials (*sambhāras*) for the coronation of a king (in chap. 39.2) viz. fruits of nyagrodha, udumbara, aśvattha and plakṣa trees, grains of small rice, large-sized rice, priyangu and barley, a couch of udumbara with span-long feet, a spoon with a four-cornered scooped basin of udumbara and an udumbara vessel, on one of which two the other materials were to be placed and curds, honey, clarified butter and rain water gathered when the sun is shining. The mantras to be recited are mentioned in 39.3-4 and the fee in 39.6. In the Rājāsūya (to be performed only by a ksatriya) described in the Brāhmaṇas and sūtras, the principal rite is the Abhisecanīya in which the king is bathed with waters brought from seventeen sources in seventeen vessels of udumbara wood. Vide H. Dh. vol. II. pp. 1216-1218 for the rite. The Rājantīprakāśa (p. 92-107) explains the procedure of coronation from the Ait. Br. In the Rājāsūya, among the preliminary rites are the offerings

105. एतेनैवैषेण महानिषेकेण क्षत्रियं शापयित्वा अभिषिजेद्... स ह्यास्तह अद्भ्यः ।
यां च राजिर्मजायेहं यां च मेरास्मि तदुभयमन्तरेणेद्यात्स्व मे लोकं सुकृतमाहुः भजां वृक्षीया
यदि ते वृक्षेयमिति । ऐ. ब्रा. 39. 1.

called 'ratninām havīmsi' (the offerings in the houses of the jewels, which are twelve). Vide H. Dh. vol. II pp. 1215-16. They have a symbolical value. The person to be crowned recognizes the importance of his high functionaries and is declared to be their king and they are supposed to approve of him as king. In the Abhisecanīya rite of the Rājasūya, there are two parts, a religious and a popular. First, the adhvaryu and the other priests sprinkle the king with holy water collected from various sources in vessels; then the king's brother, a friendly ksatriya and a vaiśya also sprinkle him with the holy water. This last is symbolic of the popular approval of the coronation.

The Tai Br. II. 7. 15-17 deals with coronation. It first gives the seven mantras for seven *āhuts* that are offered. A tiger skin is spread on which the king is seated and he is sprinkled with holy water in which sprouts of barley and dūrvā grass are mixed up; the king ascends a chariot to the accompaniment of mantras, then the four wheels of the chariot are touched, the purohita and charioteer are addressed with mantras; Anumati, the Earth (as mother), and Heaven (as father) are implored to approve of the coronation, the king is made to look up towards the Sun and then the king looks on the subjects; the king then undergoes shaving when seated on a chair of udumbara wood, then his arms and head are anointed with milk blended with clarified butter

The Nītimayūkha pp. 4-5, Rājanītiprakāśa pp. 42-43, Rājadharmakaustubha pp. 335-336 quote a passage from the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa¹⁰⁶ on the rites of coronation as follows.— We shall expound the rite of the coronation of the king Having

106. आचर्षणमोपधन्नाहणे—अथ राज्ञोभियेकविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः । विह्वमभृतीन्त-
म्भारान् संभृत्य षोडशकलज्ञानं षोडश भिल्वानि बल्मीकस्य च मृत्तिकां सर्वाणि सर्वरसान् सर्व-
बीजानि । तत्र चत्वारः सौवर्णाश्चत्वारो राजताश्चत्वारस्ताम्रश्चत्वारो घृन्मयाः कुम्भाः । तान्
हृदे सरसि षोडशभूतो नामेनाम इत्युदकेन पूरयित्वा वेदिपृष्ठे संस्थाप्य कुम्भेषु चित्रमेकैकं
वृथात् । सर्वाणि सर्वरसान् सर्वबीजानि च प्रक्षिप्यामवेत्परान्जितैराहुष्यैः स्वस्त्ययनैः
सौवर्णेभ्यः संपातान्, संसाधैः ससिक्कीयैश्चैव राजतेषु, भेषज्यैरहोऽह्यैस्तोग्रेषु, सवेज्ञासंघर्माभ्या
ज्ञानादीभिः प्राणसूक्तेन च घृन्मयेषु । ततस्तान् कलज्ञानं गृहीत्वा ओत्रियैः पवित्रतमैः राजान-
मभिविञ्चेत् । घृन्मिमिन्द्रं च वर्धयित्वा क्षत्रियं स इति (घृन्मिमिन्द्रं वर्धय क्षत्रियं स इति ?)
सिंहासनमारूढमभिमन्त्रयेत् । एवमभियेकस्य रसान्मादनीयाद् विषेभ्यश्च घृथाह्नौसहस्र
सवस्तेभ्यः कर्षं ग्रामवरम् । चिमुलं यज्ञः प्राप्नोति सुहृं के धरा जितशत्रुः सदा भवेदिति । राज-
नीतिम्. pp. 42-43, राजधर्म को. pp. 335-336, नीतिमयूख pp. 4-5. There are a few
variants due to the scribes and the editors not being able to read
the Mss properly. The कौशिकसूत्र 17. 28 reads 'घृन्मिमिन्द्रं वर्धय क्षत्रियं मे
which is अपधयेद् IV. 22. 1.

collected the materials required such as bilva fruit, viz. sixteen jars, sixteen bilva fruits, earth from an ant-hill, all kinds of husked grains, all liquids, and all kinds of grains (unhusked). There should be four jars each of gold, silver, copper and clay. Having filled them, keeping their mouths up, with water from a deep reservoir of water or a lake to the accompaniment of the mantra 'nānaināma' (?) and having put the jars down on the surface of the altar, he (the priest) should place one bilva fruit apiece in each of the 16 jars and cast (into the jars) the husked and unhusked grains and all fluids, adding them (to the water) in the golden jars with the mantras called Abhaya (Atharvaveda 19.15), Aparājita, Āyusya (Atharvaveda I. 30) and Svastyayana¹⁰⁷ (Atharvaveda I. 21, VII. 85. 1, VII. 86. 1, VII 117.1), in the silver jars, with the mantras called samerāvya (Atharvaveda 19.1) and Samsikṭiya (Atharvaveda II. 26), in the copper jars with the mantras called Bhaisajya (Atharva VII. 45 'janād') and Amhomuc and in the earthen jars with Samveśa, Samvargya and Śantātiya mantras and with the Prāna hymn (Atharvaveda XI. 4). He should then bathe the king with (the water of) the jars held by very holy and learned brāhmanas (śrotriya). He should consecrate the king seated on the throne with the mantra (Atharvaveda IV. 22.1) 'O Indra, make this my ksatriya prosper'. (The king) being thus bathed should eat the several liquids, should make gifts of a thousand cows to the brāhmaṇa priests who assist the chief priest, bestow a good village on the chief priest. He (the king) thereby acquires great glory, enjoys the earth and always vanquishes his foes'.

107 For Svastyayana vide H. Dh. II. p. 83 (n). For Āyusya vide Kauśikasūtra 52. 18; for Abhaya, Kauśika 16. 8; for Aparājita hymns Kauśikasūtra 14. 7 note, for Svastyayana, Kauśika 8. 2 n; the Śantātiya are Atharvaveda I. 6. 1, I. 33. 1, VII. 68, VII. 69. 1 &c. The Amhomuc verses are Atharva IV. 23. 29 Vide Nīlmaṣūka p. 25 for Aparājita mantras. The राजधर्म-काण्ड (p. 7) quotes from the ब्रह्मपुराण a long passage in which the mantras to be recited by the purohita are stated to be these 'अयोदश महामन्त्रान् तर्पयेज्जातेवेदसि । यत्नं चोवातिरथ सत्यधर्मगणौ तथा । आयुष्यमभयं चैव तथा स्वस्वयमे वरम् । वैष्णवानथ मन्त्राश्च तथा पौरन्दरानपि । सावित्राह्नोरौद्राश्च वाक्कालय सर्वदा' ॥ and explains कृतापाहिति अयोदश मन्त्राः । गणाः ईदृगन्पादुहेत्याहुः । अमतिरथः आहुः शिशान इति । सत्यगणः आगास्तत्यमिति । धर्मगणः रास्ते अग्ने चोरास्तनुवः इति । अभय-स्वस्वयमे यत् इन्द्र स्वस्तिदा इति । कृतापाह् is the first word of वाज. सं. 18, 38, अमतिरथ is अ. X 103, आगाद् सत्यम् is तै. ब्रा. III. 12. 3. 2 and रास्ते अग्ने चोरास्तनुवः is तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 7. 3, यत् इन्द्र is अ. VIII. 61. 13 and स्वस्तिदा is अ. X 152. 2.

The Sāmavidhāna Brāhmana¹⁰⁸ (III. 5) describes a shorter rite: "(The priest) should crown the king when the moon is in the Pusya or Śravana constellation. Having brought waters (separately in separate jars) from famous holy rivers (like the Ganges)¹⁰⁹ and from the sea and having mixed in them rice, barley, sesame and māsa (black beans) grains and curds, honey, flowers and gold, he should bathe the king seated on an auspicious throne made of udumbara wood on which is spread tiger-skin with the hair outside, from horn-pipes cut off from the horns of living cows to the accompaniment of the *rahasya* mantra 'abhrātrvyah' (you are without an enemy &c, Rg. VIII. 21.13, Sāmaveda 399 and 1489). He should bathe the king to the accompaniment of the Ekavṛsa hymn (instead of Rg VIII. 21.13) whom he desires to be the sole ruler (of the earth) and whose circle of kings is desired by him not to be overwhelmed by an enemy. On the priest performing the coronation rite the king should bestow the best village, a hundred maid servants and a thousand cows and (the king) should be obedient to him (the officiating priest)".

The Baud. Grhyaśāsesaśūtra (I. 23) contains the procedure of coronation, the whole of which is quoted by the Bālabhāṭṭi on the Mītākṣarā on Yāj I 309. It is briefly as follows:—On the 5th or 13th *tithi* of the bright half when the moon is in Pusya or Śravana or in any other auspicious constellation (*nakṣatra*), two brāhmanas are fed (the day previous). Then a worthy *purohita* is chosen, who mutters certain texts. At sunset the *purohita* makes a lotus-like circle in which are collected the materials viz. waters of the ocean and of rivers mixed with rice, barley, sesame, māsa and *pañcagavya*, and a *bhadrāsana* made of udumbara, a tiger-skin, and golden jars and horns of cows. In the north-east part of the palace, a *homa* is performed with eight thousand *āhuts* (oblations) of rice &c to the accompaniment of the *vyāhrtis*, the *Gāyatrī* and the *mantra* to Tryambaka

108. सामविधानब्राह्मणेति—राजानमभिषेचयेत् तिष्ठेण अवणेन वा । ब्राह्मणैः स्तिलमाषैर्दधिमुत्तमनोजातरूपैर्यज्ञास्विनीभ्यो नदीभ्यः सख्वाद्योदकाभ्याहृत्यौदुम्बरे भद्रासने वैयाघ्रे चर्मण्युत्तरलोम्न्यासीनं जीवन्तीनां गवा ह्यङ्गुकोनैरभिषिञ्चेद्भ्रातृभ्य इति रहस्येन । यं कामयेत्तेकराजः स्यादिति नास्य चक्रं प्रतिद्वयेतेत्येकद्वयेणाभिषिञ्चेत् । अभिषेकञ्च दद्याद्ग्रामवरं दासीशतं सहस्रं तद्वधूनश्च भवेत् । इति । सामविधानना III 5 1-3 quoted by राजनीतिप्र. p 58 and राजध. कौ. p 338. both quote the gloss of Mādḥavācārya on this

109. The भारविश्व who became allied to the वाकादक by marriage are described as भारगिर्यमलजलमूर्धाभिषिकाना दशाश्वमेधावधृत्स्नाताना भारविश्वाना E I vol III p. 258

(Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2). The priest first propitiates the goddess Lakṣmī with the hymn¹¹⁰ to Śrī and then washes the crown with cow's urine and dung, milk, curds, clarified butter and with water mixed with *kuśas* to the accompaniment of appropriate mantras, and ties an amulet (*pratisara*), and sprinkles the king and his conveyance (horse). At sunrise next day (the day of coronation) the tiger-skin is spread on the throne, the king sits thereon facing the east, the priest takes the golden jars and sprinkles the king with water falling upon him from the cone-like horns of cows with several mantras (such as those addressed to waters, Varuna &c.). After the king is made to take a bath, a fee of a thousand *ṃskas* and a hundred *dūsīs* is paid to the brāhmanas. Then the crown is placed on his head and drums are beaten.

The Kausikasūtra of the Atharvaveda (in 17.1-10) describes the abhiseka (called *laghu*) performed on the Yuvarāja, Māṇḍalikā, Sāmanta and Senāpati and (in 17.11-34) describes the mahābhiseka of the king.

In the Rāmāyana there are numerous references to coronation. In the Yuddhakāṇḍa 131 we have a lengthy description of the coronation of Rāma. Some of the salient features are: Rāma was shaved that day, had a bath and put on costly clothes. Sītā also was suitably dressed and ornamented. Rāma sat in a chariot and went through the capital, when Bharata held the reins, Śatrughna held the umbrella, Lakṣmana the white *chouvie*; then Rāma rode an elephant; drums were beaten and conches were blown; as auspicious signs gold, cows, maidens, brāhmanas, men with sweetmeats in their hands passed in front of Rāma; the citizens had raised banners on every house; Jāmbavān, Hanumān and two others brought four jars full of sea-water and waters of five hundred rivers were brought

110. The Visṇudharmottara (II. 128. 2-6) states that the hymn to Śrī is different for each veda; the hymn of 15 verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarṇam barinim' occurring in the pañcīsta to the Rgveda is the one for Rgveda, the hymn of four verses beginning with 'rathe aksen vrsabhasya vāje' (Tai. Br. II 7. 7) is the Śrisūkta for the Yajurveda, the verse 'srāyanta iva' (267, 1319) for Sāmaveda and 'śriyam dhātur mayi dehi' is the one for Atharvaveda. The Agnipurāṇa (237. 2-17) contains a hymn to Śrī, which is not vedic but paurāṇic. Similarly the Rājadharmakāustubha (pp 367-370) contains a long paurāṇic hymn (said to have been repeated by Indra) to Śrī which is to be recited while the king was to be seated on the throne after coronation. It is taken from the Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 9.

in jars; the aged Vasistha, the family priest, seated Rāma and Sitā on a jewelled throne; Vasistha and other sages sprinkled Rāma with the holy and scented waters, then maidens, the ministers, soldiers, the guilds of merchants also sprinkled Rāma; Vasistha placed an ancient crown on Rāma's head, there was dancing and singing; Rāma gave presents to the priests and to his friends and to such helpers as Sugriva, Angada, Bibhisana and others and Sitā gave a necklace to Hanumān. In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa 15 we have a description of preparations for the abhiseka of Rāma as yuvarāja. The Raghuvamśa XVII. 10 mentions the coronation of Kuśa's son with waters of holy rivers (tīrthas) from golden jars.

In the Mahābhārata also there are several references to and descriptions of coronation. Vide Sabhā 33 (where people of all castes including sūdras were invited at the Rājāsūya, vv 41-42) for the coronation of Yudhisṭhira; Śānti 40 (in verses 9-13 the materials for coronation are described); Ādi 44, 85, 101 (only references).

The sambhāras (materials required) of coronation are stated in the Pratimānātaka (I. 1) ascribed to Bhāsa and in the Pañcatantra III (after verse 75)

In the Agnipurāṇa, chap 218 deals with coronation and chap 219 sets out the mantras. The following are the principal items in the ceremony; bath (with water in which sesame and mustard are mixed), seating on bhadraśana, proclamation of *abhaya* (security and non-injury to all), releasing some prisoners from jail, Aindri Śānti, fast by king, recital of mantras, sanctifying the head and other limbs of the king with earth taken from the top of a mountain and from other places, sprinkling *pañcagavya*, sprinkling of water from four jars of gold, silver, copper and earth by amātyas of the four varṇas, *abluseka* by a Rgvedin with water mixed with honey, by Chandoga with water mixed with kusa grass, by Yajurvedin and Atharvavedin brāhmanas touching king's head and throat with yellow pigment, singing and beating of musical instruments, holding of chowrie and fan before the king, king's looking into a mirror and clarified butter, worship of Viṣṇu and other gods, sitting on a tiger-skin below which there are four skins viz of lion, cheeta, cat and bull; purohita to give madhuparka, to tie patta (a fillet or tiara) round the king's head and to place the crown on his head; presentation of ministers by the *prathāra*;

king to give presents to the priests and other brāhmanas; going round fire; doing obeisance to elders; touching a bull; worshipping a cow with calf; riding a horse; honouring an elephant and riding it; procession in the capital; honouring all people and taking leave of them.

There are descriptions of the abhiseka of a yuvarāja (as of Bhīma in Śānti 41), of a great commander (as of Bhīma in Udyogaparva 155.26-32), of Drona in Dronaparva 5.39-43, of Skanda in Śalyaparva 45.

The Rājānitiprakāśa (pp. 49-83), the Rājadharmakaustubha (pp. 318-363) and Nītimayūkha pp. 1-4 quote from the Visnudharmottara almost the whole of chapters 21-22 of the 2nd khanda that deal with the rites and mantras of coronation. It appears that the Kaustubha appropriates all the glosses of Mitrāmīśra. The Visnudharmottara (II. 19) sets out first the Śānti (propitiatory) rite in honour of Indra (called the Paurandari or Aindri Śānti). It is impossible to give the details here, but a few matters may be noticed. The purāṇa (in II. 21) includes all the details from the Vedic texts (such as Svastyayana, Āyusya, Abhaya and Aparājita hymns) and adds other rites also. It mentions the procedure stated above from the Agnipurāṇa and employs Vedic mantras in doing so. In II. 22 the Visnudharmottara gives purāṇa mantras in 182 verses, in which such gods as Brahmā, Naksatras (from Kṛttikā to Bharanī), the planets, 14 Manus, 11 Rudras, Viśve-Devas, Gandharvas and Apsarases, dānavas, dākinīs, birds like Garuda, nāgas, sages like Veda-Vyāsa, emperors like Prthu, Dilīpa, Bharata, vedas and vidyās, rivers &c. are invoked to crown the king.

The Rājadharmakaustubha gives the most elaborate description of coronation. First a śānti rite is performed, then on the next (2nd) day, a sacrifice to Īśāna (Rudra); on the 3rd day worship of the planets and other deities like waters, the earth, Nārāyaṇa, Indra &c and the invocation of naksatras; on the 4th day a *yāga* for naksatras; on the 5th day at night a sacrifice to the goddess Nirrti (a clay idol seated on an ass with dark vesture); on the sixth day Aindri Śānti (propitiatory rite in honour of Indra); then the rites prescribed in the Visnudharmottara purāṇa.

The Visnudharmottara notes (II. 18. 2-4) that on the death of the reigning king, there is no waiting for an auspicious time.

The successor should be bathed with water, in which sesame and mustard are mixed, proclamation should be issued in his name that he has succeeded as king, the purohita and astrologer should show him to the people while he occupies a seat other than that occupied by the late king ; the king should honour the people, proclaim peace and security, set free some prisoners and wait for the formal coronation. The Rājanītiprakāśa (p. 62) adds that on the death of a king his successor should be crowned one year thereafter and that when a king abdicates his successor may be crowned on any auspicious day without waiting for a year. From the fact that the Kalinga king Khāravela was crowned in his 25th year and the fact that the Bārhaspatya-sūtra ¹¹¹ (I. 89-90) states that up to the 25th year the prince may spend his time in play and education and then in earning wealth, Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity' part II p 52) concludes that a Hindu coronation could not take place before the 25th year. This is proving too much. The Bārhaspatya-sūtra says not a word about the *age of coronation*. Authorities like the Visnudharmottara require waiting for a year only after the death of the former king.

The Visnudharmottara ¹¹² (II. 7) specifies at great length the qualities of the principal queen (*agra-mahisī*), which are quoted by the Rājanītikaustubha pp. 249-250. The chief queen should have the coronation rite performed along with the king or she should be separately crowned after the king. Manu VII. 77 advises the king to marry a lady of noble family, of the same caste, of charming appearance and possessed of good qualities. The Rājataranginī (VIII. 82) notes that Jayamati, the queen of the good king Uccala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A. D.) always occupied half his throne.

The Nītimayūkha and Rājadharmakaustubha give the most detailed description of the Aindri Śānti. For want of space it has to be passed over. The Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 63-66) and Rājadharmakaustubha (pp 340-346) contain in one place a summary of the whole ceremony after Aindri Śānti commencing one day previous to the actual day of coronation. One detail of the

111. पञ्चविंशतिवर्षं यावत् क्रीडाविद्या व्यवसायं कुर्यात् । अत उत्तरमर्षार्जनम् ।
मार्हस्यसूत्र I. 89-90

112. एवं युवमणोपेता नरेन्द्रेण सहानय । अनिषेत्त्या भवेद्वाग्ये राज्यस्थेन वृषेण वा ।
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 7. 8 on which रा. घ. कौ. p 249 remarks राज्ञा सहाग्रमादिषी अनि-
षेत्कन्या अथवा अनिषिक्तेन राज्ञा पञ्चास्त्रयमनिषेक्तव्या इत्युक्तम् ।

rites in interesting, viz. after the learned brāhmanas and priests sprinkle the king with holy waters from several jars to the accompaniment of mantras and a Ṛgvedin brāhmana touches the king's head and throat with powder of *gorocanū* with the mantra 'gandhadvārām' (Tai. A. X. 1.10), principal virtuous ladies, whose sons are alive, of the four varnas and also of mixed castes reciting auspicious songs (except the sūdra ladies who remain silent) should sprinkle the king with the waters derived from the sea and other holy places.¹¹² There is a graphic description of the coronation of Shivaji^{113a} the founder of the Marathi Empire in 1674 A. D. in the chronicle (*bahar*) compiled by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad (ed. by K. N. Sane, pp. 98-104), where it is said that a costly throne was prepared, from 108 places waters were brought in 108 golden jars (95 *līthas* are actually named), Gāgābhata and other brāhmanas officiated and sprinkled waters on the king, large gifts including the sixteen mahādānas were made. Eight ministers stood round the throne (whose names and offices are set out), the head of the ecclesiastical department called Panditrao being to the right and the prime minister (mukhya pradhāna) to the left, an umbrella (chatra) set with jewels was held over his head, new golden coins were struck and a new era was started called 'Rājyābhiseka' era commencing from that year. In a small work called 'Shivarāja-rājyābhiseka-kalpataru' (published in the quarterly Journal of the Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁsodhaka Maṇḍala at Poona, vol. X part I pp. 28-40) in 236 verses it is stated that a Yogin named Nisealapuri, an adept in Tantrika rites, got a second coronation of Shivaji performed over three months after that performed by Gāgābhata, with Tantrika mantras on Wednesday the 5th of the bright half of Āsvina śake 1596, one interesting fact stated being that Shivaji went through a form of marriage with vaidika mantras with his wives that had already been married to him with paurāṇic mantras.

112. ततो मुख्या ब्राह्मणसत्रियवैश्यसूद्रा. पतिव्रताः पुत्रवरयो नायौ मूर्ध्नि वसिका-
द्याश्च यथासम्भवं ससुद्रादिना नारीणां हस्तैर्जलेन भिक्षुः । सुहायारत्नलीपः । राजनीतिप्रकाश
p. 66. Vide also राजधर्मकोस्तुष p. 346 and नीतिमयूख p. 12 for similar words.

113a. For a detailed and graphic description of the coronation of King Shivaji in 1674 A. D. vide 'Shiva-chatrapatmahārāja-caritra' by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis (ed. in 1882) pp. 120-125 (in Marathi). Shivaji's upanayana was performed on the 5th of the bright half of Jyestha, for seven days various rites went on; Vināyakaśānti, Grahaśānti, Andrī and Paurāṇ-
dārī are said to have been performed and he was actually crowned on the 13th of the bright half of Jyestha. In Sambhāji-rāje-caritra by the same author (edited by Rao Bahadur K. N. Sane, 3rd ed. of 1915) at p. 8 there is a description of the coronation of Sambhāji, son of Shivaji.

The symbols of royalty viz the umbrella, the chowries and the cane stick are brought in to the king by principal ministers. The Visnudharmottara (II 12) states that the *cāmara* for the king must be made from the tails of *camarī* deer and must be all white with a handle of gold or silver and that the one for a councillor or purohita should be yellowish, while the same purāna in II. 13 describes the requisites of a royal umbrella. That the umbrella and *cāmaras* were inseparable emblems of sovereignty is emphasized by Kālidāsa in Raghuvamśa III 16. Vide the Brhatsamhitā, chap. 71 and 72, for *cāmara* and umbrella.

It appears that sometimes a king took another name on coronation which was called *abhisekanāma*. Vide Dr. R. C. Majumdar's 'Champā' p. 157 for a list of such names from Champā and Dr. Minakshi's 'Administrative and social life under Pallavas' p. 39 for the Pallava Rājasimha having the coronation name Narasimhavarman. Certain kings, when they performed *Aśvamedha*, assumed new titles e. g. Kumāragupta I seems to have assumed the title of Mahendra, as is clear from some of his coins on which his name and title occur.

The Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira (chap. 48) lays down that the *patta* (tiara) for the king and others should be made of pure gold, that their length should be double of the breadth in the middle of it, that there should be five aigrettes in the king's tiara, three in the queen's and *yuvarāja's*, one in that of the commander-in-chief and none in the one that the king may give to a person as a mark of favour. Utpala in his com. on the Brhatsamhitā says that *patta* is the same as *mukuta*, while acc. to the Nītimayūkha (p. 13) and other works *patta* is tied on the forehead and *mukuta* (crown) is placed on the king's head. Vide Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 54-55) and Rājadharmakaustubha (p. 324) for further details. The Visnudharmottara (II 14) describes the characteristics of *bhadrāsana* (the throne) for the king; vide also Rājanītiprakāśa pp. 51-52. It must be made of gold, silver or copper or a tree from which milky juice oozes when cut, it was to be one cubit and half high for a *samrāt*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubit for a king and one cubit high for a feudatory (*sāmanta*).

The Visnudharmottara (II 162) states that on every anniversary of the first coronation when the moon is in the same nakṣatra as that on which the first coronation took place the king should repeat the rites of coronation. The Brahmapurāṇa

quoted by the R. D. K. (p. 10) also says the same.^{113b} Vide *Rajanitiprakāśa* p. 115 and *Kaustubha* p. 379 also.

Manu (VII. 217-220) warns the king against poisoning 'The king should partake of food that is well examined and prepared by servants that are trust-worthy (lit. as if they were his own self), that know the proper times (for dining), that cannot be won over and over the food spells destroying poison should have been muttered. He should mix up in all that he partakes medicines that are antidotes against poison and should always wear gems that work against poison. Only women devoted to him and well examined and found safe as regards their dress and ornaments should be allowed to touch him when fanning or bathing him or applying perfumes to his body. The king should take care in this way as regards his vehicles, bed, food, bath, applying perfumes and all ornamentation'. *Kām* VII. 8 and *Matsya* 219.10 are very similar to Manu VII. 220. *Kautilya* (I. 17) states that the king should first secure his personal safety against his sons and wives and then the security of the kingdom against near and distant enemies. He first deals with safety from his own sons, the princes. The opinions of various authors on polity are cited (some of which have been noted above) viz. secret punishment (acc. to *Bhāradvāja*), keeping under guard in one place (acc. to *Viśālākṣa*), keeping the prince in a fort under the boundary guard (acc. to the *Pārāśaras*), keeping the prince away from his own kingdom in a fort belonging to a feudatory (acc. to *Pisuna*), sending him to his maternal relations (acc. to *Kaunapadanta*), making the prince addicted to sensual pleasures (acc. to *Vāṭavyādhi*), proper pre-natal care and proper education after birth about dharma and restraint (acc. to *Kaut.*). This symposium shows how the problem of the king's safety against bad princes taxed the ingenuity of all ancient writers on *Arthasāstra* and how *Kautilya* advocated the only reasonable course possible. The *Matsyapurāṇa*, chap. 220, also relies on training, discipline and gradual transfer of responsibility and advises the imprisonment of a bad prince in a well-guarded place furnished with comforts suitable to his

^{113b} अनेनैव विधानेन कुर्याद्द्विधापनं सदा । अभिवेकाद्धि यत्नेन पतिसंवत्सरं चपः ॥
 मत्स्यपुराण quoted in राजधर्मकाण्ड p. 10.

position ¹¹⁴ In I 20 Kautilya gives practical hints against the danger of fire and poisons : e g he says that poisonous snakes will not enter a building provided with Jivanti, Sveta and other plants; that cats, peacocks, mongoose and spotted deer when let loose eat serpents, that certain birds like parrots, *manas*, malbar bird shriek when they suspect snake poison, the heron loses his consciousness in the vicinity of poison, the pheasant (*jivanti-jivaka*) feels exhausted; the young cuckoo dies, the eyes of *rakora* become redder ¹¹⁵. Kām (VII 10-13) repeats the words of Kaut 1 20 and the Matsya (219 17-22) refers to the effects of poison on the same birds and a few others. The Matsyapurāṇa in chap 219-220 closely follows Kaut and Kām and appears to be based on them (e g Matsya 219 30 latter half is the same as Kām VII 24 first half). Vide Yaśastilaka III pp 511-512 for the effects of poison on birds almost in the same words as those of Kaut and Kām. Vide Śukra I 326-328 Kauṭ I 21, Kām VII 15-26, Matsya 219 9-32 state that part of the food for the king should first be cast into fire and offered to birds and the effects noted, they dwell at great length on the different tints of the flames of fire and of the smoke when different kinds of food are cast into fire, they point out the actions and gestures of the poisoner, they prescribe that the cook and the doctor giving medicines for mixing in food as antidotes should be made to partake of the food and then the king should himself partake of it. The king has to be careful in the haem, when receiving presents or anything sent by others, when sitting in a conveyance or riding a horse or travelling in a boat or when attending festivals (Kaut I 20-21, Kām VII 28-47). Kaut I 20 and Kām (VII 44 and 50) advise the king not to trust women and even the queen and to approach even the queen after she has been examined by men 80 years old and women over 50

114 गुणाधानमशक्यं तु यस्य कर्तुं स्वभावतः ॥ बन्धनं तस्य कर्तव्यं सुतदेशे सुखा-
भित्तम् ॥ अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विशीर्यते ॥ अधिकारेषु सर्वेषु विनीत विनियोजयेत् ।
आदौ स्वल्पे ततः पश्चात्कमेणाथ महत्त्वपि ॥ मत्स्य 220 5-7 Compaie कामन्दक VII 2-6
राजयुवा मदीदृष्टता गजा इव निरङ्कुशाः । आतरे वाग्निनिग्नन्ति पितरे वाग्निमानिनः ॥ ...
विनयोपग्रहान् धृत्यैः कुर्वीत ह्यपतिः सुताम् । अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विनश्यति ॥
विनीतमौरसं दुष्टं यौवराज्येभिविचयेत् । दुष्टं गजमिवोद्वृत्तं कुर्वीत सुखबन्धनम् ॥ Vide also
अग्निपुराण 225. 3-4 for similar provisions

115. विरज्येते in कामन्दक VII, 12 is explained by the com. as
रगरहिते भवतः.

years in the harem and found¹¹⁶ safe. Kaut. (I. 20) and Kām. (VII. 51-54) both name seven kings that met death in their queen's chambers by the stratagems of the queens themselves or those that were incited by them; viz. Bhadrāsena killed by his brother concealed in the chamber of his queen (who was in love with the king's brother), the king of Karūsa killed by his own son who had concealed himself under the bed of the queen (who was angered by the king's promise to give the kingdom to the son of a rival queen), the king of Kāśi killed by his queen who mixed fried rice with poison pretending that it was honey; the queen of the king of Sauvira killed him with a jewel in her girdle that was smeared with poison; Vairantya was killed by his queen with her anklet smeared with poison; Jalūtha (or Jarūsa in Kām.) was killed with a mirror (with a razor-like edge) covered with poison; Vidūratha was killed by his queen who had concealed a weapon in her braided hair. The Harsacarita (VI) of Bāna mentions with additional details the cases of Bhadrāsena king of Kalinga killed by his brother Virasena, the king of Karūsa (Dadhra by name), Kāśirāja (named Mahāsena) whose queen Suprabhā killed him to secure the kingdom to her son, Jarūtha king of Ayodhyā, Vairantya named Rantideva, Vidūratha of the Vrsnis killed by Bindumati, the Sauvira king Virasena killed by queen Hamsavatī. In the Brhatsamhitā (77 1-2) two of these, Vidūratha and Kāśirāja, are mentioned, but the latter is said to have been killed by his estranged queen with an anklet smeared with poison. Medhātithi on Manu VII 153 quotes four of these seven. The Nītivākyaṃrta (rājaraśāsamuddeśa 35-36, pp. 231-232) sets out six other examples of kings killed by their queens. The king has also to beware of treachery from ministers and officials. Kaut. (in I. 10) describes how ancient writers devised methods of ascertaining the purity or impurity of ministers by putting before them allurements regarding dharma, wealth, sexual desires and playing on their fears and gives it as his own opinion that temptations that have direct reference to the king or queen should not be placed in the way of the ministers. In the Harsacarita VI, Skanda-

116. अन्तर्गृहगतः स्वविरत्नीपारिच्छिद्धां देवीं पश्येत् । ... आशीतिकाः शुच्याः पञ्चाशत्काः स्त्रियो वा मातृपितृव्यज्जनाः स्वविरत्नचराम्यागारिकाश्चावरोधानां शौचाशौचं विभुः । कौटिल्य I 20; आशीतिकाश्च शुच्याः पञ्चाशत्काश्च योषितः । बुधेरक्षत्रोधानां शौचमागारिकाश्च ये ॥ न हि देवीगृहे गच्छेदात्मन्यास्तानिवेशनात् । अत्यर्थवद्वभोपीह विस्वाहं स्त्रीषु न व्रजेत् ॥ काम. VII 44 and 50. Dr. Sham Sastrī's translation (p 46) of Kautilya 'eighty men and fifty women' is not correct

gupta, the commander of the elephant arm of Harsa's army, warns the Emperor against putting trust in everybody and gives 19 instances of kings that met misfortunes, death or destruction through their own carelessness and the stratagems of those about them (apart from the seven mentioned above and two more who fell victims to the wiles of their queens) Some of them are famous and deserve mention here, viz the king of Vatsa (i e Udayana) who was imprisoned by the soldiers of Mahāsena that jumped out of a faked elephant; Maurya Brhadratha killed by his Senāpati Pusyamitra (called 'anārya' by Bāna on account of his treachery to his master); Kakavarṇa Śāisunāri (Śāisunāgi?), Sumitra, son of Agnimitra, whose head was cut off by Mitradeva while the king fond of dancing was in the midst of actors, the Śunga Devabhūti killed by his minister Vasudeva; Candragupta (of the Gupta dynasty) who dressed as a charming woman cut off the king of Śakas; the foolish Maukharī king Ksatraparman killed by bards Vide Kāmasūtra V 5 30 for two other examples of the Ābhira king Kottarāja and Jayatsena king of Kāśī The Nītiśāstrakāṇḍa (Dūtasamuddēśa) p 171 states that Cānakya killed one of the Nandas through a *dūta* and that two other kings met death from presents of poisoned clothes and a jewelled box containing snake poison. The Yaśastilakacampū (III pp 431-432) sets out many instances of kings that met with death from the wrath or the machinations of their ministers, purohita &c

From these examples one should not draw the facile and sweeping conclusion that in India the life of no king was safe. In the vast continent of India there were always numerous kingdoms at the same time It is no wonder that in the course of several thousand years and over such vast territories, some kings met death by treachery and stratagem. This is not a phenomenon restricted to India In a small country like England we have within two hundred years instances of the murder of the boy king Edward V and his brother prince Richard, of Lady Jane Grey nominated by Edward VI as his successor and the further fact that Cromwell during the last few months of his life was afraid of being assassinated During about 150 years from 1789 out of 30 Presidents of the U S A several such as Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley met death at the hands of assassins

The truth is that in a monarchy the king was the pivot of the whole State. As the Matsyapurāṇa (219.34) finely puts it

'the king was the root and the subjects were the tree ; in saving the king from dangers the whole kingdom was on the road to prosperity and therefore all were to make efforts to guard the king'

Hereditary monarchy was the norm of government in ancient and medieval India. Kautilya expressly states (I. 17 at end) that the practice to make the eldest son the king is honoured except in the case of a calamity. At or about the time of Buddha and a few centuries thereafter there were a few oligarchies or (as some scholars prefer to call them) republics. But our Dharmasāstra or Arthasāstra authorities contain rather very meagre references to them. The Mahābhārata in Śānti 107 furnishes the following data about *ganarājyas* (government by groups): Internal dissensions are the root of the ruin of *ganas*; it is very difficult to keep lines of policy secret when there are many (when the government is that of many, i. e. an oligarchy or a republic); all members of the *gana* in their entirety do not deserve to hear the line of policy decided upon, but the chief persons among the *ganas* should meet together and arrange among themselves to secure the welfare of the whole *gana*; if disputes that arise among the families (or clans) are connived at by the heads of the clan, the ruin of the clan takes place which leads on to dissensions among the whole group (*gana*). Danger from internal dissensions must be guarded against (in the case of *ganarājya*), external dangers are not serious (in the case of *ganarājya*). All members of the *gana* are equal by birth and family, but they are not equal in energy, intelligence, bodily appearance and wealth. By their enemies *ganas* are broken by means of internal dissensions and bribes; therefore the greatest safety of *ganas* lies in union¹¹⁷. In these words the author of the Mahābhārata unerringly puts his finger on the weak spots of the rule of many viz. secrecy cannot be kept, there is corruption due to greed and jealousy, which bring about their downfall. In another place (Śānti 81) the Mahābhārata

117. मेवमूलो विनाशो हि गणानामुपलक्षये । मन्त्रसंवरणं दुष्कं बहूनामिति मे मतिः ॥
8 ... न गणाः कुत्सनशो मन्त्रं श्रोतुमर्हन्ति भारत । गणमुख्येस्तु संभूय कार्यं गणहितं सिथः ।
25 ... कुलेषु कलहा जाताः कुलद्वैरूपेक्षिताः । गोत्रस्य नाशो कुर्वन्ति गणमेवस्य कारकम् ।
आभ्यन्तरभयं स्वयमसारं बाह्यतो भयम् ॥ ... जात्या च सदृशा सर्वे कुलेन सदृशास्तथा । न
चोद्योमेन बुद्ध्या वा रूपद्रव्येण वा पुनः । मेदाच्चैव प्रदानाच्च भिद्यन्ते रिपुभिर्गणाः ।
तस्मात्संघातमेवाहुर्गणानां शरणं महत् ॥ शान्ति 107. 27-32. मेवाहिनाशः सद्ध्याना
सर्वप्रसङ्गोत्ति केशव । यथा त्वं प्राप्य नोत्सद्विद्वं सद्धस्तथा कुरु ॥ नान्यत्र बुद्धिसान्तिभ्या
वाग्यवेन्द्रियानिग्रहात् ॥ नान्यत्र धनसंत्यागाद्गणः प्राप्तेऽवतिष्ठते ॥ शान्ति 81. 25-26.

refers to the *saṅgha* of the *Vṛsnis*, of whom Kṛṣṇa was the president, and the great truth that the ruin of *saṅghas* is brought about by internal dissensions and corruption and it hits off the qualities required in the wise leader of the *saṅgha* to be four viz sagacity, forbearance, self-control and giving up the acquisitive spirit. The words *saṅgha* and *gana* are employed as synonyms in the *Mahābhārata*. Pāṇini (III 3 86) states that *saṅgha* means *gana*. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (vol II p 356) states that *saṅgha*, *saṃūha* and *saṃudāya* mean the same thing. Pāṇini knows two kinds of *saṅghas* viz *āyudhvaḥ* (who practised the profession of arms) and those that were not so and further he also indicates that in the *Vāhika* country *saṅghas* included ¹¹⁸ *brāhmanas*, *ksatriyas* and others (vide V. 3 114). He names the *saṅghas* of *Vṛkas*, *Trigartas*, *Yaudheyas*, *Parśus* (V 3 115-117) as *āyudhvaḥ*. Kātyāyana by his *vāṭika* 'ksatriyādekarājāt saṅghapratishedhārtham' on Pāṇini IV 1 168 shows that *saṅgha* was differentiated from monarchy. Acc to Kautilya (p 53 above) the *saṅgha* of the *Vṛsnis* perished when it came in conflict with *Dvaipāyana*. In another place Kautilya says that (in some cases) the kingdom may be ruled by a clan, for the confederacy ¹¹⁹ of a clan is invincible, it is free from the calamity of a kingless State and therefore exists on the earth very long. Kautilya devotes one section (*Adhikarana* XI) to the dealings of the ambitious king with *saṅghas*. There he states that securing the *saṅgha* on one's side is far better than securing an army or allies and makes the most interesting remark ¹²⁰ that the corporation of the *ksatriyas* and others in

118 In the *Karna-parva* the country of *Vāhikas* is severely 'condemned' and it is said to be the country between the Indus and the five rivers of the Panjab (chap 44 7) पञ्चानां सिन्धुपद्मानां नदीनां येनैव विभक्ताः । तत्र धर्मव्यवहार-
द्व्यधीनत्वाद्दीक्षानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ In chap 44 10 it is stated that their chief city is *Sākala* and in verses 11-30 and 35-38 their condemned practices are set out, and verses 31-34 say that the country of the five rivers is called *Āratta* and *Vāhika*. In *Karna-parva* 45. 6-13 the interesting fact is mentioned that in that country only one brother in a family acts as a *brāhmaṇa* should and that their sons do not inherit but their sister's sons take the inheritance. Vide 'Indian Culture' vol. VI 129-136 and vol VIII p 85 ff for information on 'Vāhika'.

119 अन्यत्रापि पदं ऐश्वर्यं ज्येष्ठभागी तु पूज्यते । कुलस्य वा भवेद्वाज्यं कुलसङ्घो हि दुर्जयः । अराजस्य सनाथाय. शब्ददावसति क्षितिः ॥ कौटिल्य I 17.

120 सङ्घपालो दुष्टमित्रलाभानामुत्तमः । ... काम्भोजसुराङ्गनात्रियश्रेणादयो वार्ताश्रोतृजीविनः । लिखितविक्रयजिकमल्लकमङ्गकुकुर-कुरपात्रालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः । कौटिल्य XI 1, विशेषतश्च सङ्घपालाः सङ्घधर्मिणा राजकुलानां धूर्तनिमित्तो भवः, तावन्निमित्तो विनाश इति । कौटिल्य VIII. 3.

the countries of Kāmbhoja and Surāstra practise *vāṭā* (husbandry and trade) and the profession of arms, while those of the Licchivikas, Vṛjikas, Mallakas, Madrakas, Kukuras, Kurus and Pāñcālas live on the title of *vājān* applied to them (i.e. they are not cultivators of the soil and soldiers, but are only chiefs or nobles) What Kautilya means by '*vārtā-sāstropajivinah*' appears to be that they were agriculturists ordinarily but were ready with their swords to defend their country when occasion required. Kautilya then describes in detail without any scruples how the conqueror may by various subterfuges cause dissensions among the members of the sangha and its leader or leaders (*sangha-mukhya*). In VIII. 3 Kautilya remarks that dissension becomes particularly rife owing to gambling among sanghas and noble clans that have the sangha constitution and they are destroyed. From about the 5th or 6th century A. D. the oligarchic States or Republics became rare and gradually disappeared. We get further data about these *ganarājyas* from Buddhist works, Greek sources (like the fragments of Megasthenes), coins and inscriptions. Rudradāman (in Junāgadh Inscription of 150 A. D.) boasts that he had uprooted the Yaudheyas who had become puffed up and unbending on account of the title of heroes (*vīra*) that was prominently applied to them among all ksatriyas¹²¹ (E. I. vol. VIII at p. 44). Samudragupta (in the first half of the 4th century A. D.) subjugated the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas &c. In Gupta Inscriptions No. 58 p. 251 there is mention of a *mahārāja-mahāsenāpati* who was made their leader by the Yaudheya-gana. The *Bṛhatsamhitā* in several places refers to the Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas (e.g. 4.25; 5.40, 67, 75; 14.25 and 28; 16.21; 17.19) and speaks of Yaudheya-nṛpa in 9.11. Vide Rapson's 'Indian coins' pp. 11 and 15 and Plate II, nos 13-15 and Plate III, no. 20 for the coins of the Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas. Arrian writes in 'Indika' (tr. by MacCrindle IX. p. 208, ed. of 1926) 'from Dionysus to Sandrakottos the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among them a republic was thrice established'. MacCrindle's 'Invasion of India' (p. 121) speaks of an aristocratic government on the

¹²¹ सर्वज्ञाविष्णुविराजन्तुजातोत्सेकाविधियानां यैधियानां प्रसहोत्साहकेन । E. I. VIII at p. 44, यैधियगणदुरस्तुतस्य महारजिमहासेनापते: &c. in Gupta Inscriptions pp. 251-252. Vide Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of India (Silver Jubilee number) p. 114 for Yaudheyas, and J. B. O. R. S. vol. 23 p. 148.

Hyphasis or Beas The Greek writers describing the invasion of Alexander speak of the democracies of the Oxydrakai (Ksudrakas), Malloi (the Mālavas), the Siboi (Śibis), Sambastai (the Ambasthas) and several others. Vide K. P. Jayaswal's 'Hindu Polity' part I. chap. VIII (pp 63-79) for Hindu Republics mentioned in Greek writings. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' pp 19 ff. summarizes the data about Indian republics derived from Buddhist works. On p 22 he gives the names of eleven republican clans with their capitals, some of which like the Śākya (of Kapilavastu), the Mallas (of Kusinārā and Pāvā), the Videhas (of Mithilā) and Licchavis (of Vesālī) are well-known. Rhys Davids states (p. 19) that the administrative and judicial business of the Śākya was carried on in a mote-hall (santhāgāra) at Kapilavastu, that a single chief was chosen (but how and for what period is not known) who presided over the sessions and (when no sessions were being held) also over the State, that he bore the title of *ājā*. He mentions that at one time Buddha's cousin Bhaddiya was *ājā* and that in another passage Buddha's father Suddhodana is styled *rājā*. He further points out (p. 26) that the Vajjians had eight confederate clans of which the Licchavis and the Videhas were the most important. K. P. Jayaswal in 'Hindu Polity' part I pp 25-165 brings together all the data about Hindu oligarchies (or republics as he calls them) and his work deserves the serious attention of all those who are interested in the study of ancient Indian political institutions, though here and there one cannot approve of his interpretations and theories. To take only one example, he holds that the procedure prescribed by Buddha for the deliberations of the *saṅgha* in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta was borrowed from the procedure followed by the republics in their deliberations and therefore he describes the procedure of the Buddhist *saṅgha* in great detail ('Hindu Polity,' part I chap XI pp 103-117). Dr D R Bhandarkar also (in 'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity' pp 121-125) adopts this theory. This to say the least is a gratuitous assumption. The mere fact that Buddha told the prime minister of Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, who contemplated attacking the Vajjan confederacy, that the latter would not decline but prosper as long as they observed seven conditions and the fact that those very seven conditions were prescribed by the Buddha for the welfare of the *saṅgha* do not lead on to the further inference that the procedure followed by the monks in the deliberations of the meeting of the *saṅgha* (which is set out in such passages as the Mahāvagga IX 3, S.B.E.

vol. XVII p. 264 ff, Cullavagga IV. 9, S. B. E. vol. XX pp. 24-27) was the procedure of the meetings of the oligarchies. The seven conditions (both for the welfare of the Vajjians and the Sangha) are set out in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, chap. I. (S. B. E. vol. XI, pp. 3-8) viz holding full and frequent public assemblies, meeting together in concord and carrying out undertakings in concord, enacting nothing not already established and abrogating nothing that has been already enacted and acting in accordance with ancient institutions established in former days, honouring and revering and supporting elders and hearkening to their words, not detaining women or girls of their clans by force or abduction, honouring and supporting Vajjian shrines in town or country and not allowing proper offerings and rites to fall into desuetude, protecting and supporting the Arahats among them. On the most important points in connection with a republic or oligarchy we have no information at all, viz. who were entitled to vote, what were the qualifications for membership of the assembly that governed the State, how voting took place, what was the period for which members of the assembly were elected, whether the president was elected for life or a shorter period or was elected at all, what were the powers and procedure of the assembly. Vide Dr. Beni Prasad in 'Hindu Political Theories' p 158 for criticisms. Rhys Davids (in 'Buddhist India' p. 41) says that according to the Jātakas there were at Vesālī (modern Basadh in the Muzaffarpur District), the capital of the Licchavis, 7707 *ājīvā* (or chiefs). In the Bhaddasāla-jātaka (Fausboll, vol. IV p 148) there is a reference to a tank reserved for the bath of the families of the ruling chiefs (*rājās*) of the gana in the city of Vesālī. In the Mahāvastu (ed by Senart vol. I. p. 271) it is stated that there were twice eighty-four thousand nobles (*rājānā*) among the Licchavis. This explains what Kautilya means by '*rājasabdopajivināḥ*'. These people called '*rājās*' were probably the scions of the several branches of the Licchavis, who had in their hands the government and who were not doing manual (or agricultural) work. Vide Government Epigraphic Report for 1899 p 23 and Indian Historical Quarterly vol. IV p. 652, where it is said that in an inscription from Uttaramallur the extent of land and of Vedic learning required in a candidate for election are specified as also the method of writing on tickets the names of candidates. But such records, even in South India, are very few and refer to village sabhās and there is nothing in the works on dharmaśāstra or arthaśāstra about the methods of

election to political assemblies and the qualifications of candidates. Vide Dr D R Bhandarkar's 'Some aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity' (1929) pp. 101-121 for a concise statement of several types of republics in Ancient India.

Another important question is whether in monarchical states there were popular assemblies of elected representatives or, in modern language, Parliaments. The words 'sabhā' and 'samiti' require consideration in this connection. In Rg I 91 20 Soni is said to confer a son who is 'sādanya, vidathya and sabheya, from which it follows that sabhā is in some respects different from 'vidatha'. In Rg II 24 13 a vipra (a priest or composer of hymns) is said to be sabheya 'clever or eminent in a sabhā'. In Rg X 34 6 'sabhā' ¹²² appears to mean a gambling hall. In Vāj S XXX 6 *sabhācana* seems to mean only 'sabhāsad', a member of a judicial tribunal, while in XXX 18 the *sabhāsthānu* is given up to Āskanda in the symbolic Purusamedha. In the Vāj. S XVI 24 there is an obeisance to *sabhās* and *sabhāpatis* (presidents of sabhās). In Atharvaveda VII 12 1 'sabhā' and 'samiti' are said to be the two daughters of Prajāpati, from which it may be argued that they were very similar but somewhat different. In Atharvaveda XV. 9 2 also *sabhā* and *samiti* are separately mentioned. In Tai. Br III 7 4 the word *sabhāpāla* occurs and *sabhā* is explained as 'gambling-hall' by Sāyana. In Rg X 97 6 and Vāj S XII. 80 it is said 'that *vipra* is said to be a doctor (bhisak) in whom medicinal herbs come together as nobles (rājānah) in a *samiti* (meeting or battle)'. In Rg. X 191 3 the word 'samiti' seems to mean no more than a meeting or meeting place. In Atharvaveda V 19 15 ¹²³ we have 'the assembly (samiti) does not suit him (or is not won over by him) who harasses a brāhmana'. In the Chāndogya Up. (V 3. 1) Śvetaketu is said to have repaired to the assembly (*samiti*) of the Pāñcāla country, where the king Pravāhana Jaivali asked him five questions which the former could not answer and then he approached the next morning the king who was in his *sabhā*. Here it seems that both words are applied to the same assembly. It is impossible to say how the *sabhā* or *samiti* was constituted in the Vedic period. All that we can say is that it was an assembly of people to which the king, learned men and others went. It is extremely doubtful whether it was an elective body. Probably it was an *ad hoc* assembly of such people as cared to

122. सभामेति किवः पृच्छमानो ज्ञेयामीति तन्वा शुश्रूजानः । ऋ X 34. 6

123 न चर्यं मैत्रवरुणं ब्रह्मज्यमभिवर्षति । नास्मै समितिः कल्पते न मित्र नयते
वैश्वस् ॥ अथर्व V. 19 15

be present. K. P. Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity' part I p 11) holds that 'samiti' in the vedic age was the national assembly of the whole people, that it was the king's duty to attend it (*ibid.* p. 12) and that 'sabha' was the standing and stationary body of selected men working under the authority of the saniti (*ibid.* p. 18)'. This is all conjectural, as Jayaswal himself admits 'the *sabha* was certainly related to the *saniti*, but its exact relationship is not deducible from the data available' (*ibid.* p. 18).

These frantic efforts by such scholars as Jayaswal to prove that India had elective assemblies are made to counteract the sinister propaganda of many English writers that East is East and West is West and that the democratic institutions of the West cannot be transplanted with success on the soil of India. This is mischievous propaganda. There were no democracies even in Europe a few hundred years ago; even in England, France and a few other countries democracies have been introduced and have thrived within a short time. There is no reason why they should not do so in India, if honest efforts are made and difficulties are not purposely created by vested interests. Korkunov in 'General theory of law' (tr. by Hastings, 1922, New York p 296) says 'According to the historical school the political organization of England is good for England alone, for it corresponds to a natural genius very peculiar... This doctrine of the historical school is false, since we have already seen that a change produced in the social ideal may bring about a change in the whole social development. The influence of one people on the life of another is a proof of this. The ideal is a force supporting the social life and this ideal may be the result not merely of our own special experience, but also of the experience of neighbouring peoples'.

Two other words require consideration, viz. *Paura* and *Jānapada*. The word 'paura' occurs in Rg V. 74. 4 where it has three applications, viz. to the Āśvins, to the sage Paura (who was an Ātreya) and to the cloud (acc. to Śāyana). K. P. Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity', part II pp 60-108) devotes considerable space to 'Paura' and 'Jānapada' and one may at once admit that he displays great learning, industry and ingenuity in his discourse on this subject. He holds that the Paura and the Jānapada were elective parliamentary bodies or what may be called the Hindu Diet and he sums up (on p. 108) their functions as follows 'we had an organism or a twin

at p. 45 or in the Rāmāyana II. 2. 51, II. 111. 19 'paurajānapadam janam'). Lastly if the paurajānapada organization had (as said by Jayaswal in the quotation cited above) the power to depose kings and pass even hostile statutes, is it not a contradiction in terms to say that, instead of the Parliament or Diet deciding to remit certain taxes, it was the king who remitted taxes and bestowed favours (or privileges) of lakhs of rupees on the supposedly all powerful Paura-Jānapada assembly? In all passages that he quotes from the Rāmāyana and other classical sanskrit works the ordinary meaning of *paura* (residents of the capital) and *jānapada* (inhabitants of the country other than the capital) is quite enough and it is impossible to hold that any elective body is meant. In most passages the plural 'paurajānapadān' is used. If 'Paura-jānapada' stands for one elective body or two bodies, no explanation is offered why the plural should generally be used and not the dual. Kautilya (I. 19) states that the king should in the 2nd part of the day (divided into eight parts) look into the causes of the paurajānapadas. Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity', part II p. 95) misinterprets this passage by saying that the king had to set apart one period daily for the business of the paurajānapada assembly. Here again the plural is used and the dictum of Kautilya is the same as that of Yāj. I. 327 who says that the king should look into the law-suits (vyavahāraṇ) of the people. The word 'kārya' is employed by Manu VIII. 43, Nārada and other writers on vyavahāra in the sense of 'law-suit'. Yāj. II. 36 says that the king should restore to the jānapada property stolen by thieves. Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity', part II. p. 93) presses the singular 'jānapadāya' into his service and holds that it was the popular assembly that demanded the restoration of the things stolen. This, to say the least, is twisting the plain words of Yāj. The Mit paraphrases the word to mean 'to the person dwelling in his country from whom the property was stolen'. The corresponding passage of Manu VIII. 40 (dātavyam sarva-varnebhyo rājā corair-bṛtam dhanam) is quite clear, since it fortunately does not use the word jānapada and Medhātithi explains it as 'it should be restored to those from whom it was stolen'. Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity' part II p. 79) holds that a passage in the Arthasāstra (II. 14) refers to the fact that the Paura-Jānapada assembly got gold coins minted by the royal mint-master.¹²⁴

124. सौवर्णिकः पौरजानपदानां स्वयमुत्सवर्णमावेशाभिभिः कारयेत् । निर्विद्वकालकार्यं च कर्म कुर्यात् । अर्थशास्त्र II. 14.

But the plain meaning is that the mint-master was to mint standard silver and gold coins for all people when they brought bullion to him to have coins struck. One striking circumstance to be considered is that, though in all works on polity a *rājya* is said to have seven elements, none of them includes a political elective assembly (like the *paura-jānapada* postulated by Jayaswal) among them. They only enumerate the country and the capital and declare even these as of lesser importance than the king and the ministers. Another matter that makes the existence of powerful elective political assemblies in monarchies most unlikely is the total absence of any reference in works on polity to the method of election, the system of voting, the qualifications of members, the period for which the assembly was elected and allied matters. When medieval writers like Aparārka on Yājñ 11 1 (p 600) quote from Brhhaspati verses about four kinds of *sabhā*, they refer only to judicial tribunals of various sorts and grades (the same verses are quoted as Hārita's in Rājantirātnākara p 20). Vide n 368 below.

If elective popular assemblies did not exist, then it may be asked whether the king was an absolute monarch or a despot or whether there were any checks that mitigated or regulated the power and doings of monarchs. The answer is that there were such checks and limitations. These were of various kinds. Exhortations addressed to the king himself exercised a restraining influence. For example, Kāt (10) says 'the king who gives way to wrath without proper thought would reside in a horrible hell for half a Kalpa'. The importance of dharma as an all-embracing institution was impressed upon the king by our writers so frequently that it must have had its psychological effect on every king. The idea that *daṇḍa* personified as a Deity might strike down the bad king himself (Manu VII 19, 27, 28, 30, Yājñ I 354-356) would tend to keep even a whimsical king within bounds. The views of ancient writers have already been cited according to which the king was not to act as he pleased, but was to regard his high office as a sacred trust and was to rule according to the dictates of the *sāstras*. These views created public opinion which must have certainly influenced the king's acts. The ideal king Rāma is depicted as having abandoned his queen Sītā (whom he knew to be pure) because the people could not accept her as pure after her long stay in Rāvana's prison. Vide Rāmāyana VII 45. Then there were the ministers whose advice the king was enjoined to seek. Besides there was the *purohita* and there were learned *brāhmanas*,

who were to propound what dharma was, whose directions he was to carry out and who were supposed to have power to ruin a bad king (vide Vas I. 39-41, Gautama XI. 12-14, Manu IX. 320). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 138-145 for the peculiar sanctity attaching to the person of a brāhmana and the superior position of brāhmanas as a class *vs-à-vis* the king. There was a deep-rooted faith that the rules of the śāstras (the Śrauta and Smṛta dharma) were divinely inspired and were above the king. Observance of dharma was the great social and political ideal from very ancient times for all including the king. This is most emphatically put in the Br. Up. I. 4. 11-14, where it is stated "even after creating the four varnas He (the Creator) did not think that stability had been attained. He then created the most excellent *Dharma* which is the might of the mighty (i. e. more powerful than the warrior caste) There is nothing higher than dharma. Even a very weak man hopes to prevail over a very strong man on the strength of dharma, just as (he prevails over a wrong-doer) with the help of the king. So what is called dharma is really truth. Therefore people say about a man who declares the truth that he is declaring dharma and about one who declares what dharma is they say that he speaks the truth. These two (dharma and truth) are this" (i. e. one).¹²⁵ Kamandaka I. 14 stated that the Yavana king ruled over the earth for a long time because he ruled according to the dictates of dharma. In his administration of justice the king was to be checked by the judge and sabhyas, who were fearlessly to render advice to the erring king (as will be shown in the section on vyavahāra). Besides corporations and guilds were powerful and had a sort of self-government. Manu (VIII. 336 and Yāj. II. 307) went so far as to prescribe a heavy fine which the king was to inflict on himself for his illegal exactions and punishments and to direct that the king should distribute among brāhmanas wealth forfeited by grave sinners (Manu IX. 243-244). Lastly there was the final sanction that the śāstras allowed the subjects to abandon a worthless king or even to kill a misguided one or tyrant, as stated above (vide Manu VII. 27-28, Arthashastra I. 4).¹²⁶

125 स नैव स्वमवच्छेदो रूपमवच्छेदत धर्मं तदेतत्क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं यद्धर्मस्तस्माद्धर्मोत्तरं नास्ति । अयो अवलीयान्वलीयास्तमांशसते धर्मेण यथा राज्ञा । एवं यो वै स धर्मः सत्यं वै तत् तस्मात्सत्यं वदन्तमाहुर्धर्मं वदन्तीति धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदन्तीत्येतद्व्युत्पद्यते भवति । बृह उप 1 4. 14

126 दुष्मणितः (दण्डः) कामक्रोधाभ्यामज्ञानाद्ज्ञानप्रपञ्चपरिज्ञानकानपि कोपयति किमहं पुनरुद्देश्यान् । अर्थशास्त्र I 4.

Kautilya (VIII. 3) when dealing¹²⁷ with the evil results of want of discipline in a king states that kings who are hot-tempered are known to have fallen victims to popular fury (or the fury of ministers) We may say that in theory and so far as ordinary people were concerned the sovereign's power was absolute and unlimited as Manu IX. 9-12 aptly illustrate and as Brhat-Parāśara states 'the king is Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Indra, he is the giver, the destroyer, and the enforcer according to the karma of his subjects'. But there were (as stated above) very real checks and limitations that effectively prevented him from exercising his undoubtedly unlimited powers. These checks, though real, cannot be called constitutional in the sense in which that word is used in modern times. As said by Nārada the subjects are dependent while the king is uncontrolled, but he could not go against the śāstra (vide Haradatta on Gaut. XI. 2)

In modern times the activities of a sovereign person are three-fold, viz. executive, judicial and legislative. The judicial activities of the ancient Indian king will be dealt with in another section on law and the administration of justice. One great difference between ancient and modern societies is that the legislative action of the king was extremely limited in ancient times, while in modern times people are more and more looking to legislation for regulating all manner of things. Manu (VII. 13) lays down that since the king has in him the glory of all deities, whatever rule as regards desirable matters the king establishes and whatever action he declares as undesirable among those actions that are harmful, should not be transgressed by any one. In his gloss on this verse Medhātithi carefully points out what orders the king can issue and on what subjects he cannot issue orders. He gives the following instances of orders of both kinds: 'To-day all should observe a festival in the capital, all should attend a marriage ceremony at the house of the minister; animals should not be killed to-day by the butchers and birds should not be caught. debtors should not be harassed by creditors on these days (to be specified), no one should associate with such and such a man (an undesirable person); no one should allow a certain (undesirable) person to enter the house'. Medhātithi adds that the king is not authorised to interfere with the *śāstric* rules governing the

127. अविनीतो हि व्यसनदोषान् न पश्यति । तादृशवेदशामः । कोपजालिबर्गः कामज-
अतुर्बर्गः तयो कोपो गरीयान् सर्वत्र हि कोपश्चरति । शायशश्च कोपवशा राजानः प्रकृति-
कोपैर्देवाः क्षुण्यन्ते । अर्थशास्त्र VIII. 3

varnas and āśramas such as the performance of agnihotra.^{127a} This gloss of Medhātithi occurs word for word in the *Rājanīti-prakāśa* (pp. 23-24), which gives a more correct text than the printed editions of Mandlik and Gharpure. Kautilya (II. 10) devotes a chapter to the drawing up of śāsanaś, particularly with reference to their linguistic elegance and diplomatic etiquette. The *Śukranītisāra* (I.312-313) prescribes that the king's edicts (śāsana) should be proclaimed to the subjects by beat of drum, that his edicts should be written and displayed where four roads meet, and that the king should declare that breaches of the orders would entail heavy fines. In I. 292-311 Śukra gives instances of such orders, the most important of which are: Watchmen should take rounds in the several streets every one hour and a half at night in order to prevent thieves and paramours moving about; people should not employ abuse or beating towards their slave, servant, wife, son or pupil; no one should practise deceit in respect of measures, weights, coins, resins, metals, ghee, honey, milk, fat, flour; no document should be got by force; no bribes should be taken nor should any bribes be given to persons engaged in doing the king's work; no one should offer shelter to bad characters, thieves, paramours, those who hate the king, the enemy; parents, persons worthy of honour, learned men, men of good character should not be disrespected or ridiculed; no dissensions should be sown between husband and wife, master and servant, between brothers, between teacher and pupil, between father and son; no interference or obstruction should be caused to wells, parks, boundaries, *dharmaśālās*, temples, roads or to those who are deficient in a limb; without the king's permission no one should engage in gambling, selling liquor, hunting, bearing arms, sale or purchase of cattle or elephants or horses or camels or she-buffaloes or slaves or immoveable property or silver, gold, gems, intoxicants, poisons, drugs, the profession of medicine or should pass a sale deed, deed of gift or give a decision about a debt; no one should falsely accuse another of the great sins, nor take treasure trove, nor frame new rules for clubs or convivial gatherings (*samāja*) nor should publish slander against a caste, nor should appropriate property which is without an owner or has been lost, nor divulge the (king's) lines of policy, nor babble about the vices of the king; the people should not

127a न त्वग्निहोत्रव्यवस्थायै वर्णाश्रमिणां राजा प्रभवति स्तुत्यन्तरविरोधमसङ्गात्, अविरोधे चास्मिन् विषये वचनस्वार्थवत्त्वात् । देधाः on मनु VII. 13.

even think of forsaking their dharma, speaking untruth, committing adultery with another's wife, giving false evidence or fabricating documents, accepting gifts secretly, committing thefts and engaging in other desperate acts, engaging in sedition; public servants should not exact more than the tax already settled; only such weights and measures are to be used as bear the royal stamp; all subjects should strive to possess good qualities; desperadoes should be arrested and handed over to the king; bulls let loose (in memory of the dead) should be kept well controlled and fed by those who let them loose. Medhātithi on Manu VIII 399 states that a king may prohibit the export of foodstuffs from the kingdom in a famine. The several edicts of Aśoka show that his orders were framed on the same lines that are contained centuries later on in the Śukranītiśāstra. Most of his proclamations insist on moral virtues such as truthfulness, obedience and reverence to parents, elders and preceptors, honouring brāhmanas and śramanas, kindness to animals, tolerance of other faiths. Proclamations that may be called positive laws are very few, such as his order in Pillar Edict IV to give three days' respite to criminals condemned to death (C I I. vol. I p 125) or his regulations restricting the killing of animals contained in the 5th Pillar Edict (C I I. vol. I. p 138) or in the First Rock Edict at Gīrnar (p 7) 'no living being must be killed or sacrificed and no festival meeting must be held'. In the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir the killing of living beings was prohibited for ten years (vide Rājataranginī V 64). Law-making in the modern sense is almost entirely lacking in the smṛtis. Gaut XI 19-25 show¹²⁸ that the king was to find the law required for the decision of causes from the following, viz (1) the Veda, Dharmaśāstras, the Aṅgas (lores auxiliary to the Veda such as grammar, exegesis, metrics etc.), Upavedas, Purāṇas; (2) customs of countries, castes and families that were not opposed to the Veda; (3) the usages of husbandmen, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artizans; (4) ratiocination, (5) the opinions¹²⁹ delivered

128 तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गान्युपवेदाः श्रुतानि । देशजातिकुलधर्मा-
श्रामाधैरविवेकाः प्रमाणम् । कर्पकपाणिक्पक्षपालकुसीदिकारव स्वे स्वे वर्गे । ... न्यायाधि-
गमे तर्कोऽनुपायः । ..विप्रतिपत्तौ त्रैविध्यवृद्धेभ्यः प्रत्यवदत्त्य निष्ठा गमयेत् तथा ह्यस्य निःश्रेयस
भवति । गौ XI 19-26

128a चत्वारो वेदधर्मज्ञा पर्यन्तं त्रैविध्यमेव वा । सा कृते य स धर्मः स्यादेको वाध्या-
त्मवित्तमः ॥ वा. I 9, on which विश्वरूप remarks शङ्कोप्याह । श्रुतिविरोधे त्रैविद्य-
समवायेषु निर्णयः इति यथाबलेन शास्त्रतस्तेष्वन्युरिति च । These two show that
parisad and traividya were more or less synonymous,

by the assembly (*parisad*) of men deeply learned in the three Vedas. The authoritativeness of customs, usages and conventions and their relation to *śāstra* will be discussed later on. In the decision of causes there were four deciding factors, *dharma*, *vyavahāra*, *caritra* and *rājāsāsana*, which will also be dealt with later. So royal edicts or orders first came to be made in the administration of justice and probably served as laws or precedents in later times. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 968-970 for the role of *parisads* in religious matters. Yaj I. 9 and Śankha speak of *parṣat* or assembly of learned men as final authorities on *dharma*.

The executive functions of the king required a large number of ministers and officers. This topic will be dealt with immediately below.

There is another way of looking at the king's functions viz. they were religious and secular. The first required him to do certain acts for propitiating gods and unseen powers and removing dangers therefrom with the help of the *purohita* and sacrificial priests (vide Gaut. XI. 15-17, Yaj I. 308) and he had to guard *dharma*. His secular functions included those that led to prosperity, that helped the people in famine and similar calamities, dealing even-handed justice, guarding person and property from thieves and trespassers and against invasion.

The *Mahābhārata* records the tradition that many kings of former times abdicated the throne in favour of their sons and resorted to the forest as hermits. *Vanaparva* 202.8 mentions *Brhadāśva* who crowned his son *Kuvalāśva*. Vide also *Vāyu* 88.32. *Dhrtarāstra* says to *Yudhisthira* that in their family it was customary for kings to transfer the sovereignty to their sons and resort to a forest towards the close of their lives (*Āśramavāsi* 3.38). *Vyāsa* says that that was the practice of all *rājarsas* (*Āśramavāsi* 4.5) and the *Āśramavāsi* parva (20) mentions the names of several such kings. Vide also *Śānti* 21.15. In *Ayodhyā* 23.27, 94.19 this practice is referred to.¹²⁹ In the *Raghuvamśa* (I. 8, XVIII. 7, 9, 26) *Kālidāsa* says that in the family of *Raghu* kings in their old age became *mums* (hermits) and in chap. VIII. 11-23 he draws a fine contrast between the lives of *Aja* and his father *Raghu* (who had become a *yati*). There are Jain traditions of some antiquity that connect the

129. पूर्वराजर्विद्वत्स्या हि वनवासोऽभिधीयते । मजा निक्षिप्य पुत्रेषु पुत्रवत्परिपालने ॥ अयोध्या 23. 27, इदमेवावृत्तं माह राज्ञि राजर्षयः परे । वनवास्तु भवायाय प्रेत्य मे प्रपिता-महाः ॥ अयोध्या 94. 19.

great Jain sage Bhadrabāhu, the last Śrutakevalin, with Candragupta Maurya, who is said to have abdicated in favour of his son and to have gone to Śravana Belgola Vide Indian Antiquary, vol 21 pp. 156 ff where Fleet criticizes this tradition and rejects it In the Divyavadāna (XXIX p 431, ed. by Cowell and Neil) it is stated that Aśoka died destitute of power¹³⁰ and possessions and Fleet (in J R A. S for 1913 pp. 656-658) says that there is in this probably a reminiscence of abdication by Aśoka King Lavanaprasāda of the Vāghela dynasty in Gujerat abdicated in favour of his son Viradhavala (1233-38 A. D.). Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I part 1 pp 198, 200, 206

Kautilya (VIII 2) speaks of a novel rule called 'dvairājya'¹³¹ (sovereignty of two) and distinguishes it from 'vairājya'. The Mss differ in their readings, but the reading given in the footnote by Dr Sham Sastri seems preferable. Kaut remarks "As between dvairājya and vairājya (foreign rule) the former perishes on account of mutual hatred and rivalry; but the latter according to the ācāryas is enjoyed by foreigners as it is, when it pays attention to winning over the subjects; 'No' says Kautilya 'dvairājya' (generally) exists between father and son or between two brothers, their welfare is the same and therefore by reason of the influence of amālyas (over the two rulers) it can last, but *vaṇḍiyya* comes into existence by being seized from another king who is living and therefore the (foreign ruler) thinking 'this country is not mine' impoverishes it and carries off its wealth or treats it as a chattel (for sale) or when he finds that the country is disaffected towards him abandons it and goes away". This remarkable passage contains the mentality of foreign rulers in a nutshell. Manu IV 160 in a lucid and laconic manner states how individual and national happiness lies in freedom Kālidāsa in his Mālavikāgnimitra¹³² (Act V) appears to refer to the conception

130 अशोक is made to say 'दक्षिण्याद्धृतं हि किं कथयथ भ्रातापिराज्या वरं शेषं त्वामलकार्धमित्पवसति यच्च प्रभुत्व मम । ऐश्वर्यं धिगनार्यसुद्धतनदीतीयभवेन्नोपम मर्यैन्द्रस्य नमापि यत्पविर्भयं दारिद्र्यमभ्यागतम् ॥' द्विधावदान XXIX p 431

131. द्वैराज्यवैराज्ययोः द्वैराज्यमन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषालुरागान्मां परस्परतद्वर्षणं वा विनः । इति । वैराज्यं तु बहुतिष्ठिचित्रद्वेषापेक्षि यथास्थितमन्यैर्भुज्यत इत्याचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्य पिताभुवयोर्भ्रातृवोर्द्वैराज्यं तुल्ययोगक्षेममात्वावग्रह वर्तयितेति । वैराज्यं तु जीवतः परस्या-च्छिद्य नैतन्ममैति मर्यमानः कर्तृपत्यपवाहयति पत्यं वा करोति विरक्तं वा परित्यज्यापगच्छतीति । अर्थशास्त्र VIII 2

132 हन्रभवतोर्भ्रातृयोर्ज्ञप्तेनमाधवसेनयोर्द्वैराज्यमिदानीमवस्थापयितुकामोऽस्मि । तौ पृथक्परदातीरे शिष्टास्तुत्तरदक्षिणे । नक्तदिनं विभज्योभौ क्षीतोष्णकिरणविभक्तौ ॥ द्विधा विभक्तौ त्रियस्तद्वन्तौ धुरं रथाश्वविष सग्रहीतुः । तौ रथास्यतस्ते द्रुपतेर्निदेशे परस्परवग्रहनिविकारे ॥ मालविका ० V. 13-14

of dvairājya when he makes Agnimitra say that the latter desires to establish a dvairājya for the brothers Yajñasena and Mādhavasena on the north and south banks of the river Varadā, who would both remain under the command of the king (Agnimitra). In the Mahābhārata a similar rule of two brothers, Vinda and Anuvinda in Avanti, appears to be referred to (vide Udyogaparva 166, cr. ed. chap 163). MacCrindle in 'Invasion of India by Alexander' p. 296 quotes Diodorus to the effect that Alexander sailing up the river came to Taula (Patala?) a city of great note with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan, for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole State with paramount authority. Vide Jayaswal's 'Hindu Polity' part I pp. 96-97 and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's 'Ancient Indian Polity' p. 99-100 for some further details on dvairājya from Buddhist and other sources

CHAPTER IV

MINISTERS

Amātya—The second of the seven elements of *rājya* is the *amātya*, which word may be translated as 'minister.' There are three words that are interchangeable though sometimes distinguished, viz. *amātya*, *saciva* and *mantrin*, the first being the oldest of the three. A *Kārikā* on Pāṇini (IV. 2 104) teaches the formation of the word with the affix *tyap* (*tya*) from *amā* meaning 'near or with' (vide *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. II, p. 292). In *Rg* IV. 4. 1¹³³ there is the germ of this word 'O Agni! Go like a king riding an elephant, accompanied by his ministers'. Yāska (in *Nirukta* VI. 12) explains 'amavān' as 'amātyavān,' though two more explanations of the word are offered by him. The word *amātya* itself occurs in *Rg*. VII. 15. 3, but there it is an adjective and means 'our own' or 'abiding in our house'. In some of the *sūtras* like the *Baudhāyanapīṭr-medhasūtra* (I. 4. 13, I. 12 7) the word *amātya* is used in the sense of 'near male relations in the house'. Vide *H Dh.* vol. II, p. 588 n. 1375. The word 'amātya' occurs in the sense of minister in *Āp Dh.* S II. 10. 25 10 'The king should not live better or more luxuriously than his *gurus* (elders) and his ministers (*gurūn-amātyānśca nātīvet*)'. The word '*saciva*' occurs in the *Āt Br* (XII. 9) where it is said that Indra considered the *Maruts* as his '*sacivas*' (helpers or comrades). The necessity of *amātyas* or *sacivas* is stated in graphic language by several writers. Kautilya (I. 7 last verse) says 'kingship is possible only with (the aid of) assistants, a single wheel cannot work (a chariot), therefore the king should appoint ministers and listen to their opinions'. Manu (VII 55 = *Sukra* II. 1) says 'it is difficult for a person single-handed to accomplish even an easy task, how can government particularly, which has great good as its aim, be accomplished without helpers'? The *Matsya-purāṇa* (215. 2) prescribes 'the king, while his head is still wet with the waters of coronation, if he wants to supervise his State, should choose his helpers, as in the latter the kingdom secures stability'. *Matsya* 215 3 is the same as *Manu* VII 55 Vide

133. कृणुष्व पाज. पत्तिर्नि न पृथ्वीं यादि राजेवामवी इमेन । ऋ IV 4 1, यादि राजा इव अमत्यवान् अयममवान् स्ववान् वा । निरुक्त VI 12

Vismudharmottara II. 24. 2-3 which are the same as Matsya 215. 2-3; also Śānti 106. 11 and Rājantiprakāśa p. 174. From Arthasāstra I. 7 and 8, Manu VII 54 and 60, Kām. IV. 25, 27, XIII. 24 and 64 it appears that they use the words saciva and amātya as synonyms Rudradāman in his Junāgadh Inscription¹³⁴ (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 44) states that his great enterprise to repair the Sudarsana lake was disapproved of by his advisory (mati-saciva) and executive councillors (karma-saciva) who were all endowed with the qualities required in amātyas and yet who were averse to the project and had no enthusiasm for it, since the breach to be repaired was very great. Here sacivas are divided into two sorts, those who give advice and those who execute the business decided upon and the word saciva seems to be a synonym of amātya. Amara¹³⁵ states that the amātya who is a *dhisaciva* (i. e. *malisaciva*) is called a mantrin, while amātyas other than the mantrin are called karmasacivas. These distinctions are often not observed. Sumantra is called amātya in Rāmāyana I. 7. 3 and the best of mantrins in I. 8. 4. In Ayodhyā 112. 17 amātya and mantrin seem to be distinguished. From Kaut. I. 8 (last verse) 'Having divided the spheres of their powers and having taken into consideration the time and place and the work they have to do, all these persons should be appointed as ministers (amātyas), but not as mantrins,' it follows that mantrins were regarded by Kautilya as of a higher grade than amātyas in general. The R. N. P. p. 178 says that the amātyas are also styled mantrins. Kautilya states (I. 10) how amātyas are to be tested by *upadhās* i. e. by means of tempting them as regards each of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *bhaya* (fear) and to be employed if found honest after any one of the four tests, while *mantrins* were to be appointed only if their integrity and loyalty were proved by all the tests combined. Upadhā¹³⁶ is defined by the Nītiśāstramṛta p. 111 as 'testing the mind of a person as regards dharma, artha, kāma and bhaya by various devices' (employed by secret agents). Kāt. (4-5) quoted by R. N. P. p. 136 states that the minds of kings always go astray on the (slightest) cause by

134. अस्मिन्नर्थे महाक्षत्रपस्य मत्तिसचिव-कर्मसचिवैरमात्यगुणसमुच्चैरतिमहत्वाद्धे-
द्वयाद्वत्साहवित्त्वमातिभिः प्रत्याख्यातास्मम् &c E. I. VIII. p. 36 at p. 44, l 17

135. मन्त्री धीसचिवोऽमात्योन्ये कर्मसचिवास्ततः । अमरकोश II, क्षत्रियवर्ग.

136. धर्मार्थकामभयेषु व्याजेन परचित्तपरीक्षणमुपधा । नीतिवाक्यामृत (मन्त्रि-
संहार 14 p. 111), उपेत्य धीयते यस्मादुपधेति ततः स्मृता । उपधा उपधा ज्ञेयास्त-
यामात्यापरीक्षयेत् ॥ कामन्दक IV. 27.

reason of the fact that they possess great valour, knowledge, wealth and particularly the fact that they possess absolute power; therefore brāhmanas should always enlighten the mind of the king as to the duties of a king.

About the number of members in the council of ministers there has been a great divergence of views from ancient times Kauṭ I 15 and Kām. XI. 67-68 state that according to the Mānava school the council (*parisad*) of ministers should be constituted of twelve amātyas, acc. to the Bārhaspatyas of 16, acc to the Auśanasas of 20, but Kautilya's own opinion was that the number is determined by the power or exigencies of the State (*yathāsūmarthyam*). The Bālakānda (7 2-3) states that Daśaratha had eight honest and devoted amātyas (who are then named) Manu VII 54 and Mānasollāsa (II 2. verse 57) require that the king should select seven or eight ministers who should be hereditary, versed in the śāstras, brave, born of high family and well-tested. This advice was followed by Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha empire, who had a council of eight ministers (*Pradhānas*). Vide Ranade's 'Rise of the Maratha Power' pp 125-126 where he describes the functions of the eight ministers called 'Mukhya-pradhāna' (Prime minister), Pant Amātya (Finance minister), Pant Sachiva (General Accountant and Auditor), Senāpati (Commander-in-chief), Mantri (in charge of king's private affairs), Sumanta (Foreign Secretary), Panditrao (in charge of the Ecclesiastical Department), Nyāyādhīsha (Chief Justice). This list was probably taken by Shivaji's advisers from the Śukranitisāra II 71-72 where almost, the same eight are said to be the ministers according to some. Vide also Grant Duff's History of the Marathas, vol. I p. 193, and Rao Bahadur Wad's selections of *śanads* and letters (in Marathi) published by Messrs. Mawajee and Parasnis in 1913, where the names of the eight ministers of Shivaji are stated and their duties are described (p. 123). In the Śāntiparva (85. 7-9) it is declared that the king should have 37 *sacivas*, of whom 4 should be learned and bold brāhmanas, 8 valiant ksatriyas, 21 prosperous vaiśyas, 3 śūdras and one *sūta* versed in the Purānas, but verse 11 adds that the king should discuss and settle lines of policy in the midst of eight mantrins and Śānti 83 47 says that mantrins should not be less than three. In the Rāmāyana (II 100. 71) Rāma whom Bharata came to meet in the former's exile asks him whether he held consultation with three or four mantrins and (in verse 18 = Sabhāparva 5. 30) Rāma hopes

that Bharata did not settle his policies by himself alone or in consultation with too many ministers. Kautilya also (I. 15) lays down that the king should hold consultation with three or four mantrins. The *Nītivākyāmṛta* (mantrīsamuddēśa pp. 127-128) holds that they should be three, five or seven, that unanimity is difficult to secure in a group of persons of different characters and that when there are many ministers they are jealous and try to carry out their own ideas. These passages show that firstly there was to be a small cabinet of three or four ministers, secondly there was to be a council (*parīśad*) of ministers who might be eight or more in number according to requirements and thirdly there was a large number of *amātyās* or *sacīvas* (high functionaries concerned with various departments). The council is mentioned in the 3rd and 6th Rock Edicts of Aśoka (Corpus I. I. vol. I. p. 4 'parīśā pi yute ajñāpayisati') in the words 'the council will order the officers called Yuktas'. The qualifications of ministers (*amātyas*) are laid down in several places e. g. in Kautilya I. 9, Manu VII. 54, Yaj. I. 312, Kām. IV. 25-30 (of which verses 28-30 are almost the same as the words of Kautilya), Śānti 118. 2-3 (14 qualities of mantrins are mentioned), Śānti 80. 25-28, Bālakāṇḍa 7. 7-14, Ayodhyākāṇḍa 100. 15, Medhatithi on Manu VII. 54, Agnipurāṇa 239. 11-15 (= Kam. IV. 25 and 28-31), Mānasollāsa II. 2, verses 52-59, *Nītivākyāmṛta* p. 108, *Rājanītiratnākara* pp. 13-14 (quoting Nārada and Hārīta), *Rājanītiprakāśa* pp. 174-178, *Rājadharmakaustubha* pp. 251-254, *Budhabhūṣana* pp. 32, 57-58. Only the qualities required by Kautilya in *amātya* are set out here: He must be a native of the country, born of high family, influential, well-trained in arts, far-sighted, wise, of good memory, vigilant, eloquent, bold, intelligent, endowed with enthusiasm and dignity, capable of endurance, pure (in mind and actions), well-disposed, firmly devoted (to the king), endowed with character, strength, health, spiritedness, free from arrogance and fickleness, affectionate, who would not have recourse to hatred (even when offended by the king). Kautilya states that *amātyas* are of three kinds, the best, middling and inferior, of which the first must be endowed in full with the qualities set out by him and the other two are deficient by one quarter and a half respectively. In Śānti 83. 35-40 the faults that disqualify a person for being a mantrin are stated and verses 41-46 set out the qualifications for a mantrin, one of which deserves special notice, viz. (verse 46) he should have secured the confidence of the *pauras* and *jānapadas*. Many works prescribe that the ministers were

to be hereditary if the son was capable like his father, e g Manu VII 54, Yāj I 312, Rāmāyana II 100 26 (= Sabhāparva 5. 43), Agnī. 220 16-17, Śūkra II 114 The Matsya 215 83-84 and Agnipurāṇa (220 16-17) add the very sensible remark that such hereditary ministers should not be allowed to dispose of the cases of their *dāyādas* (agnates) The Visnudharmottara (II 24 55-56) contains the same rule This hereditary character is borne out by many inscriptions For example, in the Allahabad stone pillar ins of Samudragupta, Harisena is himself a Mahādanda-nāyaka whose father Dhruvabhūti was also a Mahādanda-nāyaka (Gupta Inscriptions pp 10, 15) and in the Udayagiri cave Inscription of Candragupta II (ibid p 34) Virasena is described as 'anvayaprāptasācivya' (who hereditarily obtained the post of *saciva*) The R N P (p 176) after quoting the Matsya-purāṇa expressly states that the hereditary principle was to be given up, if the son or grandson of a former minister had not the requisite qualifications, but that such a descendant was to be employed only in such state work as was suited to his¹³⁷ attainments The mantrins should, according to most authorities, be chosen from among brāhmanas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas, but not from śūdras, even if the latter be endowed with qualities (vide Śūkra II 426-427, Nitivākyaṃṛta p 108)^{137a} The consultation with the council of ministers was to be in secret Kautilya (I 15) says 'All administrative undertakings must be preceded by consultation with ministers The place for consultation should be so secluded that the conversation going on inside will not be heard outside and that even birds cannot see it, for it is narrated that secret consultations were divulged by parrots, *mamas*, dogs and other lower animals'¹³⁸ The Harsacarita VI states that Nāgasena of the Nāga dynasty met destruction in Padmāvatī because his secret policy was divulged

137. मत्स्यपुराणेऽपि। शुण्डीनानपि तथा विज्ञाय ह्यपतिः स्वयम् । कर्मत्वेव नियुज्यते यथायोग्येषु भागशः ॥ अत्राय वाक्यार्थः। यदि मौला, कुलीना अपि तथा पितृपैतामहपदयोप-
शुण्डीनास्वास्तथाविधशुण्डीनानपि विज्ञाय यथायोग्येष्वेव कर्मसु स्वयं भागशः कर्मविभागेन नियुज्यते न तु तत्तात्पितृपैतामहपदेषु तत्र तत्र तेषामयोग्यत्वात् । रा नी ३ p 176

137a शाङ्ख्यशास्त्रविज्ञानमेकतमं स्वदेशजमाचारभाजनविशुद्धमस्यसन्निभमपि-
चारिणमधीताखिलम्यवहारतन्त्रमस्यज्ञमशेषोपाधिविशुद्धं च मन्त्रिणं कुर्वति । समस्तपक्षपातेषु
स्वदेशपक्षपाते न मद्दत् । नीतिवाक्या० p 108

138. मन्त्रपूर्वाः सर्वारम्भाः । तदुद्देशं संतुष्टं कथानामनिष्ठायां पक्षिभिरनालोच्य
स्यात् । श्रूयते हि शुकसारिकाभिः मन्त्रो भिज्ज- श्वभिरन्यैश्च तिर्यग्योनिभिः । अर्थशास्त्र I 15.
compare दर्पचरित VI 'नागकुलजन्मन सारिकाश्रान्तिमन्त्रस्यासीक्षायां नामतेनैव
पक्षावस्थायां । शुकश्रुतदृश्यस्य च भीरुदीर्यत श्रुतवर्मेण आवस्थाम् ।'

by a *manū*, Śrutavarman lost his kingdom in Srāvastī as his secret was disclosed by a parrot, and king Suvarnacūda met his death in Mrttikāvati by babbling in a dream about his policy. Vide also Manu VII. 147-150, Yāj. I. 344, Kām. XI. 53, 65-66, Agnipurāṇa 225. 19, Mānasollāsa II. 9, verses 700-705 p. 92. Kaut. (I. 15) has a verse 'no outsider should know the king's secret policy which he desires to carry out. Only those who are to carry it out should know it only when it is begun or accomplished'. Vide for a similar rule Manu VII. 105 (=Śānti. 140. 24 which is also the last but one verse in Kaut. I. 15).¹³⁹ The king presided in the council, but if he was not present the chief minister presided (Manu VII. 141). In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (V) the king's decision to make a *dravājya* is conveyed to the council of ministers and then the *amātya* (who here means the chief minister or President of the council) informs the king that the council agreed with the king, whereupon the king asks the council to depute the commander-in-chief Virasena to carry out the proposal. Kaut. further says (I. 15) that all business was to be transacted in the presence of the ministers; but if any one was absent his opinion was to be elicited by despatching a letter. In matters of emergency (or great danger) the king is to call his cabinet ministers and the council of ministers and what the majority decide or what would lead to success is to be carried out by the king. Śūkra I. 365 also refers to the view of the majority. It is the duty of the ministers, according to Kām. IV. 41-49, to prevent a king from pursuing an evil course, it is the duty of the king to listen to the advice of his ministers and such ministers are not merely his friends but are really his *gurus*.¹⁴⁰ Śūkra (II. 82-83) asks 'How can the kingdom be brought to prosperity by those ministers whom the king is not afraid to offend? They are no better than ladies who are to be decked with ornaments and fine clothes. What is the use of those ministers, whose advice does not tend to the advancement of the kingdom, the people, the army, the treasury, good government and to the destruction

139. नास्त्य छिद्रं परः पश्येच्छिद्रेषु परमान्वियात् । गृहेष्कूर्मं द्रवाद्धानि रक्षेद्विवर-
मात्मन ॥ शान्ति 83. 49 and शान्ति 140. 24 with slight variations; कौटिल्य
reads नास्त्य छिद्रं परे विद्युच्छिद्रं विद्यात्परस्य च । ... यत्स्याद्विद्युत्तमात्मनः ॥

140. सज्जमानमकार्येषु निरुन्धुर्मन्त्रिणो ह्ययम् । शुरुणामिव चैतेषां क्षुण्णद्वन्द्वं
ह्ययः ॥ ... ह्ययस्य ते हि सुहृदस्त एव शुरो मताः । य एनसुत्ययमव वारयन्त्यनिवारिताः ॥ सज्ज-
मानमकार्येषु सुहृदो वारयन्ति ये । सत्यं ते नैव सुहृदो शुरो मताः हि ते ॥ कामन्दक
IV. 41, 44-45

of enemies? The ministers, however, must have found it difficult to please the king and also to placate the subjects. A well-known *subhāsita* states that one who looks to the benefit of the king comes to be hated by the people and he who looks to the good of the people (only) is abandoned by the king; when there is this great conflict it is rare to find a person who can secure the aims of both the king and the people.^{140a} Manu (VII 56-59) prescribes the matters in which consultations are to be held with ministers and the procedure thereof, viz. peace and war, *sthāna* (i.e. army, treasury, capital and the country), sources of revenue, protection (of himself and of the country), the proper bestowal of the wealth obtained, the king is to ascertain the opinions of ministers separately and then jointly and then do what is beneficial; he is then to hold consultation on the most important affairs relating to the six means of policy with a wise *brāhmana* who is the most distinguished of all ministers and always to rely upon him, to settle all lines of policy finally on his advice and then to act. Yāj I 312 also requires the king to consult his *mantrins*, then a *brāhmana* (*purohita*) and thereafter to decide himself the course of action. The principal matters which *mantrins* have to concentrate themselves upon, acc to Kām XIII 23-24 (=Agnipurāna 241 16-18), are: *mantra*, securing the fruit of the line of policy adopted (such as conquering a country and protecting it), the carrying out of the business (of the State), predicting the good or evil effects (of an action taken), revenue and expenditure, government (i.e. punishing those who deserve punishment), subduing enemies, measures against calamities like famine, guarding the king and the kingdom.¹⁴¹ The *Nītivākyaṃrta* (p 185) concisely puts the same by saying that *amātyas* have to concern themselves with revenue, expenditure, guarding the ruler (i.e. his body, his dharma, wife and children), looking after the army in all its arms.

Yāj I 343 says 'since the State depends upon *mantra* (i.e. lines of policy arrived at after consultation with ministers), the

140a नरपतित्तिकर्ता द्वेष्यतां याति लोके जनपदहितकर्ता त्यज्यते पापिषेन्नेत्रैः । इति मङ्गलि विरोधे वर्तमाने समाने वृत्तजनपदानां दुर्लभः कार्यकर्ता ॥ q. by वृष. p. 86, last pāda being read as वृद्धमपहितकर्ता त्यज्यते पापिषेन्नेत्रैः.

141 मन्त्रो मन्त्रफलवाप्तिः कार्यानुष्ठानमायति । आर्यस्यैव दण्डनीतिरभिमत-
वेधनम् ॥ त्यसन्त्यस्य प्रतीकारो राजराज्याभिरक्षणम् । इत्यमात्यस्य कर्मेदं हन्ति स त्यसना-
न्वित । कामन्दक XIII. 23-24 and अग्निपुराण 241 16-18, आपो त्ययः स्वभिरक्षा
तन्त्रवर्षणं क्षामात्यानामाधिकारः । नीतिवाक्यादृत (अमात्यसमुद्देशः) p 185

king should keep his lines of policy secret in such a way that people should not know them till the results of his undertakings manifest themselves'. Kautilya (X. 6 last verse) emphasizes the importance of mantra in 'an arrow discharged by an archer may kill one man or none at all, but a (well-considered) scheme put into operation by a wise man may destroy even those who are only conceived' ¹⁴² Both Sabhāparva 5. 27 and Ayodhya 100. 16 have the same verse, viz *mantra* is the root of victory. ¹⁴³ Kautilya and the Nītivākyaṃṛta p. 114 say that *mantra* accomplishes the following, viz. the apprehension of what is not or cannot be seen, imparting the strength of definite conclusion to what is apprehended, removal of doubt when two courses or opinions are possible, inference of an entire matter when only a part is seen. ¹⁴⁴ In most works such as Kauṭ. I. 15, Kām. XI. 56, Agnipurāṇa 241. 4, Pāñcatantra I p. 85, Mānasollāsa (II. 9 verse 697 ff, p. 92) it is said that *mantra* has five elements which have to be considered (it is *pañcāṅga*), viz. means of carrying out actions (or works), plenty of men and materials, proper allotment of time and place, remedies against pitfalls, the (happiness of the kingdom or people) that will result from the accomplishment of the course decided upon. ¹⁴⁵

The high functionaries and office-holders have been different at different times. In the Vedic age, in the performance of the Rājāsūya, there are certain offerings (generally twelve in number) which are called 'ratnīnām, havīṃsi'. Their order and names differ in different texts, though most are the same in all. Besides the king (the sacrificer), the eleven 'ratnas' (jewels) or 'ratnins' are (according to the Śat Br. V 3. 2). the commander-in-chief, the *purohita*, the crowned queen, *sūta grāmaṇi*, *ksatṛ* (chamberlain), *saṅgahatṛ* (treasurer or charioteer?),

142. एकं हन्यान्न वा हन्याद्विदुः क्षितौ घञ्जम्मत । प्राज्ञेन तु मतिः क्षिता हन्याद्गर्भ-
गतानि ॥ अर्थशास्त्र X. 6 last verse, quoted in यशस्तिलक III. p. 386.

143. मन्त्रो विजयमूलं हि राज्ञां भवति रायव । अयोध्या 100 16, विजयो मन्त्र-
मूलो हि राजा भवति भात । सभा 5. 27.

144. अष्टपलब्धस्य ज्ञानपलब्धस्य निश्चयबलाधानमर्थद्वैतस्य संशयोच्छेदमेकदेश-
द्वयशेषोपलब्धिरिति मन्त्रसाध्यमेतत् । तस्माद् द्विविधैः सार्धमासीत मन्त्रम् । अर्थशास्त्र
I, 15 and नीतिशा. p. 114, which reads उपलब्धस्य निश्चयो निश्चितस्य बलाधानम्.

145. कर्मणामारम्भोपायः, पुरुषद्रव्यसम्पत्, देशकालविभागः, विनियतप्रतीकारः,
कार्यसिद्धिरिति पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्रः । अर्थशास्त्र I. 15, सहायाः साधनोपाया विभागो देश-
कालयोः । विषयेष्व् प्रतीकारो मन्त्रः पञ्चाङ्ग इत्युक्ते । कामन्दक XI 56 It will be noticed
that Kām. omits कार्यसिद्धिः and makes up the five by counting देशविभाग
and कालविभाग separately.

akṣāvāpa (superintendent of gambling or of the records?), *bhāgadugha* (collector of taxes), *govikartana* 'hunter', *dūta* (courier), *parivrkti* (discarded queen) Vide H Dh vol II p. 1215 n and 1216 In Tai. Br (I. 7. 3) they are the same as above except that *govikartana* is omitted and the queen called 'vāvātā' is added These are described in the Tai. Br. I. 7. 3 as the bestowers of the kingdom (ete vai rāstrasya pradātārah). Vide also Tai. S I. 8. 9. 1-2. It is clear from Śat. Br V. 3. 2. 2 and 4 that some of these jewels like the commander-in-chief and the huntsman were of low caste or of the śūdra caste Later on certain functionaries began to be called *tīrthas*, their number being 18; vide *Sabhāparva* 5. 38 (= *Ayodhyā* 100. 36) and *Śānti* 69. 52 for a reference to the 18 *tīrthas*.¹⁴⁶ Kautilya (I. 12) speaks of the 18 *tīrthas* and enumerates them.¹⁴⁷ In the *Raghuvamśa* 17.68 Kālidāsa employs the word *tīrtha* in this sense. According to the *Nītivākyaṃrta* (p. 29) persons who are helpers in dharma and state business are called *tīrtha*. In the Edicts of Aśoka the high officers were called *mahāmātras* (in Rock Edict XII there are *dharma-mahāmātras*) and other officers were *yuktas*, *rājukas* and *prādeśikas* (in Rock Edict III) of whom the first at least were subordinate to the council of ministers. Later writers like Govindarāja on *Ayodhyā* 100. 36, the com

146. काञ्चिदष्टादशान्येषु स्वपक्षे दश पञ्च च । त्रिभिर्भिन्नविज्ञातैर्वैस्ति तीर्थानि चारकैः ॥ अथोप्या 100. 36 = समापर्व 5. 38 = नीतिप्रकाशिका I. 52.

147. तान्त्राज्ञा स्वविषये मन्त्रि-पुरोहित-सेनापति-शुबराज-द्वौवारिकान्तर्देशिक-प्रशास्त-समाहर्तृ-संनिधातृ-प्रदेष्टृ-नायक-पौरव्यावहारिक-कार्मान्तिक-मन्त्रिपरिवृत्त्यक्ष-दण्डबुर्गान्त-पालाटविकेष्टु अख्येयदेशवैशिल्यभाषाभिज्ञापदेशान् भक्तिः सामर्थ्ययोगाच्चापसर्पेत् । . . एवं शस्त्रो च भित्ति च मध्यमे चावपेच्चरात् । उदासीने च तेषां च तीर्थेण्वष्टादशस्वपि ॥ अर्थ-शास्त्र I. 12 द्वौवारिक is lit doorkeeper i. e. Lord Mayor of the palace, आन्तर्देशिक is Lord Chamberlain (the same as रुच्यक्षपक्ष or कलत्राक्षपक्ष in *Āśvamedhika-parva* 22. 20 and *Śālya* 29. 72 and 94 and the रुच्यक्षपक्षमहामात्र in the 12th Rock Edict at Girnar or Mansehra in *Corpus I. I.*, p. 80, and the अन्त इराक्षपक्ष in *मत्स्यपुराण* 215. 42) प्रशास्त is probably Chief Magistrate. समाहर्तृ is the minister or the Chief Commissioner of Revenue. संनिधातृ is the minister in charge of the Treasury. प्रदेष्टृ functions are not known, नायक is probably नगराक्षपक्ष. पौरव्यावहारिक is the Chief Justice whose court was in the capital कार्मान्तिक was superintendent of all mines and State manufactories, दण्डपाल was officer in charge of all branches of the army, दुर्बपाल (= राष्ट्रपाल) officer in charge of all forts, अन्तपाल officer in charge of all frontiers, आदविक superintendent of forests and forest tribes It is possible to regard प्रदेष्टृनायक as one word meaning the chief of pradeśtrs (they were many, acc. to Kautilya V. 2) and to take Paura as equal to the *Nāgaraka* i. e. capital Superintendent (vide *Arthasāstra* II. 36) and *Vyāvahārika* as Chief Justice. For गोविकर्तन see विराट् 2. 7. (cr. ed.).

on the Yaśastilaka I. p. 91 differ as to the names of these 18.¹⁴⁸ The Rājatarāṅgīnī I. 120 informs us that in former times there were only seven departments (*karmasthānas*), that later on they became 18 and that five more were added to these eighteen (IV. 142-143 and 512) viz. mahāpratihāra, mahāsāndhivigraha, mahāśvaśāla, mahābhāndāgāra, mahāsādhanaśābhāga (and so the Heads were called 'adhigata-pañcamahāśabda' i. e. to whom five titles with 'mahā' in them were given).¹⁴⁹ The Āgni-purāṇa 220 mentions several high functionaries like the senāpati, pratihāra, dūta and heads of departments. The Śūkra-nītisāra (II. 69-70) enumerates ten principal high functionaries of the king (*prakṛtis*) viz. purodhas (*purohita*), pratinidhi, pradhāna (President of council), saciva (war minister), mantrin (Home minister), prādvivāka (minister of justice), paṇḍita (minister of ecclesiastical matters), sumantra (Finance minister), amātya (revenue minister) and dūta (minister of diplomatic relations) and remarks that others omitted purodhas and dūta from this list of ten and held that these eight should all receive the same pay (verses 71-72), while Śūkra was of opinion that the ten high dignitaries should each receive in order one tenth more as pay than the succeeding one (v. 71), that the purohita was the most eminent of all, that among the rest each preceding was more eminent than each succeeding one (II. 74-77), that after these high dignitaries came the other officers (*adhikārigana*, II. 279), that then came the *darśaka* (secretary?), and *lekha* (clerk), then the menial servants who waited on the king and lastly the lowest were those who carried out dirty work. In II. 84-87 Śūkra briefly brings out the special functions of the

148. उक्तं च : सेनापतिर्गणको राजभेदी दण्डाधिपो मन्त्री महत्तरो यलवत्तरश्चत्वारो यज्ञोत्तरद्वयबलं इरोहितोऽस्मात्पो महामात्यश्चेत्यष्टादश राज्ञो तीर्थानि भवन्ति । *com on Yaśastilaka* I. p. 91, धर्मसमवायिनः कार्यसमवायिनश्च पुद्गवास्तीर्थम् । नीतिशा p. 29 (अर्थसमुद्देशः).

149. This is a meaning of *pañcamahāśabda* which is peculiar to the Rājatarāṅgīnī. Elsewhere that title generally means one before whom were beaten the five musical instruments. In the Talcher grant of Kulastambha in the 9th century the epithet 'samadhigata-pañcamahāśabda' is applied to a king (*mahārājādhirāja*) in E. I. vol. XII p. 157, while in an Inscription from Yewur of about 1040 A. D. it is applied to a *mahāmaṇḍalesvara* (E. I. vol. XII. p. 269). In the Pimpri plates of Dhārāvārsa Dhruvarāja dated Śaka 697 the same title is applied to a minister described as *सहासन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतसामन्त* (E. I. vol. X, p. 89). Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. (New series) vol. I pp. 238-245, VII. 487, VIII. 93 for discussion.

ministers from pratinidhi to dūta¹⁵⁰ and then in II. 88-105 at length. In I. 353-361 Śukra lays down how the king's public *darbar* should be arranged, viz. the king's throne should be in the centre of the western half of the hall on which the king should sit well-dressed, wearing his crown, armour and a drawn sword; his sons, grandsons, brother's and sister's sons should sit behind him, his daughter's sons should sit on his right and on his left should sit in order his uncles, chief agnates, members of the assembly, commanders; in front of the king to his right should be seated his maternal grandfather's relatives, the mantrins, and to the left his father-in-law, wife's brother, officers &c. The Śukranītisāra (I. 374-376) lays down certain very practical rules for the king: 'he should personally observe villages, towns and districts every year; he should see whether his subjects are kept contented or are harassed by his officers, he should not side with the officers (with the man on the spot) but rather should take the side of the subjects, he should remove an officer who is hateful to many (lit. a hundred) people and an *amātya* should be removed if he is found to commit several illegal acts Śukra (in II. 107-113) further advises the change of portfolios among the ministers (e. g. *sumantra* should be appointed *amātya* or *vice versa*); he says that for each department three should be engaged, one the most clever being the head and two others being *darśakas* (secretaries) who should be changed every three, five, seven or ten years; one man should not be allowed to hold the same high office for a long time, since otherwise he becomes intoxicated with power,¹⁵¹ servants should not do any business without a written order nor should a king order anything to be done except in writing-(II. 290).

The words in Aśoka's Edict III 'pañcasu pañcasu vāsesu niyātu' probably refer to the practice of the transfer of high

150 कार्याकार्यप्रविज्ञाता स्मृतः प्रतिनिधिस्तु सः । सर्वदर्शी प्रधानस्तु सेनाविदुः सचिवस्तथा ॥ मन्त्री तु नीतिकुशलः पण्डितो धर्मवत्स्वविदुः । लोकशास्त्रप्रज्ञस्तु ग्राहविवाकः स्मृतः सदा ॥ देशकालप्रविज्ञाता क्षमात्य इति कथ्यते । आयव्ययप्रविज्ञाता सुमन्त्र स च कीर्तिः ॥ छुक्रणीति II. 84-86

151 Compare what Kautilya says 'बलं हि चित्तं विकरोति' (VII. 14 p. 305) That power corrupts is forcibly stated by Plato in his 'Laws', Book IV p. 485 (Random House ed.) 'Chronos knew that no human nature invested with supreme power is able to order human affairs and not overflow with insolence and wrong'

officers every five years. The 6th caste mentioned by Megasthenes (Fragment 1 p. 41 and Fragment XXXIII p. 85 in McCrindle's 'Ancient India') was that of overseers who inquired into and superintended all that went on in India, and made reports to the king or, where there was no king, to the magistrate. Megasthenes probably confounded the ministers and *adhyaksas* (who were often hereditary) with a caste. Vide also Fragment XXXIV pp. 86-88 about the officers of state and their duties. It is probably on account of some such rule as is stated in Śukra about frequent change of portfolios that in the inscriptions high functionaries have epithets prefixed to them which indicate their connection with several portfolios e. g. in the Banskhera plate of Emperor Harsa (E. I. vol. IV p. 208 at p. 211) Skandagupta (who is probably the same as the Skandagupta mentioned by Bāna in the Harsacarita VI as commander of the elephant arm) was the *dūtaka* of the grant and is described as 'mahāpramātāra-mahāsāmanta'; in the Allahabad stone pillar Ins. of Emperor Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions p. 10 and p. 15 n. 4), Harisena is described as 'Sāndhivigrahika' (minister for peace and war), 'Kumārāmātya' (the minister of the Yuvarāja?) and Mahā-dandanāyaka¹⁵² (commander of an army); Prthvisena (a brāhmaṇa) is described as mantrin, kumārāmātya and then mahābala-dhikṛta (in E. I. vol. X p. 72, of Gupta Samvat 117). In theory and practice the king was to issue orders in the presence or under the advice of his principal ministers. We read in the grant of Rājārāja I of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty that he issued his command in the presence of the mantrin, purohita, senāpati, yuvarāja, dauvārīka and pradhāna (E. I. vol. IV. p. 300 at p. 302). Śukra (II. 362-370) describes the procedure followed in issuing orders about State business. First the mantrin, prādvivāka (Chief Judge), pandita (head of ecclesiastical department), and dūta should write out the business relating to their departments, then the amātya should write thereon (*sādhulikhānam-astī*, the writing is good), sumantra adds '*saṃjagvartam*' (it is well considered), the pradhāna writes '*satyam yathārtham*' (it is the truth, it is as the business requires), pratinidhi should write '*āṅgikartum योग्यम्*' (it is proper to accept this), the yuvarāja should write '*āṅgikartavyam*' (it should be accepted), the purohita should write '*lekhyam svā-*

152. 'Mahādandanāyaka' may mean 'the chief minister' as Manu VII 65 states 'on the amātya depends the control (of the government) and discipline (among subjects) depends on control (danda).'

bhimatam' (this writing is approved by me); all then should make their seals after their remarks and then the king should write 'angikrtam' ¹⁵³ (it is accepted) and affix his seal

The Rājatarangini shows that persons often rose to ministerial positions from low birth e g. (V. 73) it states that an engineer of Avantivarman was a foundling, (VII. 207) a watchman became chief minister.

It is necessary to say a few words about some of the great officers of State. First comes the Yuvarāja Kautalya devotes one chapter (I. 17) to taking care of the prince. The subjects of the prince's education, his association with state business, treatment of princes, good or bad, the coronation of a yuvarāja have already been dealt with (pp. 49, 83 &c.). The younger brother or eldest son was made yuvarāja (Crown Prince) during the reigning king's life (Ayodhyā, chap. 3-6, Kām. VII 6, Śukra II 14-16) Rāma on his coronation as king made Bharata the Crown Prince when Lakṣmaṇa refused to be so (Yuddha 131.93). The yuvarāja and princes were often sent as governors of different parts of the realm. The Divyāvadāna (XXVI p 371) states that Aśoka was sent by his father Bindusāra to Takṣaśilā to pacify popular disturbances and Emperor Aśoka himself is said to have sent his son Kunāla from Pāṭaliputra to the same town to pacify the citizens that had been offended by the arrogance of the *amātyas* (*ibid* pp 407-8) Khāravela in the Hāthigumphā Ins (E I. vol XX at pp. 79, 86) was a yuvarāja for nine years from his 16th to his 24th year From the Mālavikāgnimitra we learn that while Puṣyamitra was virtual emperor of Bharatavarṣa his son Agnimitra was ruling at Vidiśā and had the authority to divide the kingdom of Berar between two brothers, Yajñasena and Mādhavasena The yuvarāja is not generally enumerated in the lists of mantrins, but he is one of the 18 tirthas and from Śukra (above p 115) it appears that he had a seal and important matters passed through his hands along with those of the ministers. According ¹⁵⁴ to

153. Compare the word 'dr̥ṣtam' occurring at the beginning of Chamṣak and Sivani grants of the Vākātaka emperor Pravaraśena II and the same word in the plate of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (in E I. vol I at p 9) In most plates of the Vākātakas the word 'dr̥ṣtam' occurs at the beginning, vide E I vol 22 p 167

154. जीवन्तस्वामिता पुत्रे न देवाप्यजिला कचिद् । स्वभावसद्गुणे यस्मान्महानर्थमद्वावह ॥ दिव्यतैरपि नो दत्ता स्वपुत्रे स्वाधिकारता । स्वायुषः स्वल्पशेवे तु सत्यपुत्रे स्वाभ्यमादिशेद् ॥ शुक्रनीतिः V 17-18.

Śukra (II. 12) the *yuvarāja* and the group of *amātyas* are the two arms or eyes of the king, but Śukra V. 17 warns the king against transferring all power to the Crown Prince except when the king is about to die. The *Matsyapurāṇa* 220. 7 quoted in the *Budhabhūṣana* (p. 33) prescribes that the king should entrust to the well-disciplined prince at first unimportant offices and then gradually important ones.¹⁵⁵ If a prince was ill-behaved he was not to be abandoned as he would go over to the enemies and harm the king, but he should be kept confined in a guarded place (*Kām.* VII 6, *Budhabhūṣana* pp. 33, 35, verses 77, 93). As regards his emoluments he was placed on the same footing as the *mantrin*, *purohita*, *senāpati*, the queen, the king's mother (*Kaut.* V. 3). What office is meant by the *Kumārāmātya* in some of the Inscriptions (e. g. Gupta Ins. pp. 10, 50, *E. I.* vol. X p. 72, *E. I.* vol. XI p. 83) is not clear. It does not probably mean 'a royal prince who was also an *amātya*', but rather some minister attached to the *yuvarāja*, as contradistinguished from *rājāmātya* (which office occurs in Gupta Inscriptions, p. 218). It appears that in ancient times provincial governors could be total strangers to the royal family. From *Rudradāman's* *Junāgaḍh* Ins. we learn that the governor of *Surāstra* under *Candragupta Maurya* was a *vaiśya* called *Puṣyagupta* and under *Aśoka* a *Yavana* noble or king called *Tusāspa*^{155a} (*E. I.* VIII p. 36 at p. 43).

Next comes the *purohita*. In *H. Dh.* vol. II pp. 40 and 363 it has been already shown how *purohitas* existed from the most ancient period of the *Rgveda*, how the *purohita* was thought to be half the soul of the king and how the co-operation of the spiritual teacher and the secular head (the king) was deemed absolutely necessary for the prosperity of the kingdom, how *Gautama* (XI 12-14) and *Āp. Dh.* S II 5 10. 16 prescribed the qualities of the *purohita*. Our authorities show that the *purohita* was not a mere priest. The *Ait. Br.* (40. 2) calls the *purohita* 'rāstragopa' (the saviour of the kingdom). The *Śukranīti* also,

155. अधिकारेषु सर्वेषु विनीत विनियोजयेत् । आदौ स्वल्पे ततः पश्चात्क्रमेणाय महत्स्वपि ॥ मत्स्य 220, 7, बुध p. 33

155a It is strange that Dr. Beni Prasad in 'The State in ancient India' (p. 189) remarks "the former governor is designated *rāstriya* while the latter is called *adhīsthāya*" " *Adhīsthāya* " in *Rudradāman's* Ins. is only a gerund of 'sthā' with 'adhi' and means 'having ruled over'. *राष्ट्रिय* is formed from *राष्ट्र* according to *राष्ट्रावात्पाराद् चलो* (*Pān.* IV. 2 93) and means 'one ruling over a province, a Provincial Governor'. In dramas *राष्ट्रिय* means 'king's brother-in-law'. *Kṣīrasvāmī* says 'नान्यादृश्यत्र राष्ट्राधिकृतो राष्ट्रियः'.

though a very late work, similarly describes the purohita (II. 74) as 'rājarastrabhrt' (the supporter of the king and the kingdom.) In the Rgveda III. 53. 12 we find the idea that the hymns and the spiritual power of the purohita Viśvāmitra protected the Bharata clan¹⁵⁶ He made the king ready for battle and accompanied him in battle murmuring 'where the arrows fly &c'. (Rg. VI. 75. 17) while the fight went on (vide Āśv. Gr III. 12. 19 quoted below n. 308) The Visnudharmasūtra III. 70, Yāj I. 313, Kām. IV. 32 require that the purohita was to be well versed¹⁵⁷ in the vedas, itihāsa, dharmasāstra or dandanīti, in astrology and portents, in rites of propitiation contained in the Atharvaveda, of high family, endowed with all *vidyās* and good acts as stated in the śāstras and with austerities. Kaut. (I. 9) states almost the same qualifications for the purohita, requires the king to honour his advice as a pupil honours his teacher or a son his father or a servant his master and says that royal power advanced by brāhmanas, enforced as with a spell by the consultations of mantrins and endowed as with a weapon by the observance of śāstric rules becomes invincible and secures success Vide Ādi. 170. 74-75, 174. 14-15, Śānti. 72. 2-18 and chap. 73, Rājanītiprakāśa pp 59-61 and 136-137, Rājadharmakaustubha pp 255-257 for qualifications expected in the purohita Kautilya (X. 3) states that while a battle is going on the (chief) minister and purohita should urge on and encourage the soldiers by exhorting them with verses from the Veda and classical Sanskrit, promising great rewards in the next world for those who fall in battle The Śukranītisāra (II. 78-80) requires in the purohita among other qualities the study of dhanurveda, proficiency in arms and in formations of armies for battle and possession of so much religious merit as to be able to pronounce an effective curse A purohita was to be distinguished from a *rtvij* (a sacrificial priest) as Manu VII. 78 and Yāj I. 314 show Vide Mānasollāsa II. 2. 60 (p. 34), Rājanītiratnākara pp 16-17, Visnudharmottara II. 5, Agni 239. 16-17 for further passages on purohita Some authorities include

156. विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेद् भारतं जनम् ॥ ऋ. III. 53. 12

157. वेदेतिहासधर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलकुलीनमव्यक्तं तपस्विने दुरोहितं च वरेत् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 70. दुरोहितं प्रकुर्वीत देवज्ञमुदितोदितम् । दण्डनीत्या च कुशलमथवाङ्मिरसे तथा ॥ याज्ञ. I. 313. दुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलं यदङ्गे वेदे वेदे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्यं चाभिविनीतमापदा देवमात्रुपीगामथर्वाभिरुपायैश्च यतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत । तमाचार्यं शिष्यं पितरं पुत्रो भृत्यः स्वामिनमिव चाह्वयेत् । ... ब्राह्मणेनैधितं क्षत्रं मन्त्रिमन्त्राभिमन्त्रितम् । जयद्वयजितमयन्तं शास्त्राह्वयमशस्त्रितम् ॥ कौटिल्य I. 9. राजा दुरोहितं कुर्याद्भुक्तिं ब्राह्मणं दितम् । कृताध्ययनसंपन्नमह्वं सत्यवादिनम् ॥ कात्या. v. in स. वि. p. 20.

the purohita among amātyas or mantrins (e. g. Vijnāneśvara on Yāj. I. 353, Śukra II. 69-70), while others like Yāj. I. 312 regard him as distinct from mantrins. The purohita was often hereditary. Acc. to Kautilya quoted above he was to employ means declared in the Atharvaveda to remove calamities, divine and human. The great divine calamities acc. to Kautilya IV. 3 are fire, flood, disease, famine, rats, wild elephants, snakes and evil spirits.¹⁵⁸ According to Manu VII. 78 the purohita was concerned with the religious rites laid down in the śrauta and grhya sūtras and Ap II. 5. 10. 14-17 show that the purohita had complete jurisdiction in matters of penance for offences. Vas. (19. 40-42) provides that if the king lets off an offender deserving to be punished the king had to fast for a day and the purohita for three days and to perform the heavy penance of Krcchra if the king punished the innocent. According to most authorities he played a role that was pre-eminently religious. He is not mentioned among the 10 limbs of the sabhā in the administration of justice. Kāt. 24 (quoted in S. V. p. 20) does not require him to be an expert in arthaśāstra, though Kāt. 56 quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 2 and Sm. C. (II. p. 14) say that the king should enter the Hall of Justice with learned brāhmanas, the ministers, the chief justice, the purohita &c. Yāj. I. 312 and the Mit. on Yāj. I. 312-313 on the other hand prescribe that even after consulting all mantrins, the king was finally to consult the purohita in all secular and religious matters. The Nitivākyāmṛta (purohitasamuddeśa) p. 160 states that the divine calamities are: shower of fire (fall of lightning?), excessive rainfall, epidemics, famine, damage or disease of crops, swarms of locusts and other vermin, diseases, goblins and female evil spirits, snakes, wild elephants, rats. The purohita is required to know ritual of five kinds,¹⁵⁹ viz. that dealing with the propitiation of Naksatras, that of śrauta sacrifices, that of the *samhitās* (of Tantra worship), that of Atharvāsiras and that of

158. दैवान्यष्टौ महाभयानि-अग्निदृक् व्याधिर्दुर्भिक्षं सूचिका व्यालः सर्पः रक्षसः । तेष्वपि जनपदं रक्षेत् । अर्थशास्त्र IV. 3 : अमाहुष्योऽग्निवर्षमविवर्धं मरुती (मरुको ?) दुर्भिक्षं सस्योपघातो अन्तुसर्गो व्याधिर्दुर्भिक्षाच्चज्ञाकिनिसर्पग्यालमूषकाश्चेत्यापदः । नीतिवा p. 160.

159. पञ्चकल्पविधानज्ञं वरयेत्तु सुदर्शनम् । नक्षत्रकल्पो वैतानस्तृतीयः संहिताविधिः । चतुर्थः शिरसा कल्पः शान्तिकल्पस्तु पञ्चमः ॥ पञ्चकल्पविधानज्ञमाचार्यं प्राप्य भूतिः । सर्वोत्पातमहान्तात्मा धुनक्ति वयुधं चिरम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 5. 3-5 quoted in राजनीतिकौ. p. 256. शिरस् here seems to mean अथर्वशिरस् which is an Upaniṣad mentioned in Gauṇ. 19.12, Vas. 28. 14, Viṣṇudharmasūtra 56. 22 among the holy Vedic texts that purify a person of sins. It begins with देवा ह वै स्वर्गं लोकमगमन्ते देवा रुद्रमष्टच्छन्को भवानिति । Vide Muir's Sanskrit Texts vol. IV, p. 356 ff for text (portion) and translation.

sāntis (such as grahaśānti &c.). Calamities, according to Kām. XIII. 20-21, are of two sorts, divine (daiva) and human: there are five kinds of the first viz. fire, flood, disease, famine and epidemic, all of which can be met by human effort and by propitiatory rites, while human calamities should be withstood by constant effort and by proper lines of policy. The same verses are Agnipurāna 241 14-16.

Acc to Kautilya (V 3) 48000 panas were the salary of the (royal) sacrificial priest, ācārya (teacher), mantrin, purohita, commander-in-chief, crown prince, the king's mother, the queens and he holds that "with that amount of maintenance they would not yield to temptation or revolt (against the king)".¹⁶⁰ The amātyas, the chief judge and even the purohita could be punished by the king, acc to Manu, if any of them went wrong (VIII 335 and IX 234) and Kaut. (IX. 3) prescribes that when the purohita is guilty even of a great offence, the remedy is to imprison him or banish him. Some great ministers, though not exactly purohitas of the king, were learned brāhmanas and led simple lives such as Cānakya and Mādhava. There is divergence of views about the salaries set out in the Arthaśāstra (V. 3). Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity' part II p 136) holds that the salaries were yearly and the panas in which they were paid were silver ones. Prof Dikshitar (in 'Mauryan Polity' p 151) holds that the salaries were monthly. Confusion is caused by the fact that there were panas of copper, silver and gold. Vide Rājānitiprakāśa p 294. The Rājataranginī VII 950 speaks of *dinnāṣas* of gold, silver and copper. Rao Bahadur K. V Rangaswami Aiyangar holds that the salaries (in the Arthaśāstra) were monthly and in golden panas (in 'Ancient Indian Polity' pp 44-45). Therefore this matter must be investigated. Manu (VIII 13) promises that those names of copper, silver and gold coins which are well-known among the people (of its day) for purposes of trade will be described by him. Acc. to Manu VIII. 134 and 136, Viṣṇu Dh S IV. 6-10, and Yāj I 363-365 five kṛṣṇaṇas are equal to a māsa, 16 māsaṇas are equal to a suvarṇa, 4 suvarṇaṇas (or five acc. to some) are equal to a pala, a karsa is equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pala and a piece of copper one-fourth of a pala in weight is called a pana, which is the same as karsāpana¹⁶¹ (equal to 80 rakṣakās or

160. कृत्विगाचार्यमन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतिपुराजराजमातुलजमहिष्योऽष्टत्वारिंशत्सहस्राः । एतावता भरणेनानास्वाद्यत्वमकोपकं चेर्षा भवति । कोटिलय V 3

161. कर्षसमितस्ताम्रचिकारः पणसंज्ञो भवति कार्षापणसंज्ञकश्च कार्षापणस्य विज्ञेयस्ताम्रिकः कापिकः पण-इति मनुवचनात् । मितो on या I 365, पणकार्षापणशब्दौ पलचतुर्थांशिकर्षस्य ताम्रद्रव्यस्य नामधेयम् । स्मृतिच (II p 99), धान्यमात्रा द्वाहा सुवर्णमात्रकाः पणश्च वा सुवर्णाः । ते कोटिका सुवर्णः कर्षो वा । चतुःकर्ष पलम् । अर्थशास्त्र II. 19.

guñjā berries). A pala was equal to 320 raktikās. Kaut II. 19 says practically the same thing. In Kaut. V. 3 the salaries range from 48000 to 60 panas from the highest functionaries to the lowest servants. They must all be taken to be for the same period in every case and in the same metal, since Kaut expressly states no different periods and no difference in metal. Ordinarily the words pana and kārsāpana (as stated by Manu VIII 136 and the Mit. on Yāj. I. 365 and the Śukranīti IV. 1. 116) refer to copper pieces (used as coins) and bearing a stamp. Another table given by Manu VIII. 135-136, Visnu Dh. S. VI. 11-12, Yāj. I. 364 is: 2 raktikās¹⁶⁸ or kṛṣṇaḥ = one (silver) māsa, 16 māsaḥ = one

162. A raktikā was found by General Cunningham after many experiments to weigh on an average 1.8 grains (vide his 'Coins of Ancient India' pp 45-46 and also Rapson's 'Coins' pp. 2-3) So that a silver dharana or purāṇa (of 32 raktikās) should weigh about 57.6 grains and a copper pana (of 80 raktikās) should weigh 144 grains. It appears that the weights of Indian coins in different parts and at different times varied a good deal. Cunningham ('Coins of Ancient India' p. 5) states that gold was cheap in India, being as one to eight rates of silver. But in medieval times i. e. about 1300 A. D. (vide Śukra IV. 2 92-93) gold was 16 times the price of the same weight of silver, which again was 80 times of the price of the same weight of copper. Though, as stated in note 161 above, a copper pana was usually equal to eighty raktikās, a copper pana of 100 raktikās (i. e. of 20 māsaḥ) was known. Nār. (pariśiṣṭa verse 58) speaks of māsa as the 20th part of the kārsāpana and the Mit. on Yāj. I. 365 and Vy. Nṛnaya p. 207 quote a verse (attributed to Uśanas by Haradatta and Maskarin in Gaut. XII 19) that a māsa is a twentieth part of pana (मासो विंशतिमो भागः पणस्य परिकीर्तितः). The Agnipurāṇa (227 2) appears to have known a pana of 120 kṛṣṇaḥ (कुण्डलानां तथा पट्टया कर्षार्धं राम कीर्तितम्). The verses in Nār. (pariśiṣṭa 58-60) are ascribed to Kāt by the Sm. C. II. p. 99 and it is stated by both that these terms are in vogue in Pāñcanada (Punjab). When the pana of copper was equal to 20 māsaḥ (and 100 guñjās), the copper coin would have been almost of the weight of the modern copper halfanna coin. The table given by Nār. (pariśiṣṭa 58-60) is: 4 kākiniḥ = māsa, 20 māsaḥ = kārsāpana (which is the same as Andikā), 4 kārsāpanaḥ = dhānaka, 12 dhānakaḥ = suvarṇa (also called dināra). The table given by Br. (as quoted in Sm. C. II p. 99 and V. R. p. 667) is the same. Br. as quoted by Aparārka p. 832 and V. R. p. 111 employs the word 'nānaka' for coin, which word also occurs in the Mrcchakatika and in Yāj. II. 240-241. The Amarakośa states that niṣka and dināra are synonyms and also gives other meanings of niṣka Śābara on Jai. IV. 3 39 gives the striking example 'no one would spend a kārsāpana for finding out a kākini that he had lost'. The Arthaśāstra II 12 p. 84 states that the superintendent of the mint should manufacture copper panas, half panas, kākiniḥ and half kākiniḥ. The Visnu Dh. S. V. 96 refers to a golden

(Continued on the next page)

silver purāṇa or dharana; 10 dharana = one (silver) śatamāna. This table was used for silver coins. Thus a dharana would be 1/10th of a *pala* as stated in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (10, 13 *palada-*

(Continued from last page)

māsaka. Under the Guptas golden coins are mentioned as *dināras*, vide 'Gupta Inscriptions' p. 29 at p. 31 where there is a gift of 25 *dināras* in the Gupta year 93 and pp 38, 41, 261 (where it is stated that one *bhikṣu* was to be fed every day throughout the year from the permanent endowment of 12 *dināras*). From the Baigram plate dated Gupta *samvat* 128 it appears that one *dināra* was equal to 16 *rūpākas* (silver coins) in E I vol XXI p 80. A Mathurā Ins of the 28th year of Huvishka speaks of the deposit of 550 *purāṇas* (E. I. vol XXI p. 55 at 61). Bhāskarācārya (who was born in śaka 1036 and wrote his *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* in 1072 śaka i.e. 1150 A.D.) gives the following table (in *Lilāvati* I 2-4) : 20 *varāṇakas* = *kāṇi*, 4 *kāṇis* = *pana*, 16 *panas* = *dramma*, 16 *drammas* = *niska*, 2 *yavas* = *guṇjā*, 3 *guṇjās* = *valla* (modern Marathi *vāl*), 8 *vallas* = *dharana*, 2 *dharanas* = *gadyāṇaka*, 5 *guṇjās* = *māsa*, 16 *māsas* = *karsa*, 4 *karsas* = *pala* and a *karsa* of gold is called *Suvarna*. It will be seen that *Nār.* and *Lilāvati* differ as to कानिणी Gadyāṇakas of gold are referred to in the *Pattadakal* pillar Ins of Kirtivarman I (754 A.D.) where it is stated that a field of 30 *navartanas* was purchased for thirty *gadyāṇakas* of gold (E I vol III, pp 6-7). From a verse of the *Caṭurvimsatimata* quoted by the *Mit* in Yāj III 258 it appears that *gadyāṇaka* was also a silver coin. From an inscription of Vikramāditya V near Gadag dated śaka 934 it appears that fines for offences were levied in *gadyāṇakas* (E I vol. XX p 64). The following works may be consulted for further information on Indian coins viz Cunningham's 'Coins of Ancient India' (1894), Rapson's 'Indian coins' (1897) in the *Grundriss*, C. J. Brown's 'Coins of India' (in 'the Heritage of India' series, 1922) The *Dharmadvaitanirṇaya* (pp 137-139) and the *Vaijayanti* in *Viṣṇu Dh S* IV, 9 may be consulted for efforts to reconcile the various statements about *Suvarna*, *Niska* &c. For an informing paper on the most ancient *Denarius*, vide *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol XVIII pp 211-266 where it is established that the earliest *denarius* period begins about 187 B.C. Therefore Jolly's assumption (in *Recht und Sitte* p 23 followed by Winternitz in 'History of Indian Literature' vol II, p. 216 n. 4 that all Indian works in which the word *dināra* occurs cannot have been composed before 2nd century A.D. is unwarranted. Prof. Keith (JRAS for 1915 p 504) does not accept Jolly's assumption. The *dināra* was variously defined. According to Viṣnugupta quoted in Hemādri's *Vratakhanda*, a *rūpaka* is 1/16th of *suvarna* and a *dināra* was equal to 28 *rūpakas*, while acc. to *Nār.* and *Kāt* सुवर्ण and दीनार were synonyms. The *Dharmadvaitanirṇaya* says that a *lāṅkāpana* (of silver it seems) was equal to eight or ten *dhabbukas*. One of the verses of the *Jñāneśvarī* (composed in 1290 A.D.) that speaks of gold as पंचरं (15 times in price of the same weight of silver) may be cited here 'तै मंगार जरी पंचरं । तरी राजबडीची अकरं । लाहे (v l साहे) तैचि सरे । जियापरो ।' chap 17 verse 322 (Bhude's and Madgavkar's editions)

śabhāgo dharaṇam). Nārada (pariśista 57) expressly states that a silver kārsāpana is in vogue in the south i. e. a silver pana or kārsāpana was not universal.¹⁶³ A golden suvarṇa also comprised 80 guṇījas, while the standard silver pana was of 32. Rhys Davids (in 'Buddhist India' p. 100) states that about the time of Buddha's birth transactions were carried on in terms of the *kahāpana*, a square copper coin weighing about 144 grains and guaranteed as to weight and fineness by punch marks made by private individuals, that there were half and quarter kahāpanas also, that a kahāpana would be now worth about $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of a penny, though its purchasing power was then equal to about one shilling of the present day. Therefore it is proper to understand that a pana or kārsāpana, when the word is used without any qualification, was meant to be one of copper and that *prima facie* the salaries in Kautilya were meant to be in copper panas. This conclusion can be supported by various considerations. Manu VII. 126 prescribes that the wages for the lowest menial servant (such as one who sweeps the house or brings water) is one pana a day and of a superior menial servant 6 panas a day and that the former was to get in addition one pair of garments every six months and every month a drona of corn (which would be equal to 1024 *muṣṭis* according to the Mit. on Yaj III. 274). Whatever ages may be assigned to the Arthaśāstra and the present Manusmṛti the two works cannot be separated from each other, if at all, by more than a century or two. Therefore the economic conditions of the one may be held to have not differed much from those to which the other refers. It is impossible to hold that the lowest menial servant got one gold pana a day besides over 30 *muṣṭis* of corn every day (1024 in a month). If that were so, the lowest menial servants of Kautilya's days would have to be supposed to be a hundred times better off than their *confreres* in big cities like Bombay towards the end of the 19th century (when menial servants got from five to ten rupees a month without any allowance of grain). Therefore the pana in Kautilya V. 3 is not of gold. Kautilya (in V. 3) says that a king who has a depleted treasury may make payment of salary by giving forest produce, cattle or fields along with small quantities of cash, that if he has undertaken to colonize a waste tract he may make payment of salary in cash only and not by bestowing a village. In connection

163. कार्पाणो दक्षिणस्यां द्विषि रोप्यः मवर्तते । नारद (पारिषिद 57) ; दक्षपणिको योजने द्वौ मध्यमः । दक्षोक्षरे द्विष्टुण्वेतन आ योजनशतादिति । कौटिल्य V 3.

with this he says that 60 panas are to be the equivalent of one ādhaka of corn (sastivetanasyādhakam kṛtvā hiraṇyānūrūpam bhaktam kuryāt) ¹⁶⁴ An ādhaka ¹⁶⁵ came to only 256 *muṣṭis* (handfuls) of corn and even in famine times one ādhaka could not have cost 60 silver panas, much less golden ones. In V. 3 Kautilya declares that an ordinary dūta should get ten *panas* for a journey of one *yojana* and twice the wages for each *yojana* up to one hundred. A *yojana* acc to Kaut. himself (II. 20) is equal to 8000 *dhanus* (acc to another reading 4000 *dhanus*), a *dhanus* being equal to four *aratnis* (each *aratni* being 24 *angulas*). So taking the highest figure a *yojana* was at the

164 The word *hiranya* has two senses 'gold' and 'money or 'cash' whether in gold, silver or copper (as said by Amara who gives 'dravina' as a synonym). When Kautilya says that the king may pay 'hiranya' and not 'grāma' he means only cash payment and not necessarily only gold. Vide the copperplate grant of Śīlāditya VII in Gupta Inscriptions p 179 at p 189 where the grant of a village is said to be 'sadhānyahiraṇyādeyaḥ'. Here *dhānya* (payment of tax in kind) is contradistinguished from payment in *hiranya* i.e. in cash (either gold, silver or copper). When Patañjali states that the Mauryas being greedy of 'hiranya' founded or manufactured images (Mahābhāṣya vol II p. 429 on Pān V 3 99 quoted in H Dh vol II p 710 n 1696) what is meant is that they wanted cash and not merely gold.

165 The measures of capacity such as आढक, प्रस्थ occur in the Mathura Ins of Huviska (E I XXI p 55 at p. 61). According to Parāśara (VI 70) two *prasthas* are equal to an ādhaka and 32 *prasthas* are equal to a *drona*. The Mit na Yāj III 275 quotes a verse to this effect 8 *muṣṭis* = one *kāṣṭhī* or *kūṣṭhī* (acc to some), 8 *kūṣṭhī* = *puskala*, 4 *puskalas* = ādhaka; 4 ādhakas = *drona* and 16 *dronas* = *khāri*. Aparārka (pp 305 and 846) quotes two verses (which the Par. M II 1 p 141 ascribes to the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa) which say 2 *palas* = *prasthī*, 2 *prasthīs* = *kudava*, 4 *kudavas* = *prastha*, 4 *prasthas* = ādhaka, 4 ādhakas = *drona*, 2 *dronas* = *kumbha*. The Danda viveka p. 135 refers to this, adds that same held the *kumbha* to be equal to 20 *dronas* (Kaut II 20 holds *kumbha* to be equal to 20 *dronas*) and quotes the following verse from ऋग्वेद 'कुडवाया वेदयुगाः प्रस्थाद्वैगमानकाः सार्वः । कुम्भो विंशतिवार्या दृष्टो लोके यथाक्रमशः ।' The word *drona* occurs even in the Rgveda in the sense of a wooden trough used for holding water or soma juice. Vide Rg. VI 2 8, VI 37 2, VI 44 20, IX 28 4 etc. In Rg IV 32 17 the sage prays Indra to grant a hundred *khāris* of soma. The words ādhaka and *drona* occur in the ardharcādi group (Pān II. 4 31), *Khāri* in Pān, V 1. 33 and V. 4 101. The Par. M II 1 141 says on this difference about *kumbha* 'देशभेदेन ज्ञातव्यस्य व्यवस्थापनीयत्वात्'. Kaut. (II. 19 p 104) himself tells us that the measure *drona* was of four varieties, 162½ *palas*, 175, 187½ or 200 *palas* according as it was used for measurement in the harem, or for servants or for ordinary dealings or for royal income.

most about 9 or 10 miles (or only $4\frac{1}{2}$ or five miles according to the other reading). To hold that 10 silver panas were allowed to an ordinary dūta for going even ten miles (which he could cover in half a day or less) would be too much. Hence also the panas in Kaut. V. 3 are only copper ones. When once it is settled that the panas are of copper, it easily follows that the salaries in panas were monthly. Artisans and craftsmen were, acc. to Kaut., to get 120 panas. If this were yearly, they would get only 10 panas a month, while, according to Manu quoted above, even the lowest menial was to get a pana a day. Therefore 120 panas (of copper) were the monthly salary of an artisan. A monthly salary is more natural and practical than a yearly one. Other ancient writers like Śāṅkha-Likhita (in *Rājanītiprakāśa* p. 252) contemplate a monthly salary for soldiers (viz. two suvarṇas a month).¹⁶⁶ From the Nasik Inscription No. 12 (E. I. Vol. VIII.

166. शङ्खलिखितौ । वाहनयोधानां सततमन्वीक्षणं प्रतिमासं द्विसौवर्णिकी दत्तिः
पाण्यमर्त्यं स्मरणं चातुर्मर्त्यं वा । स्वयंतिषु दानमद्रुक्रोशो विदितेभ्यश्च दानं कुलचारिवशील-
विद्यालक्षणगुणाधिकेषु संमानं प्रयुज्जीत । राजधर्मकाण्ड p. 58, राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 252.
राजधर्मकाण्ड explains राजकार्येण सुतेषु योषेषु तद्युत्रादिभ्यो दानं दद्याच्च राज्ञा विधा-
तव्या । प्रसिद्धेषु तु योषेषु दानवेतनादधिकमपि वस्त्रादि देयमित्यर्थः. This provides for
pension to the dependents when the soldier dies on duty, special bonuses or
favours for special valour, work or worth.

A few words may be said about words like suvarṇa, śatamāna, niska &c. The word *krśṇala* occurs in the Tai S II 3. 2 1. *Hiranyakāra* (goldsmith) is found in Vāj S 30 17. In Rg I. 126 2 gifts of a hundred niskas and horses are mentioned and in Rg IV 37 4 the Rbhus are addressed as wearing 'good niskas'. In Atharva V. 14 3 'niska' occurs and in the Ait. Br (39 8) damsels who are *niskakānthyah* (whose necks are adorned with necklaces of niskas) are among the gifts. So 'niska' was probably a gold piece used as a coin or an ornament or a thin plate of gold like a modern *phatka*, several of which are even now worn by women in the form of a necklace. In Rg II 33 10 Rudra is said to wear 'viśvarūpa-niska' which is probably an allusion to golden pieces stamped with various figures. In Rg VI 47 23 the sage says that he received ten 'hiranyapindas' (golden pieces) from Divodāsa. In Rg VIII. 78 2 a prayer is offered to Indra for the bestowal of golden 'mana', which may be the precursor of 'Śatamāna'. This last occurs in the Tai S VI. 6 10 2 Pāṇ (V. 1. 27, 29, 30) respectively mentions śatamāna (what is bought for a śatamāna is called śatamāna), kārśāpana, niska and V. I 34 refers to pana, pāda and māsa. Patañjali (*Mabābhāṣya* vol. III. p. 369 on Pāṇ. VIII 1. 12) gives the instance 'from this kārśāpana give one māsa to each of these two persons who are here'. The sūtra of Pāṇini V. 2. 120 (rūpād-āhataprasastayor-yap) conveys that

(Continued on next page)

p. 82) we learn that in the early centuries of the Christian era 35 kārśāpanas were equal to one suvarṇa.

Hopkins in 'Position of the ruling caste' J. A. O. S. vol. XIII. pp. 151-162 traces how the influence of the purohita grew. One cannot accept his views about there being three layers in the Mahābhārata and the conclusions from such dealing with the text that he draws, which are rather subjective. Gradually the importance of the purohita waned. As the Śukranitiśāra cited above (n 150.) shows, long before that work he came to be omitted by several writers from the council of ministers and was supplanted by the Pandita. The same functions came to be exercised by an officer called dharmādhyakṣa or dharmādhikaranika in Bengal and other countries. The Matsyapurāṇa (215.24) states the qualifications of a *dharmādhyakṣa*.¹⁶⁷ Vide E I. vol. 14 p. 156 at p. 160 of the Nāihati grant of Ballālasena, where we have both purohita and mahādharmaadhyakṣa mentioned among the great functionaries of State and the Benares copper-plate of the Cedi king Karnaḍeḍa in 1042 A. D. in E I. vol. II. p. 309 where we have mahādharmaadhi-karanika but no purohita. Besides another officer called sāmvaṭsara (astrologer) gradually took over some of the functions of the purohita. The Visnudharmasūtra III. 75 (*rūpā cu sarvaḥkṛt yeṣu sāmvaṭsarūdhinah syāt*) requires the king to depend on the sāmvaṭsara in all matters. The Brhat-samhitā (2.9) states that a king without a sāmvaṭsara mistakes his path like a blind man. Kām. 4.33 and Visnudharmottara II. 4. 5-16 recommend reliance on him. Kautilya^{167a} IX. 4 was himself against too much reliance on astrology, while Yāj. I. 307 holds that the rise and fall of kings depend on the (aspects or influence of) planets.

(Continued from last page)

Pāṇini knew metal pieces that were well beaten and trimmed into good-looking coins. The Vārtika 'Kāṇīyāścopasankhyānam' (on Pāṇini V. 1. 33) establishes that lākṣi was used in those days as a medium of purchasing goods. The Kāśikā gives 'rūpyo dīnārah' as an example निषातिकातादनादिना दीनारादिष्ट रूपं यदुत्पद्यते तदाहतमित्युच्यते। आहतं रूपमस्य रूपो दीनारः। रूपं कार्षापणम्। काशिका.

167. समः राज्ञी च मित्रे च धर्मशास्त्रविशारदः। विप्रमुखः कुलीनश्च धर्माधिकारिणी भवेत्॥ मत्स्यपुराण 215. 24 and बृह. p. 48 verse 216.

167a. नक्षत्रमतिष्ठच्छन्तं बालमर्थोतिवर्तते। अर्थो ह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः॥ अर्थशास्त्र IX. 4 (last verse but one)

Senāpati: The qualities of a commander-in-chief are stated in several places such as Kauṭilya (II. 33), Ayodhyā 100.30 (= Sabha 5. 46), Śānti 85. 31-32, Matsya 215. 8-10, Agnipurāṇa 220. 1 ff, Kām. XVIII. 27-44, Visnudharmottara II. 24. 4-6, Mānasollāsa II. 2, verses 90-92 p. 37. Acc. to the Agnipurāṇa 220. 1, Matsya 215. 10 the commander-in-chief must be either a brāhmana or a ksatriya. Śukra (II. 429-430) requires that a ksatriya should be preferred as senāpati, but if a valiant ksatriya be not available a brāhmana may be chosen, but a śūdra should not be chosen. Acc. to the Mānasollāsa he should possess the following qualities: good family, character, courage, proficiency in (several) languages, cleverness in riding horses and elephants and in the science of arms, knowledge of omens and medicine, knowledge of the breeds of horses and of the difference between what is essential and non-essential, liberality, sweet speech, self-control, intelligence, resoluteness. In the Mahābhārata senāpatīs are elected and consecrated (vide Udyoga 151, Drona 5, Karna 10), but this was not so in later times. He is appointed by the king on his own initiative.

Dūta: (Ambassador or messenger). The word and the office of *dūta* as messenger was known in the most ancient times. In Rg. I. 12.1, 1.161.3, VIII. 44.3 Agni is said to be the *dūta* and is requested to bring the gods to the sacrifice. There is also attached to the word the meaning of espionage, since Saramā, the bitch of the gods, is represented in Rg. X. 108. 2-4 as sent by Indra to find out the treasures of the Pāpis. The Udyogaparva (37.27, cr. ed. 37.25) specifies the eight qualities of a *dūta* viz. he must not be stiff-necked, nor timid, nor dilatory, he must be kind and amiable, not liable to be won over by others, free from diseases, endowed with a fine mode of speech.¹⁶⁸ Śānti 85.28 refers to seven qualities. Vide Ayodhyā 100.35, Mam VII. 63-64, Matsyapurāṇa 215. 12-13 for the qualities of a *dūta*. The *dūta* should speak only what he has been ordered (by his king) to speak, otherwise he would be liable to be killed (Udyogaparva 72.7, cr. ed. 70.7). Śānti 85. 26-27 say that the person of the *dūta* is sacred. Kauṭilya devotes one chapter (I. 16) to the treatment of the subject of *dūta*. He states that the *dūta* is to be sent by the king after the line of

168. अस्त्यधमङ्गीबनदीर्घसूत्रं साधुकोशं शूर्यसहाय्यमन्यैः । अरोगजातीयसुदारवाचकं
दूतं वदन्त्यप्रमुणीपपञ्चम् ॥ उद्योगपर्व 37. 27.

policy has been settled at a council of ministers to the king who is to be attacked (vide Kām. XII. 1 also). A *dūta* is of three kinds: (1) *nirastārtha*¹⁶⁹ (one to whom is entrusted full discretion as to what is to be said) is one who is possessed of the qualifications required in a minister (*amātya*), such as Kṛṣṇa from the Pāṇḍavas or the ambassadors in modern times; (2) *parmitārtha* (entrusted with a definite mission, an envoy) who possesses the same qualifications as the first less by one quarter; (3) *śāsanahara* (a mere carrier of royal writings or missives) who possesses only half the qualifications of the first. The Mit. on Yāj. I 328 lucidly explains the three varieties. Kauṭ. dilates at great length on the qualifications of the *dūta*, what he has to note while in the enemy country, how he is to behave (such as avoiding women and wine), how he is to gather information through spies; but all this has to be passed over for want of space. Vide Kām XII 2-24 for the same. Kām. (XII. 22-23) briefly sets out the following duties of the *dūta*; determining those who are inimical to the king to whom he is sent, winning over to his side the friends and relatives of the enemy king, finding out the (number and equipment of) forts, the economic resources and military strength of the enemy king, collection of news as to what the enemy intends to do, bringing over to his side the officers in charge of the districts of enemy country, collecting knowledge about the places of the enemy where battles can be waged by his king or whence he can pass away swiftly. Manu VII. 65 says that it is the *dūta* who brings about alliance or war. Kauṭ. says that when the ruler to whom the *dūta* is accredited becomes displeased at the message he brings, the *dūta* should reply¹⁷⁰ 'All kings, you and others, speak through their *dūta*. Therefore *dūtas* have to deliver the message entrusted to them even if weapons are raised (to threaten them); even the lowest caste *dūtas* (*cāṇḍālas*) are not to be killed, what need be said about a *dūta* who is a

169. उद्धृतमन्त्रो दूतमणिषि । अमात्यसंपन्नोपेतो निरुद्धार्थ । वादगुणहीनः परिमितार्थः । अर्थगुणहीनः शासनहरः । अर्थशास्त्र I 16; 'दूताश्च ये प्रकटनेव राजान्तरं प्रति गतामन्त्राचरन्ति । ते च त्रिविधाः । निरुद्धार्थाः सन्दिद्धार्थाः शासनहराश्चेति । तत्र निरुद्धार्था राजकार्याणि वृक्षकालोचितानि स्वयमेव कथयितुं क्षमाः । उक्तमार्थं ये परस्मै निवेदयन्ति ते सन्दिद्धार्थाः । शासनहरास्तु राजलेखहारिणः । मिता. on याज्ञ. I. 328.

170. तं ब्रूयाद् दूतमुखा वै राजानस्त्वं चान्ये च । तस्माद्दुद्भुतेष्वपि शस्त्रेषु यथोक्तं वक्ताहस्तेष्वामन्त्रावसायिनोऽप्यवध्याः । किमिदं पुनर्ब्राह्मणः । परस्मैतद्वाक्यमेव दूतधर्म इति । अर्थशास्त्र I 16. Almost these very words occur in नीतिवाक्यावलि (दूतसमुद्देश p. 171) and यज्ञसिलक III. p 564.

brāhmana? This (that I utter) is the message of another. It is my duty to say it'. The Rāmāyana (V. 52. 14-15) says that good men do not allow the killing of a dūta, but certain modes of dealing with him (viz lashing him, shaving his head) are allowed in certain cases.

A dūta is to be distinguished from a *cara* or *cāra* (spy), as done by Kaut., Kām. XII. 32, Yāj. I. 328. Kām. XII. 32 says that a dūta is an open (*prakūṣa*) spy, while a *cara* is a spy who works in secret. In modern times also 'an ambassador is often nothing more than an honourable spy acting under the protection of the law of nations' (Encyclopædia Britannica on 'espionage'). Kaut. devotes four chapters to spies (I. 11-14) and Kām. (XII. 25-49) also deals at great length with them. The Śukranītisāra (I. 334-336) states that the king should learn every day at night from his secret spies the intentions and actions of his subjects and officers, and the opinions of ministers, enemies, soldiers, the members of the assembly, relations and the women in the harem. The *cara* must, according to Kām. XII. 25, possess ability to infer the inner thoughts (of men), must have a good memory, must be soft in speech, have quick gait, be capable of enduring privations and heavy labour, swift in action, ready-witted. Kaut. (I. 11) says¹⁷¹ that spies are those who work in the guise of a *kūpaṭika* (a bold pupil capable of knowing the minds of others), *udāsthuta* (a sham ascetic, who has fallen from the real duties of asceticism and is endowed with intelligence and pure character), *grhapatika* (a householder who is a cultivator that has not the means to maintain himself, has intelligence and is of pure character), a *vanadehaka* (a trader who cannot maintain himself by trade and is possessed of intelligence and pure character), a *tūpaṣa* (a spy practising austerities, who has either shaved his head or has matted hair and is desirous to maintain himself), a class-mate or colleague (*sātrin*), a desperate character (*tikṣṇa*), a poisoner and a female mendicant. The first five of these are called by Kautilya five *saṁsthās* (groups

171. उपधाभिः शुद्धमात्यवर्गो गृहयुक्वाङ्गत्वाद्देवैः । कापटिकोदास्थितगृहपतिक-
वेदेहकतापसस्यञ्जनम् । सन्निविष्टगणसदभिधुकीश्च । परमर्षज्ञः प्रगल्भः छात्रः कापटिकः । ...
प्रज्ज्यामत्यवसितः भङ्गाशौचयुक्त उदास्थितः । कर्षको वृत्तिक्षीणः भङ्गाशौचयुक्तो
गृहपतिकस्यञ्जनः । बाणिजको वृत्तिक्षीणः भङ्गाशौचयुक्तो वेदेहकस्यञ्जनः । ... सुण्डो जडिको
वा वृत्तिकामरतापसस्यञ्जनः । ... पूजिताश्चार्यमानार्या राज्ञा राजोपजीविनाम् । जानीयुः
शौचनित्येताः पञ्च संस्थाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ अर्थशास्त्र I. 11. प्रज्ज्यामत्यवसित means the same
thing as प्रज्ज्यावसित, which occurs in चाङ्ग II. 183 and is explained by the
मिताक्षरा as प्रज्ज्या संन्यासस्ततोऽवसितः मच्युतः. मेधाविधि on Manu VII 154 quotes
almost *verbatim* a large part of Kauṭ. I. 11 from कापटिको and a portion
from I. 12.

or institutions), which should be honoured by the king with awards of money and marks of respect and through which the king is to test the purity of the character of his servants. Kautilya says that the spy called *udāsthita* should carry on agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade on land set apart for the purpose, should be supplied with plenty of gold and disciples and should afford to all (sham) ascetics food, clothing and lodging, direct them to detect particular crimes and report. The spy called *tāpasa* was to stay near the capital, to have many pupils, to pretend to eat once in a month or two only a handful of vegetables or grass and eat secretly his favourite dishes. His disciples were to proclaim that he possessed supernatural powers, he should pretend to make predictions about gain or fires or fear from robbers after ascertaining from his pupils by nods and signs such events. In I 12 Kaut. deals with wandering spies (called *sañcara*) viz. *sattrins* (who are orphans that are to be maintained by the State and that are taught palmistry, sorcery, tricks of legerdemain &c), *tikṣṇa* (desperadoes who, regardless of their lives, may fight elephants for money), *rasada* (who have no affection even for their relatives, are indolent and cruel), *bhikṣukī* or *parivrāṇikā* (a poor brāhmana widow, clever and desirous to earn her livelihood, honoured in the king's harem and visiting the families of mahāmātras or high ministers). These are to spy on the 18 *tīrthas* (mentioned on p 112 above) in public. For spying on their private character persons pretending to be hump-backed, dwarfs, kirātas (pigmies), the deaf and dumb, idiots, the blind, and others that are actors, dancers, singers and the like and women are to be employed. This information is to be tested by the persons belonging to the five samsthās (mentioned above on p 129), but these are to act without their being known by the wandering spies and *vice versa*. Then further testing by other spies follows. When the information received from these three sources tallies then it will be held reliable; if the information frequently disagrees, the spies should be secretly punished or discharged. A similar rule about sending several spies on the same mission without their knowing each other is laid down by Viśnudharmotara II. 24. 66-67. Kaut in I 13 deals with espionage on subjects in general (i.e. those in the capital and other parts of the country). Spies are to pretend to take sides, some praising the king as possessed of all good qualities, others qualifying that praise. They were also to report the rumours spreading among the people, to report whether there was discontent and the king was to honour those who were reported to be contented and to

bring round the discontented by conciliation, gifts, sowing dissensions among them or by punishing them. In I 14 Kautilya deals with the employment of spies for taking advantage of parties in a foreign State i. e. groups of persons angry with the foreign king or afraid of him or of persons who are ambitious or proud, who are to be won over by appropriate words and *stimuli*. It will be seen how there was a network of spies of all kinds, so much so that Kām. XII. 28 declares that spies are the king's eyes (*cāracakṣur mahīpatih*). The Visnūdharmottara II. 24. 63 says the same ('*ājānaś-cāracakṣusah* ') and also Udyoga 34. 34 '*cāraṇaḥ paśyanti rājānaḥ*'. In IV. 4-6 Kautilya dilates¹⁷² upon the employment by the samāhartṛ (Collector) of a host of spies for suppressing those who are thorns (or disturbers of peace), these being employed for detecting judges (dharmastha) and superintendents of various departments that take bribes, counterfeiters of coin, adulterers, thieves and robbers and other criminals. Kautilya relies in extreme cases on spies even in the decision of judicial matters. He says (III. 1 last verse) 'when owing to the depositions of witnesses the plaintiff's case and the defendant's case are both destroyed, when the cause of either of the parties is found through the spies to be false, then the decree shall be passed against that party'.¹⁷³ In Dronaparva 75. 4 it is said that Kṛṣṇa had his spies in the army of Duryodhana and *vice versa* (74. 1). Śānti 69. 8-12 and 140. 39-42 mention the places where spies are to be set¹⁷⁴ up and emphasizes that they should not know each other. One need not feel surprised at the machinery of espionage that Kautilya so elaborately describes. All governments in modern times employ spies, informers and secret agents to keep themselves informed of the activities, views and resources of their opponents. We know also how the Indian Police, in order to catch offenders against the Prevention of Gambling Act or other similar Acts, employ agents with marked coins or notes and draw in their net unsuspecting people.

172 समाहर्ता जनपदे सिद्धतापसप्रजितचक्रचरचारणकुहकमध्यम्वकाकारांतिकने-
मितिकमौहृतिकचिकित्सकोमत्तमूकबधिरजडान्धवैदेहककाशिलिपिकुशीलववेशशौण्डिकापू-
षिकपाक्षमत्सिकोदनिकष्यस्त्रनाम् प्रणिदृष्ट्वात् । ते ग्रामागामध्यक्षाणा च शौचाशौचं
विद्युः । अर्थशास्त्र IV. 4 Compare नीतिवाक्यामृत (चारसमुद्देश) p 172 for a long list
of various kinds of people as spies.

173. पूर्वोक्तार्थव्याघाते साक्षिवक्तव्यकारणे । चारहस्ताश्च निष्पाते प्रदेष्टव्यः परा-
जय ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III. 1, last verse.

174 पाषण्डास्तापसादीन् परराष्ट्रे निवेशयेत् । उद्यानेषु विहारेषु प्रपात्वावसथेषु च ।
पाचागारे प्रवेशेषु तीर्थेषु च सभासु च । शान्ति 140. 39-42; यथा न विद्युरन्धोऽन्यं प्रणि-
धेयास्तथा हि ते । शान्ति 69 10.

CHAPTER V

RĀŚTRA (THE TERRITORY OF A STATE)

The word 'rāstra' occurs even in the Rgveda (IV. 42.1, 'mama dvitā rāstram ksatriyasya')—'mine is the kingdom on both sides (or in both spheres)' says king Trasadasyu. In Rg VII 34.11 Varuna is praised as the Lord of rāstras (rājā rāstrānām &c.) In Rg. VII 84.2 and X 109.3 the word rāstra occurs. In a very famous benedictory ¹⁷⁵ passage of the Tai. S VII 5.18.1 (= Vāj. S. 22.22) one of the blessings invoked is 'may the king in this kingdom become brave, a skilled archer, and a great warrior'. Vide Tai. Br III 8.13 for explanation of the Tai. S. passage. In the Atharvaveda XII. 1.8 and 10 the earth is called mother and invoked to impart to the rāstra strength and brilliance (or energy). Kām VI 3 says ^{175a} that since all the elements of the State spring from the territory of the State, the king should raise up his territory with all his efforts. The Agnipurāṇa 239.2 holds that rāstra is the most important of all elements of the State. Manu VII. 69 prescribes that a king should make his home in a country that is not water-logged (i.e. is dry and not moist), ¹⁷⁶ is rich in crops, inhabited mostly by Āryas (or well-conducted people), not disturbed (by epidemics &c.), that is charming (owing to trees, flowers and fruits), the chiefs in which have submitted to him and in which livelihood can be had easily. Yāj. I. 321 and Visnudharmasūtra III 4-5 are to the same effect. Kām (IV 50-56) remarks 'the territory of

175. आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायतामास्मिन् राष्ट्रे राजन्य इषस्यः शूरो महा-
रथो जायतां वीर्यवीर्यो धेनुर्वादीनद्वावाणाह्यः सति. पुराण्योषा जिष्णु रथेष्टाः समेयो युवास्त्य
यजमानस्य वीरो जायता निकानि निकानि नः पर्जन्यो धर्षतु फलिन्यो न ओषधयः पश्यन्ता
योगक्षेमो नः कल्पताम् । तै सं VII. 5 18. 1, वाज सं. 22. 22 (with slight
variations).

175a. राज्याङ्गनत् च सर्वेषां राष्ट्राद्भवति सम्भव । तस्मात्सर्वभयत्वेन राजा राष्ट्रं
समुजयेत् ॥ काम. VI. 3 The राज र p 86 ascribes this to शुक्र (and reads the
last word as प्रसाधयेत्)

176. अल्पोदकतृणो यस्तु मवातः मन्त्रुरातपः । स ज्ञेयो जाङ्गलो देशो बहुधान्यद्वि-
सयुतः ॥ quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु VII 69, स्वल्पद्वयोदकपर्वतो बहुपक्षियुगः मन्त्रु-
वर्षातपश्च जाङ्गलो देश इति । quoted by राजनीतिप्रकाश p 197 from a स्मृति. The
नितः on या I.321 remarks यद्यप्यल्पोदकतृणपर्वतो देशो जाङ्गलस्तथाप्यत्र सजलतृणपर्वतो
देशो जाङ्गलशब्देनाभिधीयते ।

the king depends for its prosperity on the qualities of the soil, the prosperity of the territory tends to the prosperity of the king; therefore a king should choose for the sake of his prosperity land possessing good qualities. That land is preferred for the sake of prosperity that is endowed with various crops and minerals, is full of merchandise, mines and various substances, that is favourable to cattle-rearing, that abounds in water, is inhabited by well-conducted people, is charming, has forests and elephants, has facilities of water and road transport and does not depend upon rain-water only.¹⁷⁷ Land that is full of gravel and stones, full of forests always infested with thieves, that is waterless, full of thorny bushes and snakes is not fit for choosing as a *rāṣṭra*. A country is to be preferred that yields livelihood easily, is possessed of the qualities of good land (cited above), is full of water, that has hills in it, that consists mostly of *sūdras*, artisans and merchants, the husbandmen in which undertake great projects, that is loyal (to the king) and averse to the king's enemy, that can put up with troubles and taxes, that is large in extent, full of people from various countries, that follows the right path, that possesses plenty of cattle and wealth, the principal men in which are not foolish nor vicious. These requirements show that the country must be prosperous, well-stocked with the necessities of life and well suited to defence. There is also some difference of opinion among the *smṛti* writers about the composition of the population. Manu VII. 69 requires that the kingdom should consist mostly of *āryas* (*āryaprāya*), while Visnu Dh. S. III. 5 holds that a country should be peopled mostly by *vaiśyas* and *sūdras*. In another place (VIII. 22) Manu says that that country in which *sūdras* abound, which is full of atheists and void of *dvijas* is overwhelmed by disease and famine and perishes. Similar provisions are found in the *Matsyapurāṇa* 217. 1-5, *Visnudharmottara* II. 26. 1-5, *Mānasollāsa* (II. 3 verses 151-153), *Nṛtīvākyaṃṛta* (*Janapadasamuddeśa* p. 191 which defines *rāṣṭra*, *visaya*, *desa*, *janapada* &c.) The *Matsyapurāṇa* 217 5 and *Visnudharmottara* II. 26.5, (*evamrāṣṭram yathābhāṁ rājā vāsyaṁvāset*) point out that

177. अदेवमातृकः कोवि शस्यते भूविभूतये । काम 4 52 देशो जयम्बु-वृद्धयम्बु-संपन्नो हि पालितः । स्याददेवमातृको देवमातृकश्च यथाक्रमम् ॥ अमरकोश, where the rice crop depends solely on the rainfall the country is called देवमातृक (देवो माता यस्य) and where it depends on the water of rivers, tanks &c. it is called जदीमातृक.

every *rāstra* cannot be expected to possess all the qualities mentioned by them and that the king must do the best with such qualities as his country possesses Kautilya II 1 advises¹⁷⁸ the king to found a district of villages either on old sites or on new ones by inducing people from other countries to immigrate or by causing thickly populated parts of his own country to send its overflowing population and to see that each village consists of not less than one hundred families nor more than five hundred, is peopled mostly by *śūdra* cultivators, has an extent of one *loka* or two and is capable of offering help to its neighbours.

According to Paurāṇic geography there are seven *dvīpas*, viz Jambu, Plakṣa, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śaka and Puskara (Visnupurāṇa II. 1. 11 ff) and each *dvīpa* is divided into *varsas* Jambudvīpa has 9 *varsas* of which Bharatavarṣa is the first (Visnupurāṇa II. 2. 12 ff) The Mahābhārata speaks of 13 *dvīpas* (Ādi 75 19, Vanaparva 3 52 and 134 20) and 18 *dvīpas* also (Dropa 70.15). For Bharatavarṣa vide H Dh vol. II. pp 17-18. Manu II 20 looks upon the holy land of Kurukṣetra, of the Matsyas, Pañcālas and Śūrasenas as 'the chosen country' the learned brāhmanas in which were to be the leaders and guides of the whole world in appropriate thoughts and actions The Visnu (II 3 2), Brāhma, Mārkaṇḍeya 55 21-22 and other purāṇas proudly assert that Bharatavarṣa is the land of action (*karmabhūmi*). This is patriotism of a sort but not of the kind we see in western countries Bharatavarṣa itself has comprised numerous countries from the most ancient times The names of countries and the tribes or people inhabiting them were the same (vide Pāṇini IV 1 168,

178 सूतपूर्वमधूतपूर्वं वा जनपदं परदेशापवाहनेन स्वदेशाभिषेकमनुवर्तमानेन वा निवेशयेत् । शुद्धकर्षकमार्यं कुलशतावरं पञ्चशतकुलपरं ग्रामं क्रोशदिक्रोशसीमानमन्योन्यास्तं निवेशयेत् । अर्थशास्त्र II 1 This passage clearly shows that Kautilya at least employed the word *janapada* in the sense of a territory to be colonized and as one which was either included within the kingdom or not so included. Dr Prān Nath's interpretation of *janapada* that it was only 'a part of the kingdom' (p. 47, 'Study in the economic condition of ancient India') cannot be accepted in view of the express words सूतपूर्वमधूतपूर्वं The usage of classical writers and the Purāṇas shows that *janapada* means simply 'country' and Amara gives it as a synonym of देश and विषय and हरिश्चन्द्राक्षरी explains that जनपदं is called राष्ट्र The Kāvya-mīmāṃsā on which Dr. Prān Nath relies for the number of countries employs the word *janapada* for the names of the countries in the four quarters of India (not for parts of any kingdom)

IV. 2. 81) In the R̥gveda we come across the tribes of Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus and Pūrus (R̥g. 1. 108. 8, VIII. 10. 5 &c) and the countries of Cedi (VIII 5 39), Kikata (III 53. 4), R̥jika (VIII. 7. 29), Ruśama (V. 30 12), Vetasu (X. 49. 4). In the Atharvaveda V. 22 several peoples or countries are mentioned of which Bahlikas (in vv 5 and 9), Mūjavat (vv 5 and 8), Gandhāri, Aṅga, Magadha (in v. 14) deserve notice. The Ait Br. (38. 3) divides India into five divisions in the east south, west and north (the Uttara Kurus and Uttara Madras) and in the centre (Kuru-Pañcāla and Vasa-Uśinara) India was divided into two parts, Dakṣināpatha (from the Narmadā southwards) and Uttarāpatha at least some centuries before Christ, since the Hāthigumphā Ins. (E. I. vol 20 at p 79) mentions a great many kings of Uttarāpatha and the Mahābhāṣya refers to lakes in Dakṣināpatha.¹⁷⁹ In the Brāhmanas frequent mention is made of the Kuru-Pañcālas (Tai Br. I. 8. 4), Uttarakuru, Uttara-madra, Kuru-Pañcālas, Vasa-Uśinaras (in Ait Br. 38 3), Kuru-Pañcālas, Aṅga-Magadhas, Kāśi-Kosalas, Śālyā-Matsyas, Vasa-Uśinaras in Gopatha II. 10 (ed by Gastra). The Gandhāras occur in Chāndogya Up. (VI 14 1), Videha in Br. Up. III 1. 1, Madras in Br. Up. III 3 1. In the Mahābhārata there are long lists of countries in various connections, which are more than 200 (e g. Sabhā 4 21-32, 20 26-30, Sabhā 25 ff, Sabhā 52. 13-19, 53. 5-9, Virāta 1 12-13, Bhīṣma. 9. 39-69, 50. 47-53, Drona 11. 15-18, 70. 11-13. Āśvamedhika 73-78, 83. 10 ff) The Baudhāyana-gr̥hyaśeṣasūtra I 17 prescribes a maṇḍala for the worship of the Sun and names nine countries in the eight directions and in the centre as representatives. The Pūānas also contain long lists of countries e. g. Matsya 114 34-56, Mārkaṇḍeya 57 32-67 and chap 58, Brāhma 17. 10-15 and 25 25-39. The same country sometimes has two names (e g. Vidarbha and Krathakaiśika denote the same country in Raghuvamśa VII 1 and 32). 'Buddhist India' (by Rhys Davids p 23) mentions the sixteen peoples (or countries), lists of which occur in the Aṅguttaranikāya I p. 213, IV. p 252 and in the Dīghanikāya

179. The महाभाष्य names at least the following countries अजमीर, अङ्ग, अम्बठ, अवन्ति, इक्ष्वाकु, उशीनर, कपिक, कठेर, कलिङ्ग, कश्मीर, काशि, कुन्ति, कुच, कोरल, कोसल, क्षुद्रक, गान्धार, चोड, जिह्वु, जिगर्व, दशार्ण, नीचक, नीप, नेत्रा, पञ्चाल, पारस्त्यर, पुण्ड्र, मगध, मद्र, महिष, मालव, युगन्धर, वङ्ग, विदर्भ, विदेह, वृजि, शिशि, सुह, सौवीर. Some countries like अवन्ति, अश्मक, कलिङ्ग, कम्बोज, कुच, कोसल, मगध, मद्र, साल्व, सौवीर are mentioned even by पाणिनि (in IV 1. 170-176, IV. 2. 108).

II. p. 200 viz. Angas, Magadhas, Kāśis, Kosalas, Vajjis, Mallas, Cetis (Cedis), Vamsas (Vatsa?), Kurus, Pāñcālas, Matsyas, Śūrasenas, Āśmakas, Avantis, Gandhāras, Kambojas Varāhamihira's *Brhatsamhitā*, Baudhāyana-grhyaśeṣasūtra I 17, Kāmasūtra V 6 33-41, Bārhaspatya Arthasāstra (III 83-117), the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājasekhara (17th chapter) name numerous countries. This last divides India into five regions and gives the names of about 70 countries in the four directions but none from Central India. The Bhāvaprakāśana (pp. 309-310) gives a list of 64 countries and states, that Dakṣiṇāpatha (Deccan) is a fourth of Bharatavarṣa and that in the Tretā and Dvāpara ages people afraid of being overwhelmed by ice came down to the south.^{179a} 56 countries are named in some Tantra works (vide 'Indian Culture' vol VIII p. 33). In the lexicon called Vaijayanti of Yādavaprakāśa (11th century A.D.) edited by Dr G. Oppert, over a hundred countries and capitals of some of the countries are named (in the Bhūmikāṇḍa and chapter on deśa thereof).

To constitute a rāṣṭra a territory of some size and a large population are required. There can hardly be a rāṣṭra of a few villages or a few hundred inhabitants. The boundaries of the numerous countries mentioned in the works cited above must have been fluid and must have changed from country to country owing to conquests.

In ancient India the modern sentiment of nationalism had hardly taken root. Writers speak of rājya (State) and of rāṣṭra (territory) as an element of rājya. They had no sense of nationality nor did they seriously work for national unity. The modern idea of a nation is more a question of feeling and sentiment than of objective fact. The State has been at all times a great co-ordinating agency, but as its boundaries were extremely variable in ancient India, the modern sentiment of nationality, of 'my country, right or wrong' hardly ever arose in India (except perhaps for over a century in Mahārāṣṭra in the 17th and 18th centuries and among the Sikhs). In the whole of Hindu India, there was no doubt a certain unity of religion, philosophy, literary forms and conventions of arts and forms of worship, and in reverence for holy places, but this did not make for a deep-seated and effective sentiment of nationhood or national unity.

179a. त्रेतायुगे द्वापरे च हिमाक्रान्तिभयाज्जना । पादं पादं विदुष्येते श्रवणे दक्षिणपथम् । भावप्रकाशिन p. 309.

Most of the ancient sūtrakāras and smrtis try to lay down the limits of the holy land of Āryāvarta and differentiate it from the lands of *mlecchas*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 11-18. The Vismu (II. 3. 1-2), Mārkaṇḍeya (55. 21) and other purāṇas wax eloquent over the importance of Bharatavarsa and describe it as the land of action for those who want to secure heaven or final release or as the land where alone sin and religious merit were to be found (*karmabhūmī-īyam svargam-apavargam ca gacchātām* or *taḥ-karmabhūmī-nānyatra sampñāptih puṇyapūpayoh* in Mārkaṇḍeya) Manu (II. 20) manifests great pride in and love for the holy countries of Brahmāvarta, Kuruksetra, Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena by glorifying the brāhmanas of these countries as those 'from whom all men on this broad earth should learn the actions and usages appropriate to them'. Vas. I. 10 also says the same. Śāṅkha-Likhita (q. by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 2) hold that the country of Āryāvarta is endowed with high qualities, is ancient and holy (*deśa Āryo guṇavān sanātanaḥ puṇyāḥ*). As however the smrtis were composed at different times, embodied the usages of different provinces in India and as they provided for the observances of all those who followed the Veda, they do not generally lay emphasis on localities but rather on what they thought was common to all Āryas in India (*yat tu samūnam tad vaksyāmaḥ*, as Āśv. gr. says). There was no doubt a great emotional regard for Bharatavarsa or Āryāvarta as a unity for many centuries among all writers from a religious point of view, though not from a political standpoint. Therefore one element of modern nationhood viz. being under the same government was wanting. But it must be noted that from very ancient times there was always the aspiration among great kings and the people to bring the whole of Bharatavarsa "under one umbrella". Even in the West the sentiment of nationality practically arose after the partition of Poland, and as a consequence of the French Revolution and of the Industrial revolution, which led manufacturing countries to search for markets and to exploit backward and less developed peoples. Vide Laski's 'Grammar of Politics' chap VI. Modern nationalism undoubtedly leads to great self-sacrifice and produces certain virtues of high value in the individuals that are fired by that sentiment. But the ideals of the modern nation States are not high, particularly in their treatment of other peoples and in their attitude towards less favoured States. The one aim of the leading politicians of modern nation States and most of the inhabitants of these States seems to be to raise the standard of

living of their citizens to a high level and to maintain it at that level even by exploiting and robbing weaker races and lands. This is not the place to discuss these matters further. Whatever the value of nationalism to the individuals fired by it may be, from the point of the welfare of the whole of mankind, modern nation States do not deserve to survive, unless the so-called progressive nation States are prepared to give up their racial pride, their spirit of grabbing and exploitation and to extend a brotherly hand to all struggling States to improve themselves in their own way and attain to higher standards of living without let or hindrance. It cannot be gainsaid that for several centuries in the past and also at the present moment all modern nation States have two moralities, one for their own nation and the other for their dealings with foreign States and races.

Some remarks must now be made about provincial and local administration. Each kingdom comprised *deśas* (countries) and subdivisions of *deśas*. The governor of a *rāstra* was called *rāstrapati* or *rāstriya*. Vide p 117 above about Puryagupta having been the *rāstriya* of *Surāstra* (Kathiawad) under Candragupta Maurya and Śānti 85. 12 (which describes what the *rāstriya* is to do).

According to the *Amarakosa* the words *deśa*, *rāstra*, *visaya* and *janapada* are synonyms. Epigraphic usage is not uniform about the dimensions of these. Sometimes *visaya* appears to be a sub-division of *deśa* (vide the words '*rāstrapati-visayapati-grāmakūta*' in I. A. vol. VIII. at p. 20 in the grant of Calukya Tribhuvanamalla in śake 999 and I. A. vol. XII pp 247, 251 in the grant of *Rāstrakūta* Govinda in śake 855). But in the *Hirahadagalli* plates (E. I. vol I p. 5) '*visaya*' occurs first and then '*rāstra*', so it appears that there '*visaya*' is deemed to be larger than *rāstra*. According to the *Sahyādrikhanda* (*uttarārdha*, chap 4) *deśa* is made up of 100 villages, *mandala* is made up of 4 *deśas*, a *khandā* of 100 *mandalas* and the earth has nine *khandas* ¹⁸⁰. From the Cambay plate of śake 852 (930 A. D.), we see that *mandala* was a sub-division of *deśa* (E. I. vol. 7 p 26, at p 40) From

180. शतग्रामो भवेद्देशो देशचत्वारि मण्डलम् । शतमण्डलं भवेत्खण्डं नवखण्डा च मेदिनी ॥ सहाद्विखण्ड. उत्तरार्धे chap. 4, 'लाटदेशखण्डकमण्डलान्तर्गतकाविकामहास्यान-विनिर्गताय' in E. I. vol. 7 p. 40; 'श्रीशुद्धवर्धनशुक्तौ कोटीवर्षविषये गोकलिकामण्ड-लान्तःपाति ... ग्रामः' in E. I. vol. 14 p. 324.

the Bangarh grant of Mahipāla I (E. I. vol. 14 p. 324) and the Amgachhi plate of Vigrahapāla III we see that mandala was smaller than visaya which again was a subdivision of 'bhukti'. The word 'bhoga' (which is similar in origin to 'bhukti') appears to be applied to a sub-division of visaya (which in its turn is a sub-division of rāstra) in the Bhamdak¹⁸¹ plate of Kṛṣṇarāja I dated śake 694 (E. I. 14 p. 121, 126) and also in the Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya in 609 śake (E. I. vol. 19 p. 62 at p. 64 where the word 'rāstrapati' does not occur). The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 319 explains that only a king (mahipati) can make a grant of land and not a *bhogapati* (i. e. the officer over a *bhoga*). Another ancient word for a division of a country is *āhāra* which occurs in the Rupnath Rock inscription and Sarnath pillar Edict of Aśoka (Corpus I. I. vol. I pp. 162 and 166), in the Nasik Inscriptions No. 3 and 12 (Govardhanāhāra and Kāpurāhāra, E. I. vol. VIII pp. 65 and 82) and in the Karle Ins. No. 19 (E. I. VII. p. 64) where we have Māmalāhāra, modern Maval (in Poona District). For want of space it is not possible to pursue this subject here. For further information vide Dr. Fleet in J. R. A. S. for 1912 p. 707 and my paper on 'the Ancient Geography of Mahārāstra' (JBBRAS. vol. XXIV for 1914-1917 pp. 648-653). In the epigraphic records particularly of the Deccan and South India we come across names of territorial divisions to which small as well as very large figures (indicating the number of villages they comprised) are affixed: e g. a group of twelve villages in Aparānta on the sea near Kalvivana (modern Kelyem) is mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Budhavarasa (E. I. 14 p. 144 at p. 150), Nyāyapadra saptadaśa in Bhoja's grant in *saṃvat* 1076 (E. I. 18 at p. 322), Kisukād 70 (E. I. 15 p. 73), Belvola 300 (in E. I. 13 at p. 40), Konkana 900 ruled over by the Kadamba king Jayakeśi II (E. I. 13 pp. 298, 317), Tardavādi 1000 (E. I. 15 p. 25), Kundi 3000 (E. I. 13 at p. 18), Pratyandaka 4000 (E. I. III p. 306), Karahāta 10000 (E. I. 13 p. 275), Banavāsi 12000 (E. I. 13 p. 179), Nolambavādi 32000 (E. I. 19 p. 187), Kavādīvīpa sapādalakṣa (one and a quarter lakh) in E. I. 13 at p. 299, the country of 7½ lakhs (in the Lakṣmīneshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya VI in E. I. 16 p. 31). Vide Dr. Fleet in J. R. A. S. 1912 pp. 707-710 as to the meaning of these figures.

181. राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिभोगपतिप्रभृतीन् समाज्ञापयति । E. I. vol. 14 p. 121 at p. 126; सर्वानिव यथासंख्यमानकान् राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटमहसरायुक्तकोपयुक्तकाधिकारिकान् समादिशति । E. I. vol. VII, p. 26 at p. 40.

Kauṭilya II. 1 says that in the kingdom groups of villages should be set up with a chief town or fort in each, a group of ten villages being called Sangrahaṇa, of two hundred villages being called Khārvatika, of 400 villages being called Drona-mukha, and in the midst of 800 villages¹⁸² there is the Sthāniya-

182. अष्टशतग्राम्या मध्ये स्थानीयं चतुःशतग्राम्या द्रोणमुख द्विशतग्राम्याः खार्वटिकं दशग्रामीसंग्रहेण संग्रहणं स्थापयेत् । कौटिल्य II. 1 Vide Dr Shamsāstrī's note on these स्थानीय has a similarity in sound and meaning to modern *thānū*, Dr. Prān Nāth (in 'Study of the economic condition of Ancient India' p 26) principally relying on a commentator of the Jain work called *Prajñāpanopāṅga* (which he misunderstands) holds that 'grāma' does not mean 'a village', but 'an estate or survey village which can pay 18 kinds of Government taxes' The learned Doctor says that he consulted many Sanskrit lexicons, but did not find this interpretation in any one of them That should have induced him to be cautious But he makes the bold and facile assumption that 'lexicons were compiled from a literary view-point and are not of much assistance as far as the technical meanings of words are concerned'. His great authority, the Jain commentator, says 'गामनिवेशेऽहं इत्यादि । यस्मिन् वृद्ध्यादीन्वृणानिति ग्रामः यदि वा गम्यः शास्त्रप्रसिद्धानामष्टादश-कराणामिति ग्रामः'. Dr Prān Nāth's Jain authority is no better than lexicographers and their commentators. क्षीरस्वामी on *Amara* derives grāma as 'व्रत्यते भूमिभिर्ग्रामः' i e the word ग्राम is derived from the root व्रत्. The Jain commentator first derives the word ग्राम from व्रत् and then from गम् Dr. Prān Nāth forgets that a fanciful or scholastic derivation is not a *definition*. The rest of the reasoning on the new meaning of grāma is on a par with this and cannot be examined in detail A commentator expressly states (*ibid* p 27) that he gives only the *vyutpatti* (etymology) of grāma, but Dr Prān Nāth pays no heed to this He has not correctly grasped the scholastic discussion in the commentary quoted on p 27. He misunderstands the word 'samagrāmāḥ' in Yāj II 152. The *Amarakośa* expressly says that 'sama' and 'samāna' are synonyms He is often very dogmatic without looking into all ancient and medieval authorities e g on p 51 he charges Dr. Fleet with misinterpretation of a Jātaka text (*addha-tiāni satāni*) which Dr Fleet translated as 250, while Dr Prān Nāth is sure that the meaning is '150' He probably never noticed that so far back as the 2nd century B C the *Mahābhāṣya* had explained the word 'ardhatīya' as Dr Fleet does (अर्धं तृतीयमेषां or अर्धं तृतीयमनयो, vide Kielhorn, vol I p 426 on *vārtika* 22 on Pān II 2, 24) There is hardly any warrant for Dr Prān Nāth's assertion that each grāma (as interpreted by him) contained only about five families and had only about 15 or 20 acres of cropped area (pp: 39-40). Kaut (note 178) states that a grāma contains from 100 to 500 families If the inscriptions so far published are carefully searched it will be found that grāma ordinarily meant a village in the modern sense and included several hundred acres of land For example, in a grant of Pallava Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman (I. A vol V p 50)

(Continued on the next page)

Manu VII. 114 similarly observes that in the midst of two, three or five villages the king should place a central post of guards called 'gulma' and another called 'saṅgraha' in the midst of a hundred villages. Manu VII. 115-117, Visnudharma-sūtra III. 7-14, Śānti 87 3ff, Agnipurāṇa 223. 1-4, Visnudharmot-tara II. 61. 1-6, Mānasollāsa II. 2. 159-162 (p. 43) require the king to appoint a hierarchy of officers for one village, for groups of ten, twenty, hundred and thousand villages, who are to report what is wrong within their jurisdictions that they cannot themselves remedy to the officer next in grade above themselves and Manu VII. 120 prescribes that a minister of the king should supervise the doings and conflicts of all these officers. The Edicts of Aśoka show that he had to employ a hierarchy of officers such as the mahāmātras, the yuktas and rājukas for the administration of his vast empire. A similar administrative system seems to have been continued under the Gupta Emperors. From the Damodarpur, Baigram and other plates (E I XV. p 113, E I XVII. pp 345ff, E I XXI. p 78) it appears that the Provincial Governors were appointed by the Gupta Emperor himself and were called *uparika mahārāja*, that either the Governors or Emperors appointed District officers (*visayapati*) who were often called *Kumārāmātya*, that the District officers were aided in their administrative work by a board of four advisers called *nagara-śreṣṭhin* (banker), *sārthavāha* (chief merchant), *prathamakulika* (chief of craft guilds) and *prathamakāyastha* (chief secretary), that the District officer had his

(Continued from last page)

very detailed and accurate boundaries of a village of 200 *nivartanas* are given. A *nivartana* was equal to a square of twenty *vamsas* on each side, each *vamsa* being equal to ten cubits, so that a *nivartana* covered an area of 40000 cubits (200 × 200) i. e. about 90000 square feet, while an acre is equal to 43560 square feet. Therefore the village referred to in the above grant was over 400 acres in extent. The *Mahābhāṣya* (on *vārtika* 8 on *Pāṇ* I 1 7) has an interesting discussion on the several meanings of the word *grāma* in popular language viz a number of houses (as in 'the *grāma* was burnt'), the village wall or ditch (as in 'he entered the *grāma*'), 'men' (as in 'the *grāma* had gone'), a village with its forests and bushes, with its boundaries (such as rivers and hills) and with embanked fields (as in 'a *grāma* was acquired'). 'ग्रामशब्दोऽयं बहुवचनः । अस्त्येव शालासखुदाये वर्तते ... अस्ति सारण्यके ससीमके सस्थण्डिलके वर्तते । तस्याया ग्रामो लब्ध इति । As in modern times villages are found named after trees the same was the case in the days of Pāṇ. and Patañjali *क्षिरीयाणामदूरमवो ग्रामः क्षिरीयाः तस्य ग्रामस्य वनं क्षिरीयवनम् । महाभाष्ये* on *पा.* I. 2. 51 (vol I. p 224.)

headquarters in a place called *adhithāna* and had his several offices or courts (*adhikaranas*), and that in sales of lands revenue officers called *pustapālas* (keepers of records of rights) were consulted and had to report. In E. I. vol. XVII pp 345, 348 a copperplate of Kumāragupta I has 'grāmāṣṭa-kulādhikaranam' which means an office having jurisdiction over 8 villages. Manu VII. 119 says that the officer over 10 villages was to have as his salary a kula of land and kula is here said to mean (by Kullūka) as much land as is ploughed by two ploughs having six oxen yoked to each. The Varjayanī on Visnu Dh. S. III. 15 says 'kulam haladvaya-karsaniyā bhūh'. Śukra (I. 191-192) states that the lord of one hundred *grāmas* is called *sāmanta*, an officer appointed by a king over one hundred villages is called *anusāmanta*, one over ten villages is called *nāyaka* (compare modern 'nauk') Manu VII. 61 and 81, Yāj I. 322, Kām V. 75, Visnudharmasūtra III 16-21, Visnudharmottara II 24 48-49 say that the king should appoint as many *adhyakṣas* (superintendents) as are required for the several departments of the state, who are clever, honest and of good family. Kautilya¹⁸³ II.9 prescribes 'those who are possessed of the qualifications for *amātyas* (cited on p. 107 above) should be appointed, according to their abilities, as superintendents of the various departments and the king should constantly examine their work, since men are naturally fickle-minded and when appointed to do work exhibit like horses change of temper'. It is pointed out in works like the Visnudharmasūtra III 16-21 and the Visnudharmottara II 24. 48-49, Śānti 69. 29, that those who are highly devoted to dharma should be appointed to the ecclesiastical or judicial department, the brave ones to military work, those who are skilled to revenue work and those who are very trustworthy should be placed in charge of mines, salts, toll-gates, ferries, elephant forests.

Kautilya in his 2nd *adhikarana* exhaustively deals with the work done in 28 departments and the duties of their superintendents. He enters into very minute details about each and his work is encyclopaedic in character on this subject

183. अमात्यसम्पदोपेतः सर्वाङ्गक्षेत्रशक्तिः कर्मसु निषोभ्या । कर्मसु चैवं निरपरीक्षां कारयेच्चित्तानिदयत्नान्मुखाणां । अश्वसधर्माणो हि मनुष्या नियुक्ताः कर्मसु विकृतिः । कौटिल्य II. 9, धर्मिष्ठान् धर्मकार्येषु शूरान् संग्रामकर्मणि । निपुणानर्थकृतेषु सर्वत्र च तथा शुचीन् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 24, 48 Vide a similar verse quoted by the *mita* on ya I. 322

Kautilya's work became the authority on Government and several inscriptions mention officers appointed according to the section on 'adhyaksapracāra', which is undoubtedly a reference to Kautilya's 2nd adhikarana. For example, in the Belava plate of Bhojavarmadeva (E. I. vol. XII. at p. 40) and in the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena (E. I. vol. XV. p. 283) we have the words 'anyāṁśca sakalā-rājapādopajīvinodhyaksapracāroktān ihākirtitān cattabhata-jātiyānjanapadān ksetrakarāṁśca'. It is not possible to do anything more than indicate very briefly the sphere of each *adhyaksa*. The duty of the sannidhātṛ (II 5) is to look after the construction of the treasury house, the store-houses for merchandise, for grain, for forest produce, for arms and of the jail. The samāhartr (the Collector-General) is to exercise superintendence over the collection of revenue from forts, the rural parts, mines, embankments, forests, herds of cattle and roads for traffic (II. 6). The samāhartr¹⁸⁴ has to divide (II 35) the kingdom into four districts and to arrange the villages into three grades, viz. those that are exempted from taxes, those that supply soldiers and those that pay taxes in the form of grain, cattle, money, forest produce, free labour and other equivalents for taxes. It is the duty of the *gopa* to look after a group of five or ten villages under the orders of the samāhartr. The *gopa* has not only to register the total number of the inhabitants of all varṇas in the houses that pay taxes and that are exempt in the villages, but also to keep a register of the number of cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, labourers, slaves, biped and quadruped animals, of the amount of money, free labour, tolls and fines that are recovered, and the number of women, men, young and old persons, and the extent of their actions, occupations, usages, expenditures. The *sthānika* (in charge of each of the four districts) should look after his charge in the same way. The superintendent of records and accounts (*aksapatalādhyaksa*) should have the account office constructed with its door facing the north or the east, with rooms

184. Both the samāhartr and the sannidhātṛ are mentioned as officers in the copperplate of Mahābhavagupta of Trikalīṅga (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 138 at p. 141 and E. I. vol. XI. at p. 94). Sabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini XII. 1. 28 refers to the samāhartr coming with his own phalanx of subordinates 'यथा सेनापतिर्दृष्ट्यबलेन सहायतः सनाहर्ता निजेन बलेन राजा ह सर्वेबलैस्तेश्चाप्यैश्च'. From Hsien Tsang's account of his travels (Beal's 'Buddhist Records' vol. I. p. 78) we learn that each province kept a record of good and bad events

(for the clerks) set apart and with shelves of account books well-arranged (II 7) This officer had to enter numerous matters in the accounts, recover the king's dues from the sureties of servants, to check embezzlement and to recover fines for loss due to neglect or fraud. The account year ended with the full moon of *Āśāḍha*, the year being of 354 days and the salary for an intercalary month being separately paid. Among the duties of the Superintendent of records and accounts was the important one of noting in his register the dharma, method of judicial procedure and the usages of countries, villages, castes, families and corporations (*deśagrāmajāti-kulasanghātānām dharma vyavahāra-caritra-samsthānam .. nibandha-pustakastham kārayet*) In II 8 Kautilya specifies forty modes of embezzlement by Government servants (to which a reference is made in the *Daśakumāracarita* VIII) In II 9 he employs the picturesque figure that it is not possible to know exactly how officers appointed to the several businesses of the State extract wealth, just as fish always dwelling in water cannot be observed when they drink water The superintendent of treasury (II 11) shall in the presence of qualified persons receives into the treasury gems, pearls, articles of great or small value and forest produce (like sandal wood, *agaru* etc) The superintendent of mines and of government manufactories (II 12) must be proficient in the science of metals, mercury, liquids that ooze from the holes, caves and sides of mountains and hills Under him are officers called *lohādhyakṣa* (who carries on the manufacture of vessels of copper and other metals), a *lakṣanādhyakṣa* (a superintendent of mint, who manufactures silver and copper coins for the State), a *rupadanśaka*^{184a} (examiner of coins, who regulates the dealings with panas as a medium of exchange among the people and for stocking in the treasury), *khanyādhyakṣa* (who attends to conches, diamonds, pearls, coral and trade in them), a *lavanādhyakṣa* (superintendent of salt) The *suvarnādhyakṣa* (the superintendent of gold) has to construct a goldsmith's office for the manufacture of gold and silver articles with a single door and four halls, to appoint a skilful and trustworthy goldsmith to have a shop in the centre of the road (II. 13) and not to allow any one who is not an employee to

184a. Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* on *vārtika* 4 on Pān. I. 4 52 cites the example 'यद्यति रूपतर्कः कार्पाणम् । दृश्यति रूपतर्कं कार्पाणम्'. Here रूपतर्क appears to mean one who can examine a coin or probably the same as रूपदर्शक in Kaut. '.

enter the goldsmith's shop. If any one so entered he was to be beheaded. The State goldsmith (II. 14) has to manufacture gold and silver coins for the citizens and rural inhabitants through artisans employed by him. The superintendent of the storehouse (II. 15) has to keep together the produce of crown lands, taxes from the country districts, accidental revenue, manufacture of rice, oil &c. The superintendent of commerce (panyādhyaksa, II. 16) should keep himself acquainted with the demand or absence of demand for and the rise and fall in the prices of various kinds of merchandise produced on land or from water and brought by land or water routes. The superintendent of forest produce (kūpyādhyaksa, II. 17) was to collect forest produce through guards of forest and Kautilya gives a long list of trees, varieties of bamboos, creepers, fibrous plants and rope-making material, drugs and poisons, skins of various animals, that came under this officer's care. The superintendent of armoury (āyudhāgārādhyaksa, II. 18) was to employ experienced artisans to manufacture arms, wheels, machines, armour &c. required in battle or for the defence of forts, or for battering the cities of the enemy. The superintendent of weights and measures¹⁸⁵ was to get manufactured weights from half māṣaka

185. The weights specified are 10 seeds of māsa or 5 guñjās = 1 suvarṇa-māsaka, 16 suvarṇa-māsakas = one suvarṇa or karsa, 4 karsas = one pala, 88 white mustard seeds = one rūpyamāsaka, 16 rūpyamāsakas or 20 śaṭbya seeds = one dharana. The Kāśikā on Pān II 4 21 furnishes the interesting item of information that weights and measures (probably in vogue in its day) were first introduced by the Nandas (nandopakramāni mānāni). The chief measures of distance given in II 20 are 8 atoms = one particle of dust thrown up by a chariot wheel, 8 particles = liksā, 8 liksās = a medium-sized yūkā (louse), 8 yūkās = yava (barley corn) of medium size, 8 yavas = one angula, 12 angulas = vitastī, 2 vitastīs = aratnī or one prājāpatya hand, 2 vitastīs plus 4 angulas (called dhanurgraha) = one hasta used in measuring pastures and cubic measures, 4 aratnīs = danda or dhanus or nālikā-paurusa, 10 dandas = rajju, 3 rajjus = nivartana, 1000 dhanus (or 2000 acc. to another reading) = goruta, 4 gorutas = one yojana. A nivartana was probably so called because it represented a day's ploughing by a team of eight or six oxen (from the root *vrt* with *ni*), meaning the area from which they stopped after a day's work. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 859 note 2021 for *nivartana* and *gocarma*. The extent of the nivartana differed acc. to different authorities. The Matsya said it was 30 dandas square, each danda being of the length of seven hastas, while Śālitāpa held the danda to be of 10 hastas. The Līlāvati (I 7) held that a nivartana was 20 vamaś square, each vamaś being of 10 hastas. According to the lexicon Vajayanti, in Kosala the yojana was of four gavyūtis, while

(Continued on the next page)

onwards up to one hundred suvarnas, weights being made of iron or stones found in the Magadha country and the Mekala mountain. The superintendent of tolls (*śulkādhyakṣa*, II 21) was to erect near the principal gate of the capital a toll-house and its flag and when traders arrived with merchandise make four or five toll-collectors take down their names, whence they came, what merchandise they brought and whether it bore seal-mark. In II. 22 Kautilya specifies various rates of tolls for imports and exports. The superintendent of weaving (II. 23) was to employ qualified persons to make threads, coats (of armour), cloths and ropes and he was to employ for cutting wool, fibres, cotton, hemp and flax, widows, cripple women, girls, ascetic women paying off fines by doing work, mothers of prostitutes, old women servants of the palace, *devadāsīs* (temple girls) who have ceased to do temple services. This superintendent was charged with the task of providing work for women who do not leave their homes, the wives of persons who have gone abroad, women who are cripple or unmarried and who have to work for their own maintenance. He was to give to them spinning work through the maid-servants in his department. If he stared at their faces when they came to exchange their work for wages or spoke to them on any other matter he was fined in the first amercement. Thus the State helped home or cottage industry. It is to be noted that he had large powers of levying fines and

(Continued from the last page)

in Magadha it was only equal to two gavyūtis (last verse of *deśādhyāya* in *bhūmikhanda*). Kaut gives *bastas* of various lengths for various purposes. Compare Manu VIII 132-134, *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* IV 1-7, *Yāj* I 362-363, *Nārada parīṣista* 57-60, *Brhatsambhitā*, 57 1 ff, *Vāyupurāṇa* 101 118 for some of these, which differ in some details from Kautilya's statements. Kaut (II 20) states the duration of a *nādikā* to be the time required for the passage of one *ādhaka* of water from a pot through an aperture of the same diameter as a wire of 4 *angulas* in length and made out of four *suvarnamāśakas*. 2 *nādikās* are equal to a *muhūrta* and 15 *muhūrtas* are equal to a day or a night. In II 19 he gives measures of corn as follows — 4 *kudumbas* = *prastha*, 4 *prasthas* = *ādhaka*, 4 *ādhakas* = *drona*, 16 *dronas* = *khāri*, 20 *dronas* = *kumbha*. The *drona* differed for various purposes. Vide above (p 124 note 165) for a quotation from *Mit.* on *Yāj* III 274. *Hemādri*, *vratakhanda* pp 51-57, gives quotations from various sources for measures of time, corn &c. These measures were different in different countries and at different times. The *Līlāvati* (of 12th century A.D.) I 7 speaks of the *khāri* in Magadha being equal to 16 *dronas*. Vide n 165 above and H. of Dh. vol. II p. 881 n. 2053 and L. D. Barnett's 'Antiquities of India' (pp. 206-210) for tables of weights and measures,

awarding bodily punishments e. g. if a woman refused to work after receiving the wages he could cut off her thumb (? or bind up her thumb with the index finger so as to form a pair of tongs). The superintendent of agriculture (sītādhyakṣa, ¹⁸⁶ II. 24) himself knowing or assisted by those who know the science of agriculture and the Āyurveda (the ancient lore) of trees was to collect at the proper times all kinds of corn, flowers, fruits, vegetables, bulbs, hemp and cotton seeds and to employ slaves, labourers and prisoners who worked to pay off fines they could not pay, to sow seeds on crown lands. In this chapter he makes interesting remarks about the extent of rainfall viz. the rainfall in a *jāṅgala* country (defined above at p. 132) is 16 dronas, in *anūpa* (very moist) countries 24 dronas, 13½ dronas in the Āśmaka country (modern Khandesh and part of Berar), 23 dronas in the Avanti country (round about modern Ujjain), an immense quantity in the Aparāntas (west coast of India) and the Himālayan regions.

The superintendent of liquor was to carry on the traffic in liquor and ferments in the capital, the other parts of the country and in army camps by employing men familiar with them, he was to impose a fine of 600 panas if any one other than the manufacturers, licensed vendors and vendees sold or purchased liquor, he was not to allow liquor-shops to be opened close to each other, he was to see that liquor was sold in small quantities such as ¼ or ½ of a *kuṇḍumba* or a half prastha to persons of known character in order that (lit. for fear) workmen employed should not cause loss through carelessness, that *ūryas* might not violate the rules of good conduct and that desperadoes should not commit indiscreet acts Śukra was even more strict as regards

186 Sītā, according to the Amarakośa, means the 'lines or furrow made by the ploughshare'. Therefore Kautilya appears to employ the word 'sītā' in the sense of 'land that has been cultivated'. Prof V. K. Ramchandra Dikshitar (in 'Hindu Administrative Institutions' p. 369) is not right when he explains सीता लाङ्गलपद्धतिः (of Amara) as 'methods and means connected with the plough'. Paddhati only means the line or furrow made in the field by the ploughshare Kṣīraswāmī explains as रचति मुने सीता इल्लेखा. In II 15 Kautilya himself explains 'sītā' as the collection of grain brought in by the superintendent of agriculture 'सीताध्यक्षोपनीतः सस्यवर्णकः सीता'. The sītādhyakṣa appears to have been concerned with crown lands, while the share of crops leviable on lands of private ownership was called 'balī'. Both these were the concern of the samāhartṛ as stated in V. 1 (where rāstrā is said to include sītā, bhāga, bah, kara &c) When in II 15 sītā and rāstrā are separately mentioned that is on the analogy of the maxim of *brāhmaṇaśramana* or of *gobalivārda*.

wine, as he did not allow any one to drink wine in the day-time (IV. 4. 43). The superintendent of slaughter houses (*sūnādhyaksa*, II. 26) was entrusted with the power to regulate the killing of animals for meat and was to impose the highest amercement on those who trapped or beat or killed deer, cattle, birds or fish which were declared to be under State protection or that dwelt in protected forests. The superintendent of nautch-girls (*ganikādhyaksa* ¹⁸⁷) is dealt with in II. 27. The topic of *veśyās* has already been treated of in H Dh. vol. II pp 637-639. Kaut. says that a *ganikā* was to be employed for a salary of one thousand panas, whether she was born in a prostitute's family or not and she was to possess beauty, youth and accomplishments (i.e. the 64 *kalās* enumerated in Kāmasūtra I. 3. 16). Kaut. prescribes that, if she left the country or died, her daughter or sister took her place and estate or her mother could substitute some other *ganikā* in her place; when none of these existed the king took her wealth and her son did not inherit her wealth. A *ganikā* could purchase her freedom by paying to the king 24000 panas as ransom. She was to hold the umbrella, the golden pitcher and the fan for the king when he was seated on the throne or in a chariot or in his palanquin. There were grades among the *ganikās* as best, middling and inferior and salaries differed by a thousand. The sons of prostitutes were to be the chief actors on the royal stage. It appears from these provisions that the *veśyās* were more or less slaves. The superintendent of ships (*nāvādhyaksa*, II. 28) was to look after the passage of ships not only over the seas and at the mouths of rivers, but also over lakes and rivers in the *sthāniya* (vide above p 140) and other sub-divisions of the kingdom. Kaut. prescribes that villages on the sea-shore and river banks were to pay a fixed tax, fishermen were to render a sixth part of the haul of fish as fees for fishing licenses and merchants were to pay the customary tolls levied in port towns. This superintendent was to request the ships that touched at a harbour on their voyage to a distant port to pay the toll, he was to destroy pirate vessels bound for the country of an enemy as well as those that violated the usages of the port. The superintendent of cattle (II. 29) was entrusted with the rearing,

187. आभिरभ्युच्छिता वेद्या शीलरूपशुभान्विता । लभते गणिकाशब्दं स्थानं च जन-
संसदि ॥ पूजिता सा सदा राजा सुगवद्भिश्च संस्तुता । प्रार्थनीयाभिगम्या च लक्ष्यमूला च
जायते ॥ कामसूत्र I 3 20-21. This shows that every *veśyā* was not a *ganikā*,
but only one that was honoured for her accomplishments (in 64 *kalās*) and
who became the cynosure of all eyes.

preservation and care of cows, bulls, buffaloes and the dairy produce. The superintendent of horses (II. 30) was to record the breed, age, colour, marks, groups and places of origin of horses, which were to be classified as those kept in salehouses for sale, those that were recently purchased, those captured in battles, those that were pledged and those temporarily kept in stables &c. Kaut notes that the breed of horses from Kāmbhoja, Sindhu (modern Sindh), Āratṭa (western Punjab) and Vanāyu (North-west of India) countries are the best of horses, Bāhlika (modern Balkh), Pāpeya, Sauvira (eastern Sindh and western Rajputana) and Taitila breeds are of middle quality and the rest are inferior. The superintendent of elephants (II. 31) had to take steps to guard elephant forests and supervise elephants that were in stables, the catching, training and feeding of them, their accoutrements &c. Kaut devotes one chapter (II. 32) to the training and classification of elephants and medical treatment when they fell ill. The superintendent of chariots and that of infantry (II. 33) have the charge of the chariot department and of the six classes of infantry respectively. The superintendent of passports (*mudrādhyakṣa*) issued passes to inhabitants of the country or foreigners for entering into or going out and the superintendent of pastures (II. 34) was to see the passes and devote himself to the care of pastures. Kautilya provides that a pass (*mudrā*) was to be given on payment of a *māsaka*, that one could enter into or go out of a country only when one had a pass, that a person who entered without a pass was to be fined twelve *panas* and that the superintendent of pastures and his men were to examine whether persons not going by the royal road but through pastures had a pass or not and that the superintendent of pastures and his men were to convey the approach of thieves and enemies by beating drums and blowing conches and were to send messages about the entrance of enemies into pastures by means of domesticated pigeons carrying letters bearing the official stamp or by means of smoke and fire. The *nāgaraka* (the mayor of the capital or cities or the chief of the police in the capital) was to look to the affairs of the capital (or the big cities). A *gopa* (under the *nāgaraka*) was to superintend a group of twenty or forty families in the capital and an officer designated *sthānika* was to be in charge of each of four wards into which the capital was to be divided. Yāj II. 173 mentions an officer called *sthānapāla* in connection with the finding of lost goods who appears to be the same as *sthānika*. The *gopa* and *sthānika* had to keep a register of the caste, gotra,

name and occupation of the men and women in their districts and also of their income and expenditure. Managers of charitable institutions had to send information to them about the heretics and travellers arriving to reside therein. Numerous rules about reporting and punishments for various defaults and wrongs are laid down, which are passed over. Manu VII 121 and Śānti 87. 10 also provide for the appointment in each city (in the kingdom) of a high officer, who was to superintend all matters affecting the city and who had ample powers of restraint and coercion. Many of the superintendents mentioned by Kautilya occur under the same names in the Kāmasūtra e.g. gavādhyaksa, sūtrādhyaksa, nāgaraka (explained by the com as dandapāśika), panyādhyaksa (in V. 5. 7-10). Vide E I vol. 15 pp. 127-128 for a statement on the provincial administration under the Guptas.

As regards the emoluments of the officers in charge of a village, ten villages &c. Manu (VII 118-119) has some interesting rules: 'The headman of a village should obtain (as his emoluments) those articles which the villagers have to furnish every day to the king viz. food, drink, fuel and the like. The officer over ten villages should enjoy one *kula*¹⁸⁸, that over twenty villages should enjoy five *kulas*, the superintendent of a hundred villages should receive the revenue of one village and the high officer over a thousand villages should enjoy (the revenue of) a town. All this, as Medhātithi says, is only approximate and recommendatory and was not literally followed, but

188. The word 'pratyaham' (every day) excludes taxes on fields that are levied once a year or taxes levied on particular occasions only; while the words 'food, drink and fuel' exclude cattle, money &c. The word 'kula' appears to be used as a technical term. It may mean as much land as would be required for the maintenance of a family. But there is another sense given by the commentators of Manu. Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa quotes a text that *kula* means 'two halas'. He and Kullūka quote Hārīta to the effect that a plough (yoked acc to dharma) is one of eight bullocks, one of six bullocks is employed by those who want only bare maintenance, householders employ one of four bullocks, while those who in their greed want to incur heavy sin employ a plough with two bulls only. So by *kula* is meant as much land as can be ploughed with two ploughs to which either 8, 6 or 4 bullocks are yoked. That 6 or 8 or 12 oxen were yoked to the plough is stated in Atharva VI. 91.1 and Tai. S.V. 2. 5 2. हलं द्व द्विगुणं कुलमिति वचनाद् द्विगुणं हलाम्प्रां वा कृष्यते भूतार्ता युज्यतेत्यर्थः। हलमानं च-अद्यावत् धर्महलं यद्गवं जीवितार्थिनाम्। चतुर्वर्गं गृहस्थानां द्विगवं ब्रह्मचारिणामिति हारीतेकम्। धर्महलं प्राज्ञं गृहस्थहलं वा। सर्वज्ञनारायण on मनु VII 119.

only means that a salary commensurate with the position and responsibilities of each officer should be received by him. Vide Śānti 87. 6-8 for rules similar to Manu's (where the officer over a thousand villages gets as his salary the revenues of a śākhānagara). Kautilya (in V. 3) sets out the salaries of many officers and servants as follows: the salary paid to the chief mantrin, purohita and a few others has been already stated above (p. 120); the dauvārika, the superintendent of the harem (antar-varṣika), the praśāstr, the samāhartr and the sannidhātṛ were to receive 24000 panas; the princes (other than the crown prince), the nurse (mātr, mother?) of the princes, nāyaka, the superintendent in charge of justice (or commercial transactions?) in the capital (the pauraavyāvahārika), the superintendent of royal manufactories (karmāntika), the members of the council of ministers, the rāstrapāla (governor of a province), antapāla (the guardian of the borders) were to receive 12000 panas; the salary of the heads of śrenis (the military corporations?), the heads of the elephant army, cavalry, and chariot army, and the pradests was 8000 panas; the superintendents (below the commanders) of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, of the forest produce and elephant forests will each receive 4000; the chariot driver (anika), the army physician, the trainer of horses, carpenters, *yompoṣaka* (?) will receive 2000; the foreteller (the reader of omens), astrologer (who finds auspicious times for undertakings), the reader of purāṇas, the sūta, māgadha (bard), the assistants (puruṣa) of the purohita and adhyaksas will receive 1000; trained foot-soldiers, the accountants and scribes will receive 500; musicians 250, but trumpet-blowers will receive 500; artisans (*kāru*) and craftsmen (*śilpin*) 120; servants in charge of bipeds and quadrupeds, workers doing miscellaneous things, attendants near the king, bodyguard and the officer procuring free labour (*visti*) will receive 60; those appointed to do piece work (*kāryayukta*, v. 1 *āryayukta*), the elephant driver, boys (*mānavaka*, a page?), mountain-diggers, all attendants, teachers and learned men shall receive honorarium (*pūjāvetana*) according to their merit from 500 to 1000; charioteer of the king 1000; spies of the five sorts (vide above p. 129) will receive 1000; the village servants (like washer-man), the spies of the type of satrin, desperado, poisoner and ascetic women will receive 500; the wandering spies (vide above p. 130) three hundred or more according to the labour involved. The superintendents in charge of a group of hundred or a thousand (servants) were to regulate the subsistence (*bhakta*), cash salary, the perquisites,

the appointment and transfer of those under them. But there shall be no transfer of those who are the king's personal servants and of those who are appointed to guard forts and the country parts. The Sukranītisāra (I. 211) emphasizes that salaries should be in panas, that a king should not make a gift even of a finger-breadth of land as emolument to any servant, but that if he does give land, it should be held only for the life-time of the officer¹⁸⁹. Kautilya (in II. 1) prescribes that lands may be granted as emoluments to superintendents (of the various departments), the accountants, to officers called gopa and sthānika, to officers in the army, physicians, horse-trainers, but without power to sell or mortgage Śukra II. 117-204 mentions numerous officers of the army, the treasury &c. Śukra IV. 7. 24-27 sets out the salaries of officers, when the king's income is one lakh of *mudrās* a year. Kaut provides for pensions and gratuities. He says 'the sons and wives of those that die while on duty shall get subsistence and wages. Young children, aged persons and ailing persons related to the (dying) officers shall be shown favour On occasions of funerals, sickness or childbirth the king shall bestow money and honours on them' The Mahābhārata (Sabhā 5. 54) prescribes¹⁹⁰ that it is the duty of the king to support the wives of those that meet death or calamities in the king's service Śukra II 406-411 contains very modern-looking rules about sick-leave, casual leave, pension after 40 years of service &c

The above provisions from Kautilya's work show how States in ancient India engaged in almost all the activities of modern States, had an equally complicated machinery of administration and an army of high and low officers. It will also be noticed how, as in India at present, comparatively very high salaries were paid to ministers and heads of departments as compared with the salaries of clerks (e g the ordinary clerks received five hundred, while the chief minister and samāhartr, the

189. न दद्याद्ध्यङ्गुलमापि भूमेः स्वत्वनिवर्तनम् । वृत्त्यर्थं कल्पयेद्वापि यावद्ग्राहस्त्व जीवति ॥ शुक्रो तावदेवतार्थं विजुञ्जेच्च सदेव हि ॥ आरामार्थं यदाथ वा दद्याद्दृष्ट्वा क्षुद्रम्विनम् ॥ शुक्रनीतिसार I 211-212

190 कश्चिद्द्वारान्मनुष्याणां तवार्थं मृत्युमीषुषाम् । व्यसनं चाभ्युपेतानां विभर्षि भरतर्षभ ॥ सभा 5 54, पादहीना भृतिं त्वाते दद्यात् त्रैमासिकी ततः । पञ्चवत्सरभृत्ये तु न्यूनाधिक्यं यथा तथा ॥ दान्मासिकीं तु दीर्घांते तद्वर्धे न च कल्पयेत् । नैव पक्षार्थमार्तरप हस्तपात्पापि वै भृतिः ॥ .. चत्वारिंशत् समा नीताः सेवया येन वै रूपः । ततः सेवा विना तस्मै भृत्यर्थं कल्पयेत्सदा ॥ ... स्वामिकार्यं विनष्टो यस्तद्वृत्ते तद्भृतिं नहेत् । यावद्दालोपया पुत्रशुणान् दृष्ट्वा भृतिं नहेत् ॥ शुक्रनीतिः II, 406, 407, 410, 413.

collector-general, received respectively 48000 and 24000 i. e. 96 and 48 times as much respectively. If all the different officers mentioned in the works on *dharmaśāstra*, *arthaśāstra* and in inscriptions be collected together, they will make a formidably long list. A list from one inscription is set out below as a sample.¹⁹¹ Vide Vogel's 'Inscriptions from Chamba' pp 120-136 for explanations of about 30 titles of officers occurring in the inscriptions.

A few words must be said about local administration. The word *grāma* occurs even in the *Rgveda*. In *Rg* I. 114. 1 the poet offers his praise and prayer to Rudra so that he hopes that 'all bipeds and quadrupeds may fare well and all beings in this village may be free from disease and may enjoy prosperity'.¹⁹² In *Rg*. V. 54.8 'heroes (or men) conquering grāmas' are mentioned (*grāmajito yathā narah*). In *Rg*. X. 62. 11 Manu is styled 'grāmani' and the bestower of a thousand (cows?) and in *Rg*. X. 107. 5 it is said that the 'grāmani who is endowed with (or dispenses) *dakṣiṇā* (cows or wealth) walks in front (of the village people)'. In the *Tai. S.* II. 5.4.4 it is said 'the prosperous are three indeed, viz the learned *brāhmaṇa*, the village headman (*grāmani*) and the *rājanya* (warrior)'.^{192a} In the *Tai. Br.* I. 1.4.8, the consecration of fire for a *vaiśya* sacrificer is made with the mantra '*manostvā grāmanyō vratapate vratenādadhāmi*' (where Manu is styled *grāmani*). In the *Śat. Br.* V. 4. 4. 19 the *grāmani* is said to be stronger than his co-sharer (*sajāta*). Vide *S. B. E.* vol. 41 p. 111. We saw above

191. In the *Naihati* grant of *Balīālasena* of Bengal in *E. I.* vol. 14 p. 156 at p. 160 we have one of the longest lists of high and low officers, 'परमेश्वर-परममहाराज-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमद्बृहद्बालसेनदेवः कुशली सख्य-गतसेवराज-राजस्यक-राज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामार्य-पुरोहित-महाधर्मोध्यक्ष-महास्तान्ध-विग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महासुद्राधिकृत-अन्तरङ्ग-बृहदुपरिक-महाक्षपटालिक-महाप्रतीहार-महामौलिक-महाप्रीतिपति-महागणस्थ-द्वौःसाधिक-चौरोद्धराणिक-नौ-बल-हस्त्यन्व-गौ-महि-बाजाविकारिद्याप्यक-गौलिमिक-दण्डपात्रिक-दण्डनायक-विषयपर्यादीनस्यायक सकलराज-पादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकोतिलाव चहमहजालीयान् जनपदान् शैवकराश्च ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हं मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च । The word '*adhyaksapracāroktān*' apparently refers as said above (p. 143) to the section II on the activities of *adhyaksas* in *Kautilya*. Vide appendix for a somewhat exhaustive list of officers mentioned in *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* works and in inscriptions.

192. यथा शंससद् द्विपदे चतुष्पदे विश्वं पुष्टं ग्रामे अस्मिन्नातुरश्च ॥ ऋ. I. 114. 1.

192a. त्रयो वै गतश्रियः सुखवान् ग्रामणी राजन्यस्तेषां महेश्वरो देवता । तै. सु. II. 5. 4. 4.

(p 111) that among the *ratnins*, grāmanī (the village headman) was one Grāma did not necessarily mean a village but may have been applied to a town (though not a capital). The headman of a village was called grāmanī, grāmika or grāmādhipati (in Manu VII. 115-116, Kaut III. 10), grāmakūta (in inscriptions e. g. E I vol VII p 39 of śaka 852, E I vol VII p 183, 188) and Patṭakīla, modern Patil (in Ujjain plates of 975 and 1023 A. D. in I. A. vol. 6 p. 51, 53, vol 18 p 322 grant of Bhoja in *samvat* 1076, I. A. 16 p 254, E I. vol. XI p 304, 310 of *samvat* 1176) In an inscription of the 13th century from the Poona District we have the form 'pattela' (E I vol VII at p 183) The word 'gāvunda' for a village headman in the Canarese Districts is derived from grāmakūta (E. I. vol. VII p 183) Paithīnasi¹⁹³ quoted by Apararka p. 239 states that the food of a grāmakūta could not be partaken by a brāhmana. The Gāthāsaptasatī frequently refers to the great influence of the grāmanī and the love adventures of his son in the village (I. 30-31, VII. 24). The Kāmasūtra states (V. 5.5) that the young son of a grāmādhipati had certain women of the village at his beck and call¹⁹⁴ According to the Śukranītiśāra I 193 a grāma (village) is one krośa in extent and yields a revenue of one thousand silver karsas, while half a village is called *pallī* and half of *pallī* was *kumbha*. Hemādri in Dānakhaṇḍa (p 288) quotes from the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa definitions of pura, kheta, kharvata and grāma Yāj II. 167 makes a distinction between grāma, kharvata and nagara (town) as regards the extent of the pasture lands to be preserved round them. Baudhāyana Dh S II 3. 58 and 60 condemns residence in a city for a religious brāhmana where the body is covered with dust which enters one's mouth and eyes and recommends for residence a grāma abounding in water, fuel, fodder, fuel-sticks, kuśa grass, flowers, which is full of well-to-do people, endowed with industrious people, where the majority are āryas and which cannot be entered by robbers In the Sābhāparva 5.84 five officers of a village are referred to It appears that from being a very high officer (a ratnin) in Vedic times the grāmanī was reduced in his influence, came to be appointed by the king alone and the office became hereditary and could be given permanently Vide

193. पैठीनसिः । सावत्सरिकयाष्टिकग्रामकूटाक्ष विपद् । अपरार्क p. 239.

194 ग्रामाधिपतेरायुक्तकक्ष हलोत्थवृत्तिपुत्रस्य सुनो ग्रामीणयोपि नो वन्ननमात्रसा-
ध्यास्ताश्चर्षण्य इत्याश्चक्षते विटाः । कामसूत्र V. 5. 5.

E.I. vol. VII p. 177, 188, 189¹⁹⁵. The Śukranītisāra (II 120-21) states that there were to be six officers in a village and (II. 428-29) prescribes their caste, viz. sāhasādhipati (i.e. a magistrate to deal with wrongs involving force) was to be a ksatriya, grāmanetr (the headman) a brāhmana, bhāgahāra (the person collecting the state land revenue) a ksatriya, lekhaka (a scribe, corresponding to the modern *kulharnī* in the Deccan) should be a kāyastha, śulkagrāha (the toll-gate keeper) a vaiśya, pratihāra (the guard at the gate of the village wall) a śūdra. Śukra (in II. 170-175) sets out their duties. The headman was to be alert in protecting the villagers like their parents from thieves, robbers and from the State officers, the bhāgahāra was to devote special care to the tending of trees; the lekhaka was to be skilled in accounting and proficient in several spoken languages; the pratihāra was to be of strong body, proficient in arms, humble and to call the villagers with the respect due to each; and the toll-gate keeper was to levy tolls in such a way that sellers did not incur loss of capital spent by them. From Kaut III 10 it appears that the village headman had the authority to inflict fines in certain cases e.g. when the headman (grāmika) had to travel on some business of the whole village the villagers were to accompany him by turns, but if they failed to do so they had to pay a fine of one pana or a half pana. Similarly, if a villager does not co-operate in the getting up of a show (preksā) in the village, he or his people would not be allowed to see the show and he was to be fined if he clandestinely saw it. In villages, particularly in Karnāṭaka and South India and in brahmadeya grants (to learned brāhmanas) the village assemblies (sabhā) carried on local administration. From the Kotavumachgi Inscription of Cālukya Vikramāditya V dated śake 934 (1012 A.D.) it appears that Ummachige was a great educational centre in the 11th century and 104 Mahājanas of the village were entrusted with the proper conduct of worship in the temple, the imparting of education, the feeding of ascetics, the supply of water to the village and the punishment of criminals (E. I. vol. 20 p. 59). Vide Gopalan's 'History of the Pallavas of Kāñci' pp. 93, 153-157 for the working of the village assemblies (sabhās) from the 9th century onwards, but as he observes (p. 154), 'we do not know the nature of the rules that regulated their working, their exact sphere of action and their

195. अस्य ग्रामस्य ग्रामकुलद्वयं कष्टलाभ्यात्मजकुलमायुधाय दत्तं शास्त्रम् । E.I. VII p. 177 at p. 188 (grant of Eastern Cālukya Amma dated 945 A.D.)

relation to the central government.' An inscription of king Parāntaka I (907-947 A. D.) at Uttaramerur deals with several classes of village committees that were appointed by vote (Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India, 1904-5 pp 131 ff) Five committees, viz annual committee, garden committee, tank committee, gold committee (for currency or for collecting taxes in cash), *pañcavāra* committee, are described and reference is made to a sixth called 'justice committee' and the mode of election and the qualifications and disqualifications of members are described in detail (pp. 142-145). Prof Nilkanth Sastri in 'Studies in Cola History' (pp. 131-175) publishes the text of two Parāntaka Inscriptions with English translation and exhaustive notes. Vide also E. I. vol 22 p 5 for resolutions of the sabhā at Manur to be followed in future meetings, the qualifications in property, education and character of the members &c, E. I. vol. 24 p 28 about the regulations of sabhā from two Uttaramallūr Inscriptions and E. I. vol 23 p 22 for a note on the *pañcavāra* committee. For village communities as described in Buddhist works in the 7th century B C., vide Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' pp. 45-51. It appears from Pāṇini and the commentary Kāśikā thereon that certain craftsmen were attached hereditarily to the village, were probably paid a certain part of the crop produce yearly for their services and corresponded to the modern village servants (called the twelve *balutedās*) in the Deccan For an account of these *balutedās*, vide Grant Duff's 'History of the Marathas' (Bombay ed of 1863, vol I. pp 23-27) For example, Pāṇini (VI. 2 62) teaches the accent of a compound word formed from 'grāma' with another word denoting 'silpīn' (craftsman), such as grāmanāpita (village barber) or grāmakulāla (village potter), which are two examples given by the Kāśikā on this *sūtra*. From Pāṇini V 4 95 ('grāmakautābhyām ca takṣṇah') it may be inferred that a carpenter also was a village servant as in modern times in the Deccan Bṛhaspati¹⁹⁶ contains very

196. ग्रामश्रेणिगणानां च सङ्केत समयाक्रिया । बाधकाले तु सा कार्यो धर्मकार्ये तथैव च ॥ द्वौ त्रयः पञ्च वा कार्याः समूहहितवादिनाः । कर्तव्यं वचनं तेषां ग्रामश्रेणिगणविधिः ॥ सभाप्रयादेवगृह्यतडागारामसंस्कृतिः । तथानाथवृत्तिद्राणां सत्कारो यजनक्रिया ॥ कुलायन-निरोधं च कार्यमस्माभिरज्ञतः । यत्रैतल्लेखितं पञ्च धर्म्या सा समयाक्रिया ॥ पालनीया समस्तैस्तु यः समर्थो विसर्गदेत् । सर्वस्वहरणं दण्डस्तस्य निर्वासनं युतात् ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क pp 792-93, स्मृतिसूत्र II 222-223, व्य प्र p 332 The latter reads कुलायननिरोधश्च and states that कल्पतरु read कुलायननिरोधश्च meaning 'starting water courses and stemming them' अपरार्क omits the half कुलायननिरोधश्च &c. The word कुला is variously explained by the digests

important information about local administration in villages. A compact formed among villages, guilds and corporations (gana) is called a *samaya* (agreement); such an agreement must be observed in times of distress and for acts of dharma. Two, three or five persons shall be appointed as advisers of groups; their advice shall be followed by the villagers, the guilds, the corporations and others. Examples of agreement as to times of distress are: When there is drought, there may be a compact that for the performance of a sacrifice to the planets or the like each field or house should contribute so much money or when there is trouble from robbers, each house should send one able-bodied and armed man. Then examples are given by Brhaspati himself about acts of dharma. The village people should put down in writing what work they are going to do, such as the repair of a house for their assembly, a shed for distributing water to travellers, a temple, a tank or a garden, the performance of the necessary *samskāras* (upanayana or funeral rites) of the poor and helpless, gifts for the performance of sacrifices, prevention of famine-stricken groups of families from coming. Such conventions would be proper and should be respected by all the villagers. Whoever being able to carry out such agreements violates them should be punished with loss of all wealth and banishment. Brhaspati further says¹⁹⁷ that the heads of families, guilds and *ganas* and the inhabitants of towns and forts may pronounce the two punishments of reprimand and condemnation against wrong-doers and may also excommunicate them and the punishments and favours declared by them according to rules should be approved of by the king, since such power is regarded by the sages as delegated to them. For ejecting out of the village one who is not guilty of theft or adultery with another's wife the village headman or the village was liable to pay, according to Kautilya III. 10, a fine of 24 panas. It will be seen from what has preceded that village administration was self-contained and would function whatever Government might happen to be at the centre. The central Government did not very much interfere with local administration, except in the matter of land revenue, protection against invasion and exercised only general control and supervision. The village communities were miniature states.

197 कुलश्रेणिगणस्यक्षाः दुरदुर्गनिवासिनः । वाग्धिपदमं परित्यागं प्रकुर्वुः पापकारिणाम् ॥ तैः कृते च स्वधर्मेण निग्रहाद्ययं दण्ड्यात् । तद्वाज्ञोप्यद्वयस्तस्य निवृत्त्यर्थो हि ते स्मृतः ॥
बृहस्पति quoted by अपराजित p. 794, स्मृतिच II p. 225, सरस्वतीविलास p. 329
There are some slight variations.

There was a great deal of decentralization or devolution of authority from the central government to the village committees and authorities. They were also entrusted with civil and criminal justice, as we shall see later on. For further details on the organization of a village as a political unit, Dr R C Majumdar's 'Corporate life in Ancient India' chap II, pp 135 ff. and Fick (p. 161) may be consulted. Just as there was some organization in villages in general, so also guilds (*śrenis*) and groups (*ganas*) had their own regulations and conventions. In XI 1 Kautilya refers to ksatriya guilds in the countries of Kāmbhoja and Surāstra that maintained themselves on husbandry and followed the profession of arms (vide above p. 88 n. 120). In III. 14 he refers to guilds of workmen or labourers (*sangha-bhrtāḥ*) Manu (I 118) declares that his work deals not only with the enduring dharmas of countries, castes and families, but also with the dharmas of heretical sects (*pāsanda*) and of groups (*gana*). Manu (VIII. 41) requires the righteous king to consider carefully the dharmas of castes, countries, guilds and families (to find out whether they are opposed to the Vedas) and uphold those dharmas (that are not opposed) as binding (on those respective persons) Yāj. II 192 prescribes that the king should respect the usages and conventions of occupational guilds, merchants, heretical sects, and groups (corporations &c) and allow them to pursue the course of action they had followed from ancient times. Nārada (*śamayasānapā-karma*, verses 2-6) and Brhaspati quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya* (*vyavahāra*) contain very important directions as to what conventions of guilds the king should respect and what he is not bound to respect. Nārada says that the king should enforce the conventions agreed upon by heretic sects, *naigamas* (merchants), *śrenis* and other groups residing in the country or the capital. The king may allow them to follow their special rules (e.g. speaking the truth), their special actions (begging in the morning without having taken a bath), their mode of meeting (on hearing a drum being beaten), the means of livelihood they have been used to (e.g. dressing as an ascetic). But the king should prohibit (out of their usages and conventions) such as are opposed to the king's interest, or are disapproved of by the people in general, would be ruinous to the purposes of the king. The king should not tolerate their creating factious groups among themselves, taking up arms for a purpose detrimental to the State, and causing injury to each other. The king should specially curb those who cause dissensions among the several

groups; if they are connived at in these activities they might cause terrible danger.¹⁹⁸ A good deal has already been said about guilds and corporations in H. Dh. vol. II. pp. 66-69. Among inscriptions, the following may be studied: the Nasik Ins. No. 15 of the time of Ābhira Īśvarasena (E. I. vol. VIII p. 88, where the śrenis of potters, oil-pressers and water-drawers receive deposits), Junnar Buddhist cave Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. 4 p. 97, where a deposit of money with śrenis of bamboo-workers and braziers is made), Gupta Inscription No. 16 p. 70 (an endowment was entrusted to the guild of oil-men, whose head was Jivanta), Gupta Inscriptions, No. 18 p. 79 (silk weavers from Lāta coming to Daśapura and building a Sun temple), E. I. vol. 15 p. 263, E. I. vol. 18 p. 326 and p. 30, E. I. 16 p. 332, E. I. vol. I. 155 (of 933 *sāhvat*, inscription at Gopagiri, modern Gwalior, where the guilds of oil-millers and of gardeners are mentioned), I. 184 (Pehoa inscription, where a guild of 34 horse-dealers from different countries, some being brāhmanas, agreed to impose upon themselves and their customers tithes to be distributed to certain temples). Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (pp. 90-96) gives a list of the 18 guilds that probably existed in the times of the early Buddhist works (though two or three of them are of doubtful existence) and the number of which (18) is sometimes mentioned in the Jātakas (as in Mūgapakkhajātaka No. 538, vol. VI p. 14 in Cowell's tr.). For further details about the working and organization of guilds, vide chap. I of Dr. R. C. Majumdar's 'Corporate life in ancient India', and 'Indian Culture' vol 6 (for 1940) pp. 421-28 (on the economic guilds of blacksmiths, barbers &c. in the Kusaṇa period).

In numerous places rules are laid down about the qualifications of the ordinary servants (*parivāra*, *bhṛtya* or *anujīvin*) of kings, how they should conduct themselves, how servants should

198. पाण्डिनैगमश्रेणीपूगवातगणादिषु । संश्लेस्तमर्थं राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा ॥ यो धर्मः कर्तव्यश्चैवाहपस्यानविधिश्च यः । यच्चैषा वृक्षपादानमनुमन्येत तत्तथा ॥ नाशकूलं च यद्राजा मकुत्यवसतं च यत् । बाधकं च यदर्थानां तत्तन्मो विनिवर्तयेत् ॥ मिथः सङ्घातकरणमहितं शस्त्रधारणम् । परस्पररोपघातं च तेषां राजा न मर्षयेत् ॥ दृष्टगणाञ्च ये भिन्नस्ते विनियमविशेषतः । आवहेदुर्मर्षं चोरे व्याधिवत्ते ह्युपेक्षिताः ॥ नारद (समयस्यानयाकर्न 2-6). In the Amraoti Inscriptions (E. I. vol. 15 p. 263) we find the words धन्यकहकस निगमस (of the trade guild of Dhanyakata). This place is variously identified (vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 9). The अमरकोश holds that नेगम and शणिक् are synonyms. विश्वरूप on या. II. 192 expla is 'सार्थवाहादिसमूहो नेगमः'; अपरार्क p. 796 explains 'सह देशान्तरवाणिज्याथ ये नानाजातीया अधिगच्छन्ति ते नेगमाः'.

find out whether the king is pleased or displeased with them. Vide Kautilya V. 4, Virāṭaparva 4 12-50 (where the refrain of most verses is 'sa rājavasatim vaset'), Matsyapurāṇa 216 (the whole of which is quoted in the Rājadharmakāṇḍa pp. 24-27 and in the Rājanītiprakāśa pp 189-192), Agnipurāṇa 221, Visnudharmottara II. 25. 2-28, Kām IV. 10-11, V 1-4, 6, 9, 11-63 (most of which are quoted in the Rājanītiratnākara pp 51-58), Śukranītisāra II. 54-68, 205-253. On the word 'aksudraparisad' occurring in Yāj I. 310 (where the Mit. has the reading 'aksudrosparusah') Viśvarūpa quotes a passage from Śankha¹⁹⁹ 'a hamsa (swan i e a good king) surrounded by vultures (greedy servants) is not desirable, but a vulture (i e a greedy king) surrounded by hamsas (servants of spotless character) may be preferred' The Rājanītiprakāśa (p 185) quotes the same passage from Śankha-Likhita with an addition viz. 'faults arise from those who surround the king and such faults are enough to ruin (the king) Therefore the (king) should first (before engaging his servants) put down in writing whether servants are endowed with learning, ocharacter and good family.' Śukra inculcates loyalty on servants in the following remarkable²⁰⁰ words 'one should not forsake a good master when he is in adversity. Should not one always and quickly desire the welfare of one's protector whose salt (lit food) one has eaten with honour even once' (II 246-247)? This sentiment pervaded most Hindu servants in ancient and medieval times, even under foreign rulers professing a different religion. The Rājanītiprakāśa p. 176 quotes a fine verse from the Garudapurāṇa as to matters to be principally considered in selecting servants, which are four, viz. education, character, family and

199 तथा च शङ्ख । न हसो गृध्रपरिवारः कामं तु गृध्रो हंसपरिवारः स्यात् । विश्वरूप
on या. 1 305, शङ्खलिखितौ । न गृध्रपरिवारः स्यात्काम गृध्रो राजा मेयाज हंसपरिवारो न
हंसो गृध्रपरिवारः । परिवाराद्धि दोषाः प्रादुर्भवन्ति तेऽल विनाशाय । तस्माद्युधमेव तत्परिवार
लिखेच्छ्रुतशीलान्वयोपपन्नम् । राजनीतिय. p 185. This quotation seems to be
corrupt. We have probably to omit the word न before हंसपरिवारः In बसिष्ठ XVI
21-26 (Fubners' ed. of 1916) we have a very similar passage, but it is corrupt.
Vide राजधर्मकाण्ड p. 22 for the same passage ascribed to शङ्खलिखित The
पञ्चतन्त्र has a similar verse of same sense (I 302) 'गृध्राकारोपि सेव्य स्याद्धसकारैः
सभासदैः । हंसकारोपि सत्याज्यो गृध्राकारैः स तैर्द्वेषः ॥

200. आपद्गतं सुभर्तारं कदापि न परित्यजेत् । एकवारमप्यशितं यस्यास्य ह्यादरेण च ।
तदिदं चिन्तयेन्नित्यं पालकस्याजसा न किम् ॥ छुक्र II, 246-247.

actions, just as gold is tested in four ways, viz. by weighing it or by rubbing it (on a touchstone), by cutting it and by heating it²⁰¹

Some responsibilities of the Government or king in ancient India towards the people will now be dealt with. From Kautilya (II. 29 and II. 34) we find that the State made great efforts for the rearing of cattle, made stringent rules for their protection and for the provision of pastures. Manu VIII. 237, Yāj. II. 167, Matsya 227. 24 also make provision for pastures round villages, towns and cities. Kautilya requires the superintendent of cattle to classify cattle as calves, steers, tameables, draught oxen, bulls to be yoked, stud-bulls, bulls meant for carts, cattle meant for meat and buffaloes meant for carrying loads or for being yoked, pregnant cows, milch cattle &c. and to mark them and note in a register of beasts the branded marks, natural marks, colour, the distance between the horns. He prescribes corporal punishments and fine for those who unauthorizedly kill or steal cattle or incite others to do so. He prescribes even the amount of fodder, oil-cakes, bran and salt on which different kinds of animals put to different kinds of work are to be fed. From the Mahābhārata also we learn that even princes^{201a} went to supervise and enumerate the herds of cattle belonging to the State. Vide Vanaparva 239. 4 and 240. 4-6. Even such a grammatical work as the Mahābhāṣya incidentally gives expression to the view that a country's wealth consists in its food-crops and in abundance of cattle.

We saw above (pp. 130-131) that spies were to be employed (acc to Kāut.) to test whether State officers took bribes. Yāj. (I 336, 338, 339) prescribes that the king should protect his subjects from the harassment caused by *kāyasthas* (the accountants and scribes), that he should ascertain the doings of the State officers through spies, honour those that are well-conducted and severely punish those who are badly behaved and should deprive those who take bribes of their wealth and banish them from the country. Vide also Manu VII. 122-124 and Visnudharmottara for similar rules. The Pāñcatantra (I. 343) has the same verse as

201. गवद्विराणेपि । यथा चतुर्भिः कनकं परीक्ष्यते तुलाकषण्डेन तापनेन । तथा चतुर्भिर्भूतकः परीक्ष्यते क्षुत्तेन शीलेन कुलेन कर्मणा ॥ राजनीतिम्, p. 176. This is गवद्विराण 112 3 with slight variations.

201a. स्मरणे समयः प्राप्तो वस्तुनाभापि चाङ्गुलम् । वनपर्व 239. 4, on which नीलकण्ठ explains 'स्मरणदेवौ कर्मणि गवां संख्यापूर्वं वयोवर्णजातिनाम्नां लेखने' ; अर्थवानयं देश उच्यते यस्मिन्नावः सस्यानि च वर्तन्ते । महाभाष्य, vol. II, p. 401.

Yāj. I. 336 (except the last pāda). Medhātithi on Manu IX, 294 remarks that the kingdom has no fear of ruin if kantakas (wicked people who are like thorns) are removed and justice is properly administered and that kantakas are generally under the protection of the queen, the prince, the king's favourites or the commander-in-chief

Great attention was paid to agriculture In the Sabhāparva 5. 77 the king ²⁰² is advised to have large tanks in different parts of the country full of water and to see that agriculture did not depend on the rains alone Megasthenes (Fragment I p 30 of McCrindle's work) notes that the greater part of the soil of India was in his day under irrigation and consequently bore two crops in the year. Even from the Tai S V 1 7 3 it appears that two crops were grown in the year (tasmād dvih samvatsarasya sasyam pacyate). The Vāj S. 18 12 contains a list of twelve different kinds of crops such as rice, *yava*, wheat, *mūsa*, sesame, *mudga*, *masūa* &c and the Br Up VI 3 13 enumerates ten kinds of grain (grāmyāni dhānyāni) In the Hathigumphā Inscription of Khāravela king of Kalinga (E I vol 20 p 71) it is stated that (p. 79) a canal which had already been opened in the 103rd year of the Nanda kings (i.e. in the 4th century B. C.) was extended by him in the 5th year of his reign. Rudradāman at great expense from his own treasury without any additional taxation or demand for free labour restored the famous Sudarśana lake near Junāgadh (E. I vol VIII. p. 36) that had been built by the Governors of Candragupta and Aśoka and been breached by floods Irrigation had been made use of from Vedic times Rg VII. 49 2 refers to rivers and springs naturally flowing and to channels that were dug up. South Indian Inscriptions show how the Pallavas and kings of other dynasties built tanks which were named after the kings themselves or after some distinguished chief of the locality and that are in existence even now. Vide S I I vol. II part III, p 351, E. I. vol. IV p 152 (mention of tank called 'parama-svaratātaka'), S I I. vol I p 150, E I vol. VIII p. 145 (for mention of rājatatāka near which four nivartanas were granted by Cārudevi) The great engineer Suyya under Avantivarman of Kashmir (833-858) successfully dammed the river Vitastā with the result that a khārī of rice which could formerly be purchased for 200 *dināras* could be had after the great irrigation

202 काञ्चिद्वदन्ते तज्जगानि पूर्णानि च ब्रूयन्ति च । भागशो चिनिविद्वानि न हविर्द्वे-
मातृका ॥ सभा 5 77.

work for 36 *dinūras* (vide *Rājatarāṅginī* V. 84-117). Kautilya (II. 24) refers to the various ways in which crops could be raised with water and the revenue to be demanded in each case, e. g. those who watered crops with manual labour had to pay 1/5th of the produce, those who carried water on their shoulders paid 1/4th, those who watered their crops by means of water-lifts or water-wheels from natural springs paid one-third and those who raised water from rivers, lakes, tanks and wells paid 1/4th. He notes that sugarcane crops are a heavy responsibility, as they are liable to many evils and entail great expense. Sugarcane had been grown even in the times of the *Atharvaveda* (I. 34. 5). The *Sūkratīṣāra* (IV. 4. 60) remarks that the king should see to it that there is plenty of water in his kingdom by digging wells, wells with steps, tanks, lakes &c. Megasthenes (fragment XXXIV p. 86 of McCrindle's ' Ancient India ') says that some superintend the rivers, measure the land as is done in Egypt and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches so that every one may have an equal share of it. Kaut (IV. 3) devotes a special chapter to the king's duty to save the kingdom from national calamities, viz. fires, floods, diseases, famines, rats, wild elephants (or beasts), snakes and evil spirits. He gives practical hints for human and religious remedies and rites against these calamities. The measures against famine suggested by him are: the king may provide the people with seeds and food, start works for those who are distressed, distribute either his own collection of provisions or that of the rich or call for help from his allies, tax the rich and make them disgorge their wealth, migrate to other countries that have abundant harvests. National calamities are called *it*, which are six: excessive rainfall, drought, rats, locusts, parrots and too close presence of foreign kings²⁰³. The work of Kāmandaka states that calamities are either divine or human and that the first are of five kinds. In another place he gives a longer list of calamities. There are several references in ancient and mediæval works to severe famines. In the *Chāndogya Upanisad* I. 10. 1-3 we

203. अतिवृष्टिर्नादुर्दिर्मुषकाः शलभाः शुकाः । अत्यासन्नाश्च राजानः । बहेता ईतयः स्मृताः ॥ क्षीरस्वानो on अमरः, and राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 447, compare ईतयश्च न सन्ति मे । उद्योगपर्यं 61. 17 ; हुताक्षनो जलं व्याधिर्दुर्भिक्षं मरकास्तथा । इति पञ्चविधं देवं व्यसनं मानुषं परम् ॥ काम. 13. 20 = बुधसूचन p. 60 v. 329 ; अतिवृष्टि...शुकाः । असत्करश्च दृष्टश्च परचक्राणि तरकराः । राजानीकमियोत्सर्गो मरकव्याधिपीडनम् । पशूनां मरणं रोगो राष्ट्रव्यसनमुच्यते ॥ काम. 13. 63-64 = बुधसूचन p. 59 verses 322-323.

have the story of Usasti Cākṛāyana who took from another's plate *kulmāsas* that the other had been eating (i.e. he took *uccḥṛīta* food), when the country of Kurus was overwhelmed with a shower of hail (or by locusts). The *Bālakāṇḍa* (chap. 9) refers to a famine in the country of Anga under Romapāda. The *Nirukta* II 10 refers to a drought in the dim past for twelve years in the kingdom of Śāntanu. A Mauryan inscription from Mahāsthāna (ancient Pundranagara) shows that Gandaka coins were distributed and also corn to famine-stricken people (J. A. S. B. for 1932 p. 123). The Sahagpur Copperplate Inscription (of Mauryan times) contains an order of the mahāmātras of Śrāvastī that the *dravya* storehouses were to be spent only in case of drought. Vide *Annals of B. O. R. Institute*, vol. XI p. 32ff., E. I. vol. 22 p. 1 and J. A. S. B. vol. VII (for 1941) part 2 p. 203. The *Rājataranginī* records several times the occurrence of famines in Kashmir at different periods (e.g. vide II 17-54, V. 270-278, VII 1219 ff). The *Manimekhalai* (chap. 28) speaks of a famine for twelve years at Kāñci in South India. There was a terrible famine (called the famine of Durgādevī) for twelve years in the Deccan about 1396 A. D. (vide Grant Duff's 'History of the Marāṭhas' vol. I. p. 43). Vide E. I. vol. 15 p. 12 for a reference to a severe famine in *śaka* 1313 when paddy could not be had even at the rate of ten nālis a panam.

It has been shown (in H. Dh. vol. II. pp. 113, 369, 856-858) how it was the king's duty to support learned brāhmanas, to hold assemblies of poets and learned men, to make gifts of land to educational institutions and to promote learning in all ways. *Vṛddha-Hārīta* VII. 229-230 says that only learned brāhmanas who are endowed with *tapas* are proper objects of the king's bounty. Some emperors like Harsa went far beyond what was reasonable. The Chinese pilgrim tells us (Beal's 'Buddhist Records &c' vol. I pp. 214, 233) that at the end of every five years Harsa held an assembly (*pariṣad*) at Prayāga and gave away all in charity. The *Śukranītisāra* (I. 368-369) holds that a king should be on the look-out for educated men, should appoint them to offices suited to their education, should honour every year those who have attained eminence in learning and the arts and take measures for the advancement of learning and arts. It has already been shown how this had been followed by ancient and medieval Indian kings to the letter. A comparison with the British Indian Government in the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th will be highly interesting. After the battle of

Plassey in 1757 the British East India Company got three such rich provinces as Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. During over 50 years the only thing that was done by the ruling power for the encouragement of learning among Indians was that in 1780 Warren Hastings started a *Madhassa* of Muslim religious learning at Calcutta with a *moulvi* and 40 stipendiaries and Lord Cornwallis founded a Sanskrit college at Benares in 1792. When the East India Company's Charter was renewed in 1813 the only provision that was made for education and encouragement of learning (by George III, 1813 chap 155, clause 43) was 'that it shall and may be lawful for the Governor-General-in-Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India'. Detailed comment is not called for. More than 50 years after British rule began, when at least half of what is British India now had come into the hands of the British, and when the yearly income must have been many crores of rupees, the sum of a lakh of rupees was to be set apart for education of two kinds (Eastern and Western) in the whole of the then British India. Further this provision was not compulsory but only permissive, and was to be availed of only if some surplus was left after everything else had been provided for.

As in western Jurisprudence, so in India the king was looked upon as *parens patriæ*, the protector or guardian of all minors. Gaut.²⁰⁴ X. 48-49 and Manu VIII. 27 prescribe that the king shall protect the property of a minor until he attains majority or until he returns from his teacher's house. Medhātithi on Manu VIII 27 says that the minor's relatives like the uncles may contend that one of them is the guardian of the minor's property but it is the king who is to see that the minor's property is kept

204. रक्ष्य बालधनमाप्यवहारमापणात् । समावृत्तेर्वा । गौ. X. 48-49, रक्षेद्वाजा बालानां धनान्यमाप्त्यवहाराणां ओत्रियवीरपत्नीनाम् । शङ्खलिलित १ in वि. १ p 598, बालधनं राज्ञा स्वधनवत्पारिपालनीयम् । अन्यथा पितृव्यादिबाल्यवा मयेद् रक्षणीयं मयेद् रक्षणीयमिति विषयेत् । मेधा. on मनु VIII. 27. On मनु VIII. 28 he remarks यः कश्चिदुपायस्त्वय सर्वस्य धनं राजा यथावत् परिरक्षेत् । तथा चोदाहरणमात्रं वशादयः ।

safe. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2 43, Vas. 16. 8-9, Visnu Dh. S. III. 65, Śāṅkha-Likṛita contain a similar rule. Nār (rṇādāna 35) declared that a person was a minor till the 16th year. Manu VIII. 28-29, Visnudharmasūtra III. 65 extend the same rule and say that the king must take care of barren women, women who have no sons, women whose families are extinct, wives and widows who are faithful to their husbands and of those who are afflicted with disease Nār.²⁰⁵ as quoted by Medhātithi says that if a woman has nobody in her husband's or father's family to protect her, then it is the king who is to protect her. Kaut²⁰⁶ (II 1) makes it a duty of the elders of the village to take care of and increase the properties of minors and of temples.

It was the special concern of the king to see that proper weights and measures were used. Kaut (II 19) as stated above (pp 145-146) provides for a special superintendent of weights and measures. Vas²⁰⁷ (19 13) and Manu VIII. 403 provide that all weights and measures must be duly marked (or stamped), that once in six months they must be re-examined and that the weights and measures for objects required by the class of householders must be guarded against falsifications. Yāj. II. 240 and Visnudharmasūtra V. 122 prescribe as punishment the highest amercement for those who fabricate false balances, edicts, measures and coins and also for those who use them in their transactions. The Nītivākyaṃrta (p. 98) requires the king to be vigilant as regards merchandise, balances and measures, since there is none who excels traders in stealing people's money before their very eyes.²⁰⁸ Vide Alberuni (tr. by Sachau) vol I chap XV about weights and measures current in India in the 11th century

Another important responsibility of the king concerned thefts. Asvapati, king of Kekaya, boasted that in his kingdom there was no thief, no close-fisted person, no drinker of wine,

205. विनियोगात्मरक्षाद् भरणे च स ईश्वर । परिक्षीणे पतिकुले निर्मलुष्ये निराश्रये । तत्संपिण्डेषु वाऽऽसक्तु पितृपक्षः प्रभुः स्त्रियाः । पक्षद्वयावसाने तु राजा भर्ता मनुः स्त्रियाः ॥ quoted by मेधा on मनु V III. 28 The first three half-verses are नारद (द्रायमाण 28-29), the printed text of which does not contain the half verse पक्षः &c

206. बालद्वयं ग्रामद्वयं वर्षयेयुराश्ववहारमापणात् । द्वेवद्वयं च । कौटिल्य II. 1. p 48.

207. गार्हस्थ्यार्द्धाणां च मानोन्माने रक्षिते स्थाताम् । वसिष्ठ 19. 13.

208. पण्यतुलामानद्वयौ राजा श्ययं जाययात् । न वणिग्म्य सन्ति परे पदपरोक्षः । नीतिवाक्या. p. 98.

(Chān. Up. V, 11, 5). Āp. Dh. S.²⁰⁹ (II. 10. 26. 6-8) lays down that the officers should protect a city against theft for one *yojana* round it and in the case of villages for one *krośa* round them and that whatever is stolen within those limits must be returned to the owners by the officers. Gautama X. 46-47, Manu VIII. 40, Yāj. II. 36, Visnudharmasūtra III. 66-67, Śānti 75. 10 prescribe that the king should recover from the thief stolen property and restore it to the owner (without distinction of caste), that if he cannot restore it he should compensate the sufferer from his own treasury, and that, if he retained the property recovered from a thief or did not make efforts to catch the thief and compensate the owner, the king incurred sin. Kaut. III. 16 contains a similar rule.²¹⁰ Viśvarūpa on Yāj. II. 38 quotes a prose passage²¹¹ of Br. with a similar import. The Visnudharmottara²¹² (II. 61. 52) remarks that if a person is robbed by his own servants then he (the king) may endeavour to recover it from the servants (by threatening or beating them), but need not restore it from his own treasury. Yāj. II. 270-272, Nār. (pariśista 16-21) and Kāt.²¹³ give further directions, viz. the thief should be made to restore the property stolen or its price; if the thief cannot be found the officers and wardens of the country pay the price of the stolen articles; the property stolen in the village should be made good by the headman of the village, if the thief's foot-steps

209 सर्वतो योजनं नगरं तस्करेभ्यो रक्षयम् । क्रोशे ग्रामेभ्यः । तत्र यन्मुह्यते तैस्तस्मै-
दाप्यम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 26. 6-8.

210 परचक्राडवीश्रुतं तु प्रत्यानीय राजा यथास्वं प्रयच्छेत् । चौरहृतमविद्यमानं स्व-
द्रुपेभ्यः प्रयच्छेत् । कौटिल्य III. 16 p 190

211. चौरहृतमपजित्य यथास्थानं गमयेत् । कोशाद्वा दद्यात् । गौ. X. 46-47 ; प्रत्या-
वर्तुमशक्यं स्याद्धनं चौरैर्हृतं यदि । तस्वकोशात्प्रदेयं स्यादशक्तेनोपजीवतः ॥ शान्ति 75 10.
The *mitākṣara* on Ya. II. 36 quotes Gaut. and Śānti 75. 10, 'तथा च बृहस्पतिः ।
चोरापहृतं तु सर्वेभ्योन्विष्यार्पणीयम्' । अलाभे स्वकोशाद्वा । अद्वयचौरकिल्बिषी स्यात् ।
विश्वरूप on Ya. II. 38 (of Tri. ed.).

212. न तद्वाज्ञा प्रदातव्यं गृहे यत्परिचारकैः । प्रचरन्निर्हृतं द्रुपं कार्यं तत्रान्वेषेक्षणम् ॥
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 61. 52, quoted by राजनीतिप्र. p. 127

213. गृहे तु मुचितं राजा चौरग्राहस्तु दापयेत् । अरक्षकांश्च विष्णुपालान् यदि चौरो
न लभ्यते ॥ ग्रामान्तरे हृतं द्रुपं ग्रामाध्यक्षं प्रदापयेत् । विचिंते स्वामिना देवं चोरोद्धर्ताऽवि-
षीतके ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p 844 Vide 'Selections from Peshwa
Daftar' vol. 43 p 131 (No 166) for a comparatively recent (18th century)
instance of a village (Pāṭas in this case) being held responsible collectively
for a theft.

are not traced as going out of the village; if the theft takes place in a pasture land or forest (and the thief is not found), the owner of it should be made to pay; if however the theft is not committed in a forest but on the road then the officers appointed to arrest thieves should be made to pay; the whole village may be made to pay the compensation when the theft is within the boundaries of a village but outside the limit of the residential quarters, if the footsteps of the thief are not traced as going out of the village; if the theft takes place beyond one *krosa* from a village then the surrounding five or ten villages may be made to pay the compensation Yāj II 271 and Kāt mention an officer called 'cauroddhartā' ('or coroddhartā') The 'cauroddharanika' (thief-catcher) is an officer mentioned in numerous inscriptions e g in the Palitana plates of Dharasena II of Valabhi in Gupta year 252 (E. I. vol. XI at p 83), in the inscription of Nārāyanapāla where we have both cauroddharanika and kottapāla, modern Kotwal (I A. vol XV p 304) and in the grant of Ballālasena quoted above (p. 153, n 191) Kautīlya IV 13 also gives similar rules and mentions an officer called 'corarajuka' who has to make good the loss of merchandise by theft between two villages or lands that are not pasture lands.

The first quality required in a king according to Yāj I 309 quoted above (p. 44) is great energy and Kaut also (in VI. 1) mentions 'great energy' (mahotsāha) among the qualities called 'ābhigāmika'. Works on dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra emphasize the fact that a king must always be full of activity and must not be lethargic or fatalistic. In the Mahābhārata the topic of human effort and *daiva* (fate or destiny) comes up for treatment in numerous places and is put in the mouth of several characters with different emphasis according to circumstances. In Ādi 1 246-247, 89. 7-10, Sabhā 46. 16, 47. 36, 58 14, Vanaparva 179. 27-28, Udyoga 8 52, 40 32, 159 4, 186 18, Āśramavāsika 10. 29 the emphasis is on *daiva* as all powerful, it being said that human effort is useless as against *daiva*. A golden mean is advocated in Ādi 123. 21, Sabhā 16 12, Udyoga 79 5-6, Śānti 56. 14-15, Sautika 2. 3, in all of which it is said that worldly affairs require both *puruṣakāra* (effort) and *daiva*. In certain other passages it is recommended that effort is superior to *daiva* and that one's business is to make efforts and not to care for fate; e g. in Drona 152. 27, Śānti 27 32, 58 13-16, 153. 50, Anuśāsana 6 1 ff, Sautika 2 12-13 and 23-24. A few of the striking passages indicative of the three lines of thought are

set out in the note below.²¹⁴ Energetic action, according to Śānti. 58 13-15, is declared by Brhaspati to be the root of rājadharmā. Nectar was obtained and asuras were killed by the gods by means of energetic action and Indra secured his high position in heaven and here by energetic action. Br. makes the characteristic remark 'A man who is a hero of action leads those who are heroes in speech and the latter are seen to cater for the pleasures of the former and wait humbly on him'. The Bhagavadgītā in its final summing up of the philosophy of Activism without an eye to the fruit of it but from a sense of duty declares (XVIII 13-16) 'that in the Sāṅkhya philosophy five categories are mentioned as conducive to the accomplishment of all actions viz the place, the agent, various kinds of instruments, diverse and separate activities and lastly *danā*; that whatever action a man commences either with his body, words or mind these five are its causes, whether the action be righteous (nyāya) or the opposite of it, and that this being the true state of things (i. e the fruit depending on the co-operation of five elements and not on one alone) that man who regards himself alone as bringing about a result is a fool and has no correct perception' Kautilya also (I. 19 last two verses) says 'activity (*utthāna*) is the root of wealth and the opposite of it is the root of evil In the absence of activity the loss of present and future acquisitions is sure; by activity a king can obtain his desired object and plenty of wealth'. Yāj (I. 349 and 351) states that success in undertakings depends upon both fate and human effort, yet fate is nothing but the

214 दैवं प्रज्ञाविशेषेण को निवर्तितुमर्हति ॥ विधातुविहितं मार्गं न कश्चिदतिवर्तते ।
आदि I. 246-247, दैवं पुरुषकारेण को निवर्तितुमर्हति ॥ उद्योग 186 18, दैवमेव परं
मन्ये पौरुषं तु निरर्थकम् । समा 47 36, दैवं पुरुषकारेण को वञ्चयितुमर्हति । दैवमेव परं
मन्ये पुरुषार्थो निरर्थकः । वनपर्व 179. 27 (said by भीम when caught by *Ajagara*);
न हि दिष्टमतिकान्तं शक्यं भूतेन केनचित् । द्विष्टमेव भुवं मन्ये पौरुषं तु निरर्थकम् ॥ उद्योग
40 32, (2) दैवे पुरुषकारे च लोकोप्यं संप्रतिष्ठितः । आदि 123 21, जयस्य हेतुः सिद्धिर्हि
कर्म दैवं च संश्रितम् । समा 16 12, दैवे च मातुषे चैव संयुक्तं लोककारणम् । उद्योग 79 5'
न ह्युत्थानमुते दैवं राज्ञामर्थं प्रसाधयेत् । साधारणं ह्ययं ह्येतद्दैवमुत्थानमेव च ॥ शान्ति
56 14; न हि दैवेन सिध्यन्ति कार्याण्येकेन सत्तम । न चापि कर्मण्येकेन द्वाभ्यां सिद्धिस्तु
योगतः ॥ सौप्तिक 2 3; (3) यत्नो हि सततं कार्यस्ततो दैवेन सिध्यति । शान्ति 153. 50,
तत्रालप्ता मनुष्याणां ये भवन्त्यमनस्विनः । उत्थानं ते विगर्हन्ति माझानां तन्न रोचते ॥ बृहानां
वचनं श्रुत्वा योग्युत्थानं प्रयोजयेत् । उत्थानस्य फलं सम्पदं तदा स लभतेऽचिरात् ॥ सौप्तिक
2. 12 and 23; उत्थानं हि नरेन्द्राणां बृहत्पतिरभाषत । राजधर्मस्य तन्मूलं श्रेष्ठोक्त्या
निमोघं मे ॥ उत्थानेनामृतं लब्धमुत्थानेनामुरा हताः । उत्थानेन महेन्द्रेण श्रेष्ठं प्राप्तं दिवीद्
च । उत्थानवीरः पुरुषो गान्धीरानधिविष्ठति । उत्थानवीरान्गान्धीरा रमयन्त उपासते ।
शान्ति 58. 13-15

human effort of past lives manifesting its effect (in this life) and that as on a single wheel a chariot cannot progress, so fate cannot accomplish anything without human effort. Yāj. I. 350 refers to other views viz fate alone leads to success, human effort alone does so, that success results of itself (without any cause), while others say that it is Time that brings about all results. Manu VII. 205, Matsya 221. 1-12 (all of which are quoted in the Rājānītiprakāśa pp. 313-314) and Visnudharmottara II. 66 (which has the same verses as in Matsya 221) inculcate the same doctrine as that of Yāj. I. 349 and 351 and emphasize that one must always make efforts (tasmāt sadotthānavatā hi bhāvyaṃ—Matsya 221. 12). The Matsyapurāṇa 221. 2 emphatically²¹⁵ states that effort is superior. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 137 quotes a *subhāsita* 'those devoid of effort are engaged in calculating the aspects of planets; there is nothing impossible or accomplishment for those who are determined and who are able to put forth spirited efforts'. Kaut. (IX. 4 last two verses), Kām. V. 11, XIII. 3-11 emphasize the importance of strenuous efforts. Śukranītisāra (I. 46-58) holds a long disquisition on effort²¹⁶ and *daiva*. It contains the following fine sentiments (I. 48-49). 'Men of intellect whose career is honourable regard human effort as the highest (and not fate), while impotent men not being able to make efforts have recourse to fate; but all is centred in both *daiva* and effort'. Vide Rājānītiprakāśa pp. 312-315 and Nītimayūkha pp. 52-53 for further remarks on *daiva* and effort. In one place the Mahābhārata (Udyoga 127. 19) contains the bravest and loftiest advice 'man should always press forward (make efforts), should never bend; striving is manliness; one may even break at a point which is not the joint, but should never bend'²¹⁶. The Brhat-Parāśara-smṛiti X pp. 282-283 contains a long discourse on *daiva* and *purusakāra*. Vide Vāyu 9. 60-61 and Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 2. 61-62 and 23. 25-26 for similar passages on *daiva* and effort.

An important doctrine of the writers on Arthasāstra is more or less based on the necessity of *utsāha*, viz the doctrine of three

215. स्वमेव कर्म वैचारुणं विद्धि वेदान्तराजितम् । तस्मात्पौरुषमेवेह ओष्ठमाहर्षमीषिण ॥ मत्स्य 221. 2, धीमन्तो वन्द्यचरिता मन्यन्ते पौरुषं महत् । अशक्ताः पौरुषं कर्तुं कृत्वा वैषं ह्यवाप्तते ॥ वैषे पुरुषकारे च कलुः सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् । ह्युक्तं । I. 48-49, अस्ति करयन्ति-भावितम् । हीनाः पुरुषकारेण मन्यन्ति ग्रहस्थितिम् । सन्तोषमसमर्था नासाध्यं स्ववसा-विनाम् ॥ मेघां on मनु IV. 137

216. उद्यच्छेद्वेन न नमेदुद्यमो ह्येव पौरुषम् । अद्यप्यपि भज्येत न नमेद्विह कर्हिचित् ॥ उद्योग 127. 19.

śaktis, i.e. of *utsāha*, *prabhu* (or *prabhāva*) and *mantra*. These three occur in the Mahābhārata (Āśramavāsika 7. 6). The S. V. p. 46 quotes a sūtra of Gautama (not found in the printed Dh. S.) 'the three śaktis, viz. prabhu, mantra and utsāha are based on that (kośa)'.²¹⁶ In VI. 2 Kautilya defines *mantra-śakti* as the power of the knowledge (of statecraft), *prabhuśakti* as the power of treasury and army and *utsāhaśakti* as the force of the king's bravery.²¹⁷ Kautilya (IX. 1) holds a discussion about the relative superiority of these three and gives it as his opinion (as against that of the ācāryas) that prabhuśakti is superior to utsāhaśakti and that mantraśakti is superior to prabhuśakti. Kām. XV. 32 defines²¹⁸ the three thus: 'the employment of the proper line of policy out of the six *upāyas* (sandhi, vighraha &c) is called mantraśakti; a full treasury and army constitute prabhuśakti and activity of the strong is called utsāhaśakti; the king possessed of all these three becomes the conqueror.' The Nītivākyaṁṛta (sādgūnyasamuddesa) p. 322 defines them in the same way.²¹⁹ According to the Daśakumāracarita²²⁰ VIII the goal (or purpose) of a king is determined by mantra (consultation with ministers about policy), commencement of actions (for securing the goal) is due to prabhāva and the successful termination of undertakings is brought about by energy. The Parasurāmapratāpa (folio 15a) quotes a verse which defines 'prabhuśakti' differently viz as the power to command. Vide also Agnipurāṇa 241. 1, Mānasollāsa II. 8-10 pp 91-94. Kām. (XIII. 41-58) brings together the numerous activities of the king.

A king endowed with valour has to employ several means (upāyas) to extend his dominions and to keep his hold on his own people. According to the Rāmāyana V. 41. 2-3, Manu VII. 109, Yāj. I. 346, Sukra IV. 1. 27 and others the

216a अत एव शीतमन्त्रम् । प्रभुमन्त्रोत्साहशक्तयस्तन्मूलाः इति । तन्मूलाः कोश-
मूला इत्यर्थः । स वि. p 46

217. शक्तिविधा ज्ञानबलं मन्त्रशक्तिः कोशबलं प्रभुशक्तिः विक्रमबलमुत्साहशक्तिः ।
अर्धशास्त्र VI. 2. p 261.

218 मन्त्रस्य शक्तिं सुनयोपचारं श्रुकोशशब्दौ प्रभुशक्तिमाहुः । उत्साहशक्तिं बलव-
दिच्छेदां शिशिक्रियुक्तौ भवतीह ज्ञेया ॥ कामन्दकीयः XV. 32

219 कोशशब्दबलं प्रभुशक्तिः । श्रुशक्तिकुमारौ दृष्टान्तौ । विक्रमो बलं चोत्साह-
शक्तित्वं रामो दृष्टान्तः । नीतिशास्त्रावृत्त pp. 322-323

220 मन्त्रेण हि विनिश्चयोऽर्थानां प्रभावेण मारुतः उत्साहेन निर्वह्यम् । वृशकुमार-
चरित VIII. p 144 (Bom S S ed of 1919). आज्ञाकृतेण या शक्तिः सर्वेषां सुधीनि
रिपवः । प्रभुशक्तिर्हि सा ज्ञेया समभामहिमोदया ॥ प. 4b परशु म (राजवल्लभकाण्ड
folio 15a) Vide पञ्चतन्त्र III 30 'उत्साहशक्तिसंपन्नो हृष्यन्चक्रुः लघुर्लघुः ॥'

upāyas are four viz. *sāma* (conciliation), *dāna* (giving gifts or presents), *bheda* (causing dissensions) and *danda* (punishment or depriving of property or causing bodily harm).²²¹ In the Hāthigumphā Inscription, the king Khāravela (latter half of 2nd century B. C.) states that in the 10th year of his reign he sent, following the policy of *danda*, *sandhi* and *sāma*, an expedition against Bharatvarṣa, conquered that land and obtained jewels and precious things (E. I. vol. XX pp. 79, 88). This shows that the theory of the upāyas must have been evolved several centuries before the Christian era. Some others such as Kām XVII 3, Matsya 222. 2, Agnipurāṇa 226 5-6, Bārhaspatyasūtra V 1-3, Viṣṇudharmottara II 146-149 add three more to the above four. Sabhā 5 21 mentions the number seven and Vanaparva 150. 42 mentions *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda*, *danda* and *upeksā*. About the additional three there is some difference of opinion, most holding that the three are *māyā*, *upeksā* and *indrajāla* (Kām., Agnipurāṇa), while the Bārhaspatyasūtra (V 263) says they are *māyā*, *upeksā* and *vadha* and others say they are *māyā*, *aksa* (dice) and *indrajāla* (Sarasyativilāsa p 42). *Māyā* means 'deceitful trick'. The Viṣṇudharmottara II 148 gives illustrations, such as tying a firebrand to the tail of a bird that often perches on the enemy's camp to produce the delusion that a meteor (an evil omen) fell down from the sky. Kām XVII 54 cites the example of Bhīma's meeting Kīcaka dressed as Draupadī. Kām (XVII 51-53) gives other examples of *māyā*. *Upeksā* consists in not preventing a person from doing what is unjust or being addicted to some vice or engaging in a fight and is illustrated by king Virāṭa's connivance at the death of Kīcaka (Kām XVII 55-57). *Indrajāla* means 'creating an illusion by means of incantations and other tricks' e. g. creating the illusion before the eyes of the enemy that a vast army is coming to attack them or showing that angels are descending to fight against them or making a shower of blood fall in the enemy's camp etc (Kām XVII 58-59, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 149). About the four well-known upāyas, Manu (VII 108-109) says that for the prosperity of one's kingdom *sāma* and *danda* (punishment) are preferred, but if

221 अल्पशेषमिदं कार्यं दृष्टव्यमस्तिक्षणम् । त्रीशुपादानतिक्रम्य चतुर्थं इह दृश्यते ॥ न सामं न दानं न भेदं न दण्डं न दानमर्थोपचितेषु युज्यते । न भेदसाध्या बलदयिता जनाः पराक्रमस्त्वेव ममेह रोचते ॥ सुन्दरकाण्ड 41 2-3, उपायोपपन्नविक्रमोऽद्वयकर्मविरह-वेकोपि भूयतिर्भवति सार्वभौमः । न हि कुलाश्रया कस्यापि भूमिः किन्तु शरीरभोग्या बहुधरा । सामोपपन्नानभेददण्डा उपायाः । नीतिशास्त्रादयम् p 332.

the king's antagonists do not yield to him by the employment of the first three then he may bring them round by *danda* (i. e. fighting and harassing them) and that (VII 198, 200) *danda* is to be employed as the last resort, since victory is not certain. In the *Śāntiparva* 69. 23 the view of *Bṛhaspati* is quoted²²² that fighting should always be avoided (as far as possible) and that for securing one's purpose three *upāyas* (other than fighting) are to be resorted to. *Brhat-Parāśara* X p. 280 also says that a wise man should not resort to fighting and that *danda* is to be resorted to only when there is no other course left. In *Udyoga* 132. 29-30 (cr. ed. chap. 130) *Kuntī* sends a message through *Kṛṣṇa* to her son: 'begging is forbidden to you nor is agriculture appropriate for you; you are a *ksatriya* living by the power of his arms and a protector against injury (*ksatāt trātā*). Recover your ancestral share by *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda*, *danda* and *naya*'. In *Udyoga* 150 (cr. ed 148) *Kṛṣṇa* informs *Yudhisṭhira* how he first employed *sāma*, then *bheda*, then *dāna* (viz. giving up the whole kingdom for five villages) and how only *danda* is the proper recourse in the case of the wicked *Kauravas*. *Hopkins*, as very often, being obsessed with his ideas of three strata in the *Mahābhārata* says that three means appear to be the oldest form and four means a later idea. There is hardly any warrant for this opinion as for many others in the same strain (*J. A. O. S.* vol. XIII pp. 182-183 n). The *Visnudharmottara* II. 146 speaks of the four *upāyas* and states that *danda* as regards a foreign state is open (*prakāśa*) i. e. burning and not-open (*aprakāśa* i. e. by poison or secret death). The *Mit* on *Yāj. I* 346 and *Kām* XVIII 1 say the same thing. The *Visnudharmasūtra* III. 38 prescribes that the four *upāyas* are to be employed at the proper time and according to the attitudes of the hostile king, friendly king, the *madhyamu* and *udāsina* kings²²³. The *Mit* on *Yāj. I* 346 expressly states that the four *upāyas* are to be employed not only in the affairs between kings but also in the lives of all ordinary people and cites a verse wherein a father or teacher addresses a son or pupil making use of all four means²²⁴. *Kām*. XVII, *Mānsollāsa* II.

222. वर्जनीयं सदा युद्धं राज्यकामेन धीमता। उपायैस्त्रिभिर्दादानमर्थस्याह ब्रह्मस्पतिः ॥ शान्ति 69 23, न युद्धमाभ्यर्थाज्ञो न कुर्यात् स्वबलक्षयम् । ... वदन्ति सर्वे नीतिज्ञा दण्डस्त्वगतिका गतिः । ब्रह्मराक्षसः, दण्डस्त्वगतिका गतिः is the last पाद of या I 346

223. शत्रुमित्रोदासीनमध्यमेषु सामभेददानदण्डान् यथाहं यथाकालं प्रयुञ्जीत । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III, 38.

224. एते सामादयो न केवलं राज्यव्यवहारविषयाः, अपि तु सकललोकव्यवहारविषयाः । यथा—अधीन्य पुत्रकाधीन्य दास्यामि तव मोदकान् । यद्वाग्न्यस्मै प्रदास्यामि कर्ण-हस्तादयामि ते ॥ इति । मिता. on या. I. 346.

17-20 verses 972 ft (pp 117-122). Nītivākyaṃrta pp. 332-336 treat at length of these four upāyas. A few points only are noted here. Sāma is of five kinds viz. recounting the good turns done by each to the other; praising the qualities and actions of the persons to be won over; declaring the relationship of each other; representing the good that will result in future; declaring 'I am yours and I am at your service' (Kām XVII. 4-5) Dāna consists in returning what is deposited with one by another, consenting to the taking away by another of one's things, making a gift of something new, giving what the other chooses to ask for, lending at fixed times what has to be given. Bheda (sowing dissensions) consists in giving heavy bribes or presents to ministers or feudatories, the crown prince and high officers of the enemy that are dissatisfied for various reasons, creating distrust between the king and his ministers, the rich men and the handsome men in the kingdom by the threat of the loss of life, honour, position, and wealth, by the fear of imprisonment, by the fear that the king may carry away the beautiful wife of a subject or by suggesting that a handsome young man has his eye on the king's harem, and suggesting to a king that a kinsman desires to secure the kingdom to himself and thereby inducing the king to put out his eyes or cut off his limbs. This is effected by secret spies or persons who are in the pay of both kings (*ubhayaśvetana*, acc to *Mānasollāsa* p 119 v. 995)²²⁵. Vide Kaut XI. 1, Matsya chap. 225 and Śukra IV 1 25-54 for *bheda*, Kaut XI. 1 explains at length how an aspiring conqueror is to sow dissensions between corporations and the leaders of corporations, between chiefs and other people. One or two passages may be quoted by way of sample "Spies gaining access to these corporations (of warriors and others) and finding out jealousy, hatred and other causes of quarrel among them should sow seeds of a well-planned dissension among them, and tell one of them 'this man decries you'. Spies may give publicity to the consideration of priority shown to inferior persons in social intercourse in the face of the established custom of recognising the status of other persons by birth, bravery, and social position. In all these disputes the conqueror should help the inferior party with men and money and set them against the superior party. A woman who has disappointed her lover and has been for-

225 सन्तुष्टैरात्मदुःखवैर्यद्विदमन्वेषतैः । भीतापमानिताश्च कुह्यान् भेदयेच्च हस्तकृताम् ॥
राजापहो मानभङ्गे धनहानिश्च बन्धकः । काराभिलाषोऽङ्गभङ्ग इति भेदोऽत्र वद्विभिः ॥
मानसोल्लास II 18, verses 988-989 p 118.

given may approach and say to a chief 'this chief is troubling me when my mind is set on you; when he is alive I cannot stay here' and thus induce the former to slay the latter." The Matsyapurāṇa 223. 4 states that united people are more than a match even for Indra unless bheda is employed, that dissensions are of two kinds, internal and external, of which the former is more serious. External dissension means the quarrel with a chief, but internal dissension means dissension between a king and his queen or heir apparent or ministers. One should try to prevent dissension with one's own relatives Śānti 69. 23 also advises the conquest of territory by fomenting dissensions. Therefore the expedient of '*divide et impera*' has a respectable antiquity. Danda in the case of a king's country consists in sentencing to death or corporal punishment or fine and in the case of the enemy in fighting, destroying or devastating his country by seizing his crops and grain, cattle, wealth, forts and in imprisoning and injuring his people, burning his villages and forests.

There were certain privileges that the king enjoyed. His rights to treasure trove have already been referred to (H. Dh. vol II, p 146) Kaut. (IV. 1) gives the following rules. The person giving information about the discovery of a mine, jewels or treasure trove gets one-sixth, but if the informer be a servant of the king he gets $\frac{1}{2}$; treasure trove beyond 100000 panas went to the king wholly (the finder being entitled to a $\frac{1}{4}$ th share only up to 100000 panas of the whole): a subject who can prove that the treasure trove belonged to his ancestors would get the whole of it; if he takes it without establishing his ancestral ownership he is to be fined 500 panas and 1000 panas if he appropriated it secretly. The king also took by escheat the property of a person dying without leaving any heir except in the case of brāhmanas (vide H. Dh. II, p. 146 where some authorities are cited). This subject will be dealt with at greater length under the next section on 'law and justice' The king was also entitled to all property that was lost or given up by the true owner. Vide Gaut.²²⁶ X. 36-38, Vas 16. 19, Manu VIII 30-33, Yāj. II. 33, 173-174, Śāṅkha-Likhita Gaut. and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 10. 17) say that the king should preserve for one year articles found after proclaiming the finding by beat of drum, while Manu says that

226. मण्डमहानिकमविश्वय राज्ञे मद्रुयुः । विरुवाप्य संबलरं राज्ञा ददव्य । ऊर्ध्व-
मविश्वमुद्रुय राज्ञः शेषः । नौ. X. 36-38, महीश्वानिकानि राजगमिनि भवन्ति ।
शङ्खलिकित quoted in वि. र. p. 599

the period is three years. The Mit on Yāj. II. 33 reconciles these texts by saying that if the true owner comes to the king and establishes his ownership he gets back the entire article without paying anything for safe custody, if the owner comes in the 2nd year he pays $\frac{1}{3}$ of the price for custody, if in the third year he pays $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ if he comes after three years. The finder gets $\frac{1}{3}$ out of the share taken by the king. If the owner does not come at all the finder gets $\frac{1}{2}$ and the king the rest. The king may dispose of the article if none claims it within that period, but if the owner comes after three years and the article has been disposed off, the king should return the equivalent of the portion taken by him. Yāj II. 174 specifies other scales of charges for the custody of unclaimed animals such as four panas for a horse &c. Another special privilege of the king was that he could not be cited as a witness in a judicial proceeding between private parties. Vide Kaut III. 11 (p 175), Manu VIII. 65, Visnudharma-sūtra 8. 2

Constitutionally there was no one who could directly bring to book the king guilty of injustice. But the Dharmaśāstra writers insisted that *dharma* was the king of kings (Br Up I 4. 14 quoted above p 97 n 125), that Varuna was the chastiser of kings (Manu IX 245), therefore they appealed to the higher nature and conscience of the king and prescribed that if a king levied an unjust fine, he should offer thirty times of that amount to Varuna, throw the amount in water or distribute it among brāhmanas (Yāj II 307) and that where an ordinary man would incur a fine of one kārśāpana for a wrong, the king certainly deserves to be fined a thousand kārśāpanas (Manu VIII. 336). The remarks of Medhātithi on that verse quoted below are very interesting, when he insists on the principle that fines for the same wrong should vary with the capacity to pay²⁷. Even Kautilya (IV 13 last two verses) falls in line with Manu IX 245 and Yāj II 307. But these prescriptions of Manu, Yāj and Kaut were counsels of perfection and must have been futile. No king would ordinarily fine himself. Therefore some medieval

227. महाधनत्वाद्धर्षं दण्डं न विगणयेद्वाजा । अधिकृतानां मन्त्रिपुरोहितादीनामनयेव कल्पनया न्यूनाधिकभावः । धनदण्डश्च ब्राह्मणेभ्योऽप्यु प्रवेशनेन वरुणाय वा यो तावद्वसति (यत्तावद्^१) राज्ञा दण्डधरो हि स^२ । मेधा० on मनु VIII 336 Compare अदण्डश्च दण्डने राज्ञो दण्डाद्विद्वद्विगणयिष्यति । वरुणाय यदातव्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्ततः परम् ॥ तेन तत्पूयते वाप राज्ञो दण्डाय चारजम् । शास्ता हि वरुणो राज्ञा मिथ्या व्याचरता ह्यु ॥ कौटिल्य IV 13 last two verses तस्माद्वाज्ञांमवान्तरनरपतीनामिति रत्नाकरोक्तमेव न्याय (यथा^१) इति ब्रह्मव्यम् । स्वस्य स्वयं दण्डनाहुपपत्ते । दण्डविवेक p. 55.

digests like the Vivādaratnākara and the Dandaviveka (p 55) interpret these texts as meaning that the word 'rājan' applies here only to subordinate chiefs and not to a king who is independent

The flourishing state of a kingdom well governed by a good, well-equipped and active king is very graphically described in the Rāmāyana (II. 100. 43-46) 'I hope your country is full of hundreds of *raṇīyas* (platforms for sacred trees) and of people who are well-placed; is rendered charming by temples, *mapūs* (sheds where water is distributed to travellers *gatis*) and tanks, in which men and women are joyful; which is set off to advantage by merry gatherings and festivals; the whole extent of which is well cultivated; which is full of cattle and free from injury (to beings); which does not depend upon rains alone (for its crops); which is beautiful, free from beasts of prey and all kinds of dangers; which is endowed with mines; which is free from wicked men and enjoys prosperity and happiness' The Ādiparva chap 109 (cr. ed chap 102) also contains a fine description of a well-governed and prosperous country. The country was to be full of public wells, gardens and meeting-halls (*sabhā*) The Viṣṇu-dharmottara I 13. 2-12 contains an ideal description of ancient Ayodhyā. 'It was endowed with hundreds of parks; it celebrated festivals and held gatherings of people, its population was free from disease and had valiant men, it always resounded with the music of lutes, flutes and tabors, it had fair complexioned, charming *hetana* clever in brilliant conversation; its population was always gay; it resounded with the recitation of the Veda and was endowed with companies of brāhmanas, its market rows were full of men that had applied scents to their bodies; there was not a man there who was wretched, dirty or emaciated; it stretched for three *yojanas* on the bank of the Śarayū and was ten *yojanas* in the middle'

CHAPTER VI

DURGA (FORT OR CAPITAL)

Manu IX. 294 places the capital (*pura*) even before *rāstra* Medhātithi (on IX. 295) and Kullūka explain that the loss of the capital is a more serious danger than even the loss of some territory, because if the capital, which possesses all the stocks of food, in which are centred the principal elements and the army, is saved, then it is possible to retrieve even lost territory and to protect the country. It is as it were the pivot of the whole machinery of government. Other writers (and even Manu in VII 69-70) place the capital or fort after the *rāstra*. It is probably due to the geographical situation in North India and the nature of the fighting in ancient times that made the capital and forts of great importance in the several elements of the State. The capital mirrored the prosperity of the country and if properly walled also provided security. Yāj I. 321 says that forts are meant for the safety of the king, the people and the treasury (*janakośātmaguptaye*). The reason for the construction of forts is well put by Manu VII. 74 viz that a single archer under the shelter of the fort-wall can fight a hundred of the enemy and a hundred can fight ten thousand. The *Pāñcatantra* (I 229 and II. 14) has a similar verse. Brhaspati quoted by the *Rājantiprakāśa*²²⁸ p 202 states that the king should construct a fort with walls and a gate for the protection of himself, his wives, the people and the (wealth) collected by him. Kaut (II. 3 and 4) deals at length with the construction of *durgas* and the laying out of the capital in one of them. He says that in the four quarters of the boundaries of the kingdom forts should be built for offering resistance (to the enemy) on ground naturally fitted for the purpose. He speaks of four kinds of forts viz '*audaka*' (water-protected, which is on an island surrounded by water or on a plain surrounded by low ground), *pārvata* (mountain one, such as a rocky hill or a cave), *dhūmwana* (desert fort, on a waterless tract full of thickets or waste land), a forest fort full of wagtails and water and

228 बुद्धस्यतिराह । आत्मद्वाराधोलोकानां सञ्चितानां तु युधये । द्यपतिः कारयेद्दुर्गं
पाकारद्वारसंयुतम् ॥ राजनी म. p 202 and राजधर्मकाण्ड p 28

thickets of reed. He says that the first two are suited for the protection of populous places and the last two for the protection of foresters. Vāyu 8. 108 refers to four kinds of *durgas*. Manu VII. 70, Śānti 56. 35 and 86. 4-5, Visnudharmasūtra III. 6, Matsya 217. 6-7, Agnipurāṇa 222. 4-5, Visnudharmottara II. 26. 6-9, III. 323. 16-21, Śukra IV. 6 speak of six kinds of forts viz *dhanvadurga* (which is waterless five *yojanas* round a raised plain), *mahādurga* (a land fort, which is surrounded by a wall built of stones or burnt bricks, that is at least twelve feet high and twice as high as it is broad), *jaladurga* (water fort, surrounded on all sides by deep water), *vārksa durga* (fort that is surrounded for one *yojana* on all sides with thorny and tall trees and thorny creepers and bushes), *nr̥durga* (fort that is guarded by a numerous army of four sections on all sides), *giridurga* (mountain fortress, difficult to climb and with only one narrow access). Manu VII. 71 says that the mountain fortress is the best of all, while Śānti 56. 35 states that *nr̥durga* is the most difficult to conquer. The Mānasollāsa (II. 5 p. 78) speaks of nine kinds of *durgas* (adding those built with stones, bricks and mud). The Parāśurāma-pratāpa enumerates eight kinds of *durgas* (Rājavalabhakāṇḍa, folio 1) and states that the wall of a fort may be of stones or of baked bricks or of mud. Manu VII. 75-Sabhā 5. 36 (= Ayodhyā 100, 53), Matsya 217. 8, Kām. IV. 60, Mānasollāsa III. 5 (verses 550-555), Śukra IV. 6 12-13, Visnudharmottara II. 26. 20-88 prescribe that forts should possess plenty of arms, grain, drugs and other materials, wealth, horses, elephants, beasts of burden, brāhmanas, artisans, machines (called *śataghñis* acc to Matsya, that kill a hundred), water and fodder. The Nītivākyaṃṛta (*durga-samuddesa* p. 199) says that there must be means of leaving it secretly, otherwise it will be a prison and that no one should be allowed to enter it or leave it without a pass or without being searched. Kaut. (II. 3) gives detailed instructions for the construction of fort walls, towers, ditches, pillars, lotus ponds and buildings inside the fort, which are all passed over for want of space. Vide the Rājadharmakāṇḍa pp. 28-36 and the Rājadharmakāustubha pp. 115-117 for numerous quotations from the Dhanurveda of Uśanas, the Mahābhārata, the Matsya, the Visnudharmottara and other works on *durga*.

In the R̥gveda we have frequent mention of cities. In I. 63. 7 Indra is said to have shattered seven cities for Purukutsa

and in II 20 8 it is narrated that Indra killed the dasyus and destroyed their cities of *ayus* (copper, *halai dasyūn pura āyusir m tāi ū*). This shows that walled cities were known even at that distant date. There is difference of opinion as to whether the walls were of mud and wood or of stones and bricks. Vide Hopkins in J. A. O. S. XIII pp 174-176. The Tai S VI 2 3 1 speaks of the three cities of asuras constructed with *ayus*, silver and gold (*humi*). In the *agrayana* as described in the Sat Br 'thousands of baked bricks were required. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro show that walls were built of burnt bricks (Maishall, vol I, pp 15-26). There is no reason to assume that houses, palaces and city walls could not have been built of bricks, simply because no purely Hindu ruins anterior to Alexander have yet been discovered or because Megasthenes describes that Pataliputra had a wall of wooden palisades. One must demur to the remarks of Hopkins on pp. 174-175 of J. A. O. S. vol XIII. Walls (*prākāra*), toranas (arched gates) and upper stories (*attalakas*), moats are very often spoken of in connection with capitals in both epics. The gates were sometimes called after cities e g in Vanaparva I 9-10 the Pāṇḍavas are said to have gone out of Hastināpura from the gate called Vardhamānapura²²⁹. Vide also Āśramavāsi-parva 16 3. The Mahābhārata states that palaces had dancing halls (*nartanāgāra*) attached to them (Virāṭa-parva 22 16 and 25-26). Śānti 69 60 states that the capital was rendered gay by natas (players) and dancers and Śānti 86 (4-15) describes how cities were to be founded in durgas, how they were to be full of music, festivals and merry gatherings (*samājat-sau*) and what stores they should contain. In the Rāmāyana (V. 2. 50-53) Lankā is described as having palaces of seven or eight stories and mosaic pavements. The Brhatsamhitā (chap 53) contains in 125 verses very accurate directions and measurements about palaces, houses &c (i. e. on *vāstusāstra*). It states that the best kind of royal palace was to be 108 cubits broad, that palaces of 100, 92, 84, 76, cubits may be built, that the length in each case was to be one-fourth as much more as the breadth. It speaks of the dimensions of mansions for the commander-in-chief, ministers, the queen, crown prince, purohita, physician &c. In v 23 it states that the walls may be of baked bricks or of wood.

229. वर्षमानपुरद्वारादभिनिष्क्रम्य पाण्डवाः । उद्विग्नसुखाः शस्त्रभृत मयसुः सह
कृष्णया ॥ वनपर्व 1. 10 । स वर्षमानद्वारेण निर्ययौ गजसाहस्यत् । आश्रमवासे 16. 3

The king was to have his capital inside a fort or independent of it Manu VII. 70, 76, Āsramavāsi 5. 16-17, Śānti 86. 6-10, Kām. IV. 57, Matsya 217. 9ff, Śukra I 213-217 describe where and how a capital was to be built Kautilya (in II. 4) describes at great length how the capital was to be laid out viz the extent should be demarcated by three royal roads from west to east and three from south to north, the capital should have twelve gates, provided with concealed land and water exits : the chariot roads, the royal roads and roads leading to drona-mukha, sthāniya, the rāstra and pastures should be four dandas (16 cubits) in width. He then prescribes the width of roads for various other purposes. Occupying one-ninth of the whole area of the capital, but to the north from the centre of the capital and in the midst of people of all castes the king's own palace should be built facing the east or north To the north-east of the palace should be the residences of the king's teacher (ācārya), purohita, ministers and the sacrificial place and water reservoir. He then assigns appropriate places round about the palace for the offices of the several superintendents, to merchants, principal artisans, brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, prostitutes, wool workers, sūdras &c In the centre of the capital were to be constructed apartments for the images of Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vijayanta and the temples of Śiva, Kubera, the Āsvin, Lakṣmī and Madirā (Durgā?) The principal gates named after Brahmā, Yama, Indra and Kārtikeya were to be constructed At a distance of 100 bows (400 cubits) beyond the ditch, platforms for holy trees, groves and embankments should be built The cemetery should be to the east or north but to the south for the higher varnas Heretics and cāndālas should have a place of residence beyond the cemetery. For each group of ten families there must be a well; oil, grain, sugar, salt, medicines, dried vegetables, fire-wood, arms, and other essential commodities should be stored in such large quantities that they might last for several years in case of a siege or invasion. The Matsyapurāṇa (217. 9-87) differs from the above description in many ways. It prescribes four wide roads, at the ends of which a temple, the royal palace, the court of justice and the principal gate are to be respectively constructed Almost the whole of the description in the Matsya is quoted by the Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 208-213) and also in the Rājadharmakāṇḍa pp. 28-36. The former also quotes (pp 214-219) a long passage from the Devīpurāṇa with regard to the construction of a *ṇayava*.

a *pura*, a *hatṭa* (market), a *puri*, a *pattana*²³⁰ and the temples of several deities that are to be built in each, the rites to be observed in measuring out the ground for each and accurately finding out of the east and other directions. Pāṇinī (VII 3. 14 *prācām grāmanagarānām*) distinguishes between *grāma* and *nagara*, while Patañjali thereon (vol III. p. 321) explains that *grāma*, *ghosa*, *nagara*, and *saṃvāha* are the appellations of different groups or settlements of people. The *Vāyupurāṇa* (94. 40) separately mentions cities (*purāṇi*) *ghosas* (hamlets of cowherds), villages and *pattanas*. Vide *Sūkranītisāra* I. 213-258 for provisions about the laying out of the capital, the palace, the court of justice, other state offices and public buildings, ditches &c and *Yuktikalpataru* pp 22 ff, *Vāyu* 8. 108 ff, *Matsya* 130. *Sūkra* (I. 260-267) describes how four royal roads should start from the palace in four directions, how the best, middling and inferior royal roads should be 30, 20 and 15 cubits in breadth; he defines *padīyā* (a foot-path), *vīthi* (a lane) and *mārga* as respectively equal to 3, 5 and 10 cubits in breadth, that in the capital there should be no narrow street like a *padīyā* or *vīthi*, that even in villages the public road should be at least 10 cubits in width, that all roads should slope down from their middle and that all houses should face the royal road. For a description of *Ayodhyā* vide *Rāmāyana* II. 100. 40-42, which says that it was full of valiant men, had strong gates, was full of elephants, horses, and chariots, was inhabited by energetic people of all castes that were devoted to their duties, that had mansions of various sizes, that it was prosperous and had many physicians. From the *Rāmāyana* (VI. 112. 42 *sikharathyan-tarūpanā*) and the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi. 221. 36) it appears that the roads of the capital were watered. In the *Harsacarita* (III) Bāṇa gives a graphic description of *Sthānvisvara* (modern Thanesar). For the local administration of the capital, vide the duties of the *nāgaraka* described above (p. 149) from *Kautilya* (II. 36). From the *Paharpur* plates (dated Gupta *saṃvat* 159 i. e. 478-9 A. D.) it appears that a *nagara-śreṣṭhin* (the chief of the bankers and traders of the capital) was nominated (probably by the king). Vide E. I. vol 20 p. 59 at p. 61. There was probably a board of the elders of the city (*pauramukhyas* or *pauravṛddhas*

230. Compare *ग्रामा इष्टादिभूत्याः, पुरो इष्टादिभूत्याः वा एव महत्याः पत्तनानि, दीर्घाण्यदीकादीनि*। खेदाः कृषकग्रामाः। खेदाः पर्वतग्रामग्रामा इति। श्रीधर on भागवत IV 18. 31 q in राजनीतिको p. 102. The *शिल्परत्न* (chap V) defines *ग्राम*, *खेदक*, *खेद*, *दुर्ग*, *नगर*, *राजधानी*, *पत्तन*, *त्र्योणिक*, *शिबिर*, *स्कन्धावार*, *स्थानीय*, *विदम्बक*, *निगम*, *शास्त्रालय* in all 14 (Tr. ed.) The *मयमत* (X. 92) speaks of ten of these and IX. 10 gives the extent of *ग्राम*, *खेद*, *खेद*, *दुर्ग*, *नगर*.

as in Kautilya) appointed to help the Governor of the capital (*nāgaraka*) in administration. In the Damodarpur copper plates also a *nagarasresthin* is mentioned along with others who were approached for consenting to a purchase of land (E I. vol XV at pp. 130, 133, dated Gupta samvat 120). Megasthenes (in McCrindle's 'Ancient India', Fragment XXXIV p 187) describes the city of Palibothra (*Pataliputra*) and its administration. He says that six committees of five each looked to the affairs of the city and were respectively in charge of (1) industrial arts, (2) entertainment and care of foreigners, (3) inquiries about births and deaths, (4) trade and commerce, weights and measures, (5) manufactured articles, (6) collection of the 10th of the prices of articles sold. Fragments XXV-XXVI (pp 65-67) inform us that Palibothra was 80 *stadia* in length and 15 in width, that in shape it was a parallelogram, that it was surrounded by a wooden wall with holes for discharging arrows and a ditch in front. Arrian states (pp 209-210 of McCrindle's 'Ancient India') that Palibothra had 570 towers and 64 gates. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* frequently brings in *Pataliputra* (e. g. in vol. I p. 380 he states that *Pataliputra* is alongside of the river *Śona*, on Pān. II. 1. 16), in vol. II p 311 (*vārtika* 4 on Pān. IV 3. 66) he refers to its walls and to its palaces, in vol. II p. 321 (on Pān. IV. 3. 134). In Fa-Hien's time (399-414 A. D.) the royal palace and halls in the midst of the city built of stone still existed and were so grand that they were then believed to have been the work of spirits (vide Legge p 77). Vide Rhys Davids' 'Buddhist India' pp 34-41 for the ancient Indian capitals in the 7th century B. C.

In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (IV. 18. 30-32) it is narrated that Prthu, son of Vena, first levelled the earth, established human habitations in villages, towns, capitals, forts &c., and that before Prthu people resided where they liked and there were no such groups as villages or towns. Bhrgu quoted by Śrīdhara according to *Rājanīti-kaustubha* defines *grāma* as the habitation of *brāhmanas*, their hired labourers and *śūdras*, that *kharvaṭa* is on the bank of a river and of a mixed character, one side being a village and the other a town. Śaunaka quoted by the *Rājanīti-kaustubha* (pp 103-4) defines *kheta* as a place where *brāhmanas*, *ksatriyas* and *vaiśyas* reside, that a place where all castes reside is called a town, that *brāhmana* householders should be established on soil that is whitish and has sweet odour, *ksatriyas* should be established in towns where the soil is reddish and wafts a sweet odour and *vaiśyas* on yellowish soil.

CHAPTER VII

KOSA (TREASURY OR FINANCE)

Kaut (II 1) states that a king whose treasury is depleted preys upon the citizens and the rural population and (II 8) very²³¹ rightly remarks that all undertakings depend upon *kośa* (financial position of the king), therefore the king must pay the first attention to *kośa* Gautama (as cited by S V p 46) holds that *kośa* is the basis or support of the other six elements of the State The Śāntiparva 119. 16 calls upon the king to guard his finances with great effort, since kings depend upon *kośa*, which tends to the prosperity (of the kingdom) Kām XIII. 33 states that it is on the lips of all that the king is dependent on *kośa* Śānti 133 contains a eulogy of *kosa*. The Visnudharmottara II. 61. 17 says that *kosa* is the root of the tree of State The two great pillars of the Indian States in ancient India were the revenue and the army Manu VII. 65 says that *kosa* and the government of the realm depend on the king i e they should be the personal concern of the king Yāj. (I. 327-328) recommends that the king should personally look into the income and expenditure every day and keep in his treasury buildings whatever is brought by those who are appointed to bring gold and wealth Kām V. 77 and Sukra I. 276-278 say the same The Rājataranginī (VII 507-508) tells us that king Kalāśa of Kashmir (1063-1089 A. D.) kept accounts like a merchant, closely watched income and expenditure and had a clerk by his side with chalk and *bhūrja* (birch leaf) to write upon. The principal means of filling the treasury is taxation It is therefore necessary to consider first the principles of taxation as evolved by our writers. The first principle was that the king could not levy, according to the *smṛtis*, taxes at his pleasure or sweet will, that the rates of taxes which the king was entitled to levy were fixed by the *smṛtis* and varied only according to the

231. कोशमूलाः कोशपूर्वाः सर्वास्माः । तस्मात्पूर्वं कोशमवेक्षेत । कौटिल्य II 2. कोशश्च सर्वतः रक्ष्यो यत्नमास्थाप्य राजानि. । कोशमूला हि राजानः कोशो वृद्धिकरो भवेत् ॥ शान्ति 119. 16 ; कोशमूलो हि राजेति प्रवादः सार्वभौमिक । कामन्दक XIII. 33. This last occurs in बुधयू. p 36 ; कोशस्तु सर्वथा अभिसंरक्ष्य इत्याह गौतम- । तन्मूलत्वात् कुलीनामिति । स. वि. p. 46.

commodity and also according as the times were normal or there was danger of invasion or some other calamity impending. For example, Gaut. X. 24, Manu VII 130, Visnu Dh. S. III. 22-23 declare that the king may ordinarily take a sixth part of the grain-crops or produce of the soil, but Kauṭ (V. 2), Manu (X. 118), Śānti 87, Śukra IV. 2. 9-10 permit the king to take even one-third or one-fourth part of the crops in times of distress (*āpad*) It has however to be noted that Kautilya requires the king to beg (*yāceta*) of the people for this heavy taxation, he employs the word *pranaya* (request) for such demands, such taxation was not to be levied from inferior lands, and he expressly says that such a demand for excessive taxation is to be made only once and not twice in the same distress.²²² Śānti (87. 26-33) contains a specimen of a long address to be given to the people when a king demands higher taxation in danger (such as 'if the enemy invades you, you will lose all including even your wives, the enemy will not restore to you what he robs you of' &c.) The word 'pranaya' occurs in this sense in the Junāgadh Inscription of Rudradāman (E. I. vol VIII. p. 36 ll 15-16). Another principle laid down in somewhat poetical and picturesque language is that taxation should be felt by those taxed as light and not heavy or excessive. The Udyogaparva²²³ (34. 17-18) states 'just as a bee draws honey but at the same time leaves the flowers uninjured, so the king should take wealth from men without harming them. One (a bee) may search each flower (for honey) but should not cut the very root just like a garland-maker, but not like a coal-maker'. Manu (VII 129 and 140) laconically puts the matter thus 'just as the leech, the calf and the bee take their sustenance little by little, so must the king draw from his kingdom annual taxes little by little Let the king not cut up his own root (by levying no taxes) nor the root of others by²²⁴ excessive greed'. Śānti (88

222. कोशमकोशः प्रत्युत्पन्नार्थकः संयुक्तीयात् । जनपदं महान्तमल्पममाणं वा देवमातृकं प्रभूतधान्यं धान्यस्पर्शं वृत्तीयं चतुर्थं वा याचेत् । ... इति कथंकेतु प्रणयः । ... इति व्यवहारिषु प्रणयः । ... सकृदेव न द्विः प्रयोज्यः । अर्थशास्त्र V. 2.

223. यथा मधु समावृत्ते रक्षत् पुष्पाणि बद्धवद्ः । तद्वदर्थान्मनुष्येभ्य आद्यादाविहितसया ॥
34. 17-18. वराहमिहिर I. 62 is the same as the last of the two. Compare धम्म-
पद् 49 'यथापि भमरो दुष्कं वण्णगन्धं अहेट्ठं । एलेति रसमादाय एवं गमे खुनी चरे ॥'

224. यथा राजा च कर्त्ता च स्वातंत्र्यं कर्मणि भागिनो । संवेद्य तु तथा राज्ञा प्रणयाः सततं कराः ॥ नोच्छिन्नादात्मनो मूलं परेषां चापि दुष्ण्या । ईहाद्वाराणि संवेद्य राजा संगीतदर्शनः ॥ शान्ति 87. 17-18. मनु. VII 139 has the half नोच्छिन्नात् &c.

4-6) states that the king should draw (taxes) from the realm lightly in the way the bee draws honey from the trees, he should do so in the way of the calf and should not bruise the udders (as the calf does not) Those verses also refer to the action of the leech, of the tigress carrying her cubs between her jaws and the rat gnawing at the feet of sleeping men. These ideas pervaded society so much that the same figure of the bee is instanced as regards the Buddhist bhikkhu's importunity for alms in the Dhammapada (verse 49) The king should act like a gardener who prepares garlands without harming the trees and their leaves and should not act like one who prepares coals from trees (Śānti 71 20)²³⁵. Manu VII 139 requires that the king should not through greed tax the subjects heavily, as he would thereby cut off the roots (i e. prosperity and contentment) of the people, nor should he cut off his own roots (i e. reduce himself to bankruptcy) by levying no taxes. A third principle of taxation was that when increasing taxes the rise should be gradual and a little at a time (Śānti 88 7-8) Taxes were to be recovered at a proper time and proper place (Śānti 88 12 and Kām. V 83-84)²³⁶ When taxing traders the king should make allowance for the price they had to pay, for the chances of selling the commodity (in his kingdom), the distance over which the merchandise was brought, what they must have spent for their food and condiments and the cost of guard-

235 मालाकारोपमो राजन्भव माङ्गारिकोपमः । शान्ति 71 20, vide शुक्लीनिसार IV 2 113 for the same figure.

236 आदृष्टीत धनं काले त्रिवर्गपरिवृद्धये ॥ यथा गौः पालयते काले दुहते च तथा प्रजा ॥ कामन्दक V 83-84. One may note the Moscow decree that all male and female peasants between 18 and 45 years were to work six days yearly without pay on roadwork. With the above principles of taxation one may compare Adam Smith's famous canons (1) the subjects of every state ought to contribute towards the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities i e. in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State (2) The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain and not arbitrary. The time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid ought to be clear and plain to the contributor and to every other person (3) Every tax ought to be levied at the time or in the manner in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it (4) Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the public treasury (vide 'Wealth of nations' ed by Rogers, 1866, vol. II, pp 414-416)

ing the merchandise (Manu VII. 127=Śānti 87. 13-14)²³⁷. In the case of artisans, before taxing them, the king has to pay regard to the labour and skill involved and to the necessities of life required by them (Śānti 87. 15). Every one, however poor, must contribute something to the finances of the realm. Manu (VII. 137-138) says that even a very poor man who maintains himself by following some occupation should be asked to contribute every year something in the nature of *kara* (a tax), while workers (like cooks), artisans (like blacksmiths), *sūdras* who subsist by manual labour (like porters) should be asked to contribute one day's work to the king in a month. Vide Gaut. X. 31-34, Visnu Dh. Ś. III. 32 for the same. But Śūkra IV. 2. 121 says that workers and artisans should do one day's work for the king gratis in a fortnight. Gaut. X. 34 adds that the king must supply them with food on the day they work gratis. The importance of a gold and silver reserve was well understood. Kām (IV. 62-64) says²³⁸ that the king's *kośa* should have many sources for filling it, but few outlets of expenditure, it should be full of all desired kinds of wealth, guarded by trusty officers, rich in pearls, gold and jewels, it should have been acquired according to *śāstric* rules, be capable of bearing great strain of expenditure and that *kośa* is to be preserved only for the purpose of securing the two goals viz. *dharma* and *artha*, for affording maintenance to the servants engaged by the king and as a safeguard against calamities. Śūkra IV. 2. 3 remarks that *kośa* is accumulated for the upkeep of the army and for the benefit of the people and for performing sacrifices. Gaut. X. 28-29, Manu VII. 128, VIII. 306-308, Nār. (prakīrnaka 48) and others say, as has been already stated, that taxation is meant for the protection of the subjects and that it is the king's wages (*vetana*) for the protection he affords. Manu IX. 305 compares the king taking taxes to the sun that produces vapour from the seas (in order to return it in the form of rain, as the Raghuvamśa I. 18 very happily puts it). Kām. (V. 78-79) enumerates eight principal sources (called *astavarga*) of filling the treasury

237. विक्रयं कथमध्वान भक्तं च सपरिच्छदम् । योगक्षेमं च संश्लेष्य वणिजां कारयेत्करान् ॥ शान्ति 87. 13. Manu VII. 127 reads भक्तं च सपरिच्छदम्; उत्पत्तिं दानवृत्तिं च शिल्पं संश्लेष्य चासकृत् । शिल्पं प्रति करानेषु शिल्पिनः प्रति कारयेत् । शान्ति 87. 15.

238. यद्वादानोऽल्पनिःश्रान्त्वा रूपान् प्रजितद्वैवतः । ईप्सितद्रव्यसंपूर्णो ह्यथ आत्मेरधिष्ठितः ॥ मुक्ताकनकरत्नाढ्यः पितृपैतामहोचितः । धर्माजितो व्ययसहः कोषः कोषज्ञसंततः ॥ धर्महेतोस्तथापार्थं श्रुत्यानां भरणाय च । आपदर्थं च संरक्षयः कोषः कोषवता सदा ॥ काम IV 62-64 quoted in राजनीतिरत्नाकर p 34

through the action of the heads of the departments viz. agriculture, trade-routes, (both on land and water), the capital, water embankments, catching of elephants, working mines and collecting gold &c., levying wealth (from the rich), founding towns and villages in uninhabited spots. The *Mānasollāsa* (II. 4 verses 539-540 p 77) advises the king to spend ordinarily three-fourths of the yearly revenues and save one-fourth. Śūkra (I. 315-317) prescribes that the king should save $\frac{1}{6}$ of his total annual income and should spend $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole on the army and one-twelfth each on charity (to the learned, the poor and helpless &c.), ministers, inferior officials, and his private purse or expenses. Śūkra IV. 2 26 requires the king to have as much stock of grain as would be required for three years' consumption in his country. In IV 2 13 he sets before the king the impossible ideal that his treasury should be so full that he can support his army for 20 years if no taxes from agriculture or tolls were raised or no fines were recovered. The *Mānasollāsa* (II. 4 394, 397 p 64) says that the king's treasury should be always full of gold, silver, jewels, ornaments and costly clothes, that pure gold in the form of *niskas* (coins) or bars or ornaments should be held in the treasury. Kaut (IV 3) as stated above permitted the king in famines to make the rich disgorge their wealth. In V 2 he remarks that if after making special requests for additional taxation, when the treasury is empty and some danger is impending, to the cultivators, merchants, wine-sellers, prostitutes and those who rear pigs, poultry, cattle &c., the king may request the rich to give as much of their gold as they can and the king may honour them by bestowing on them a post at his court, or the dignity of an umbrella, a turban or some decoration in return for their wealth²³⁹. He permits the king in calamities to take away the wealth of the corporations (*sanghas*) of heretics and of temples also, to set up all of a sudden on one night a god or a platform (*caitya*) for a holy tree or a sacred place for a man of miraculous powers and provide for fairs and merry gatherings there and secure the necessary money²⁴⁰. He

239 सारतो वा हिरण्यमाख्यान्याचेत । यथोपकारं वा स्ववशा वा यदुपदरेदुः स्थान-
उत्पन्नेनविबुधाश्चैवा हिरण्येन प्रयच्छेत् । अर्थशास्त्र V 2

240 Compare note 164 above about the Mauryas who wanting money set up images, according to Patañjali. The *Rājataranginī* (V 166-177) describes the exactions of king Śaṅkara-varman of Kashmir (883-902) A D. He plundered 64 temples under the pretext of supervision. He imposed taxes on *grhasthya* (i.e. on upanayana, marriages &c.). In the 11th century king Harsa of Kashmir plundered most of the temples (*Rājataranginī* VII 1090)

recommends many other tricks and dodges for securing money, which are passed over. Perhaps the only redeeming feature of these devices is that Kautilya is careful to point out that they were to be employed only against the seditious and the irreligious and not against others (V. 2 ' *eram dūṣṣeṣādhūṃ mokesu varietā netareṣu* '). Vide *Nītiyākyaṃrta* (kosa-samuddeśa) p. 205 for similar provisions to replenish a depleted treasury. The *Parasurāmapratāpa* (Rajavallabhakāṇḍa, folio 27 b) quotes a verse which recommends resort to alchemy for replenishing the treasury²⁴⁰. Śukra IV. 2 11 advises the king when in financial difficulties to promise interest to the rich and take their wealth and to return it with interest when the difficulties are got over²⁴¹. Śānti (88. 29-30) asks²⁴² the king to honour the wealthy men in his kingdom, since they constitute an important element of the realm and are the most eminent among all beings and to request them ' confer along with me favours on the people '.

Several reasons are assigned for people's payment of taxes to the king Gaut X. 28 says that they should do so because he protects them. In some places the idea put forward is that taxes are the wages (*vetana*) of the king and that the subjects made a contract with the king Manu to that effect Vide Śānti 67 and 70. 10, Baud Dh. S. I. 10. 1, Nār. 18. 48, Kaut. I 13 (quoted on p 21 above) Kāt²⁴³ (verses 16-17) states that as the king is the owner of the earth but not of other kinds of wealth, he is entitled to get the sixth part of the produce of land and that since human beings reside on land they are declared to be owners (in ordinary parlance, but they have only a qualified ownership) Several kinds of taxes are mentioned in the dharmasāstras, arthasāstras and the inscriptions The oldest

240a धातुवादप्रयोगेन विविधैर्वर्षयेद्धनम् । ताम्रेण साधयेत्स्वर्णं सौव्यं वङ्गेन साधयेत् ॥ परशुराम्य. (राज० folio 27 b).

241 धनिकेभ्यो भूतिं दत्त्वा स्वापत्नीं तद्धनं हरेत् । राजा स्वापत्न्यस्तुतीर्णस्तत्त्वं दद्यात्सहादिकम् ॥ शुक्र IV. 2. 11.

242 धनिनः भूजयोक्तव्यं पानाच्छादनभोजनैः । वक्तव्याश्चाभ्युद्वीक्ष्य मजाः सह मयेति वै ॥ अङ्गमेतन्नहज्राण्ये धनिनो नाम भारत । ककुब्धं सर्वभूतानां धनस्थो नात्र संशयः ॥ शांति 88 29-30.

243 कात्यायनः । भूस्वामी तु स्वधृतो राजा ज्ञान्यद्वयस्य सर्वदा । तत्फलस्य हि बहुभागं प्राप्नुयाम्नात्ययैव तु ॥ भूतानां तन्निवासित्वात्स्वामित्वं तेन कीर्तितम् । राजनीतिम् p 271. Vide H Dh. vol II. pp 865-869 on the question of the king's ownership of land. राजनीतिम् explains 'तन्निवासित्वात् भूनिवासित्वात् । स्वामित्वं राज्ञ इति शेषः । I interpret differently

word for a tax paid to the king is 'bali' Rg VII 6 5²⁴⁴ and X 173 6 speak of the common people as 'balihrt' (bringers of *bali*, tribute or tax for the king) In the Tai Br (II 7 18 3) it is said 'the people bring bali to him' In the Ait Br (35 3) the *ratya* is characterized as 'balikrt' (payer of taxes to another), since brāhmanas and ksatriyas were mostly exempt from taxation. Vide Prof. Hopkins' 'Social condition of the ruling class' J. A. O S vol XIII p 89 and Fick p 119 (as to the evidence of the Jātakas on taxation) Manu VII 80, Matsya 215 57, Rāmāyana III 6 11, Visnu Dh S III 22 employ the word 'bali' in the sense of the 6th part of the produce of land that the king levied as tax. In the Rummindei Pillar Inscription of Aśoka (Corpus I I vol. I p 164) it is said that the village of Lummini was made free from the payment of 'bali', but had to pay one-eighth share²⁴⁵ Here 'bali' is contrasted with 'bhāga' which is a general term The word 'kara' appears to mean a tax in general Vide Āp Dh S II 10 26 10, Manu VII 128, 129, 133, Vas 19. 23, Visnu Dh. S III 26-27 The word 'bhāga' (share) is also general and means the king's dues on land, trees, drugs, cattle, wealth &c Vide Manu VII 130-131, VIII 305, Visnu Dh S III 25 This meaning of 'bhāga' is ancient We saw above (p 112) that *bhāgadugha* is one of the ratnins of the king The Amarakośa treats *bali*, *kara*, and *bhāga* as synonymous

The word 'sulka' generally means the tolls or customs duties levied from vendors and purchasers on merchandise carried into or out of the kingdom (Śukranitisāra IV 2, 108) The Mahābhāṣya on the vārtika āyasthānebhyaṣṭhak' on Pān IV 2. 104 gives saulkika and gaulmika as examples, indicating thereby that sulka or toll was levied as a source of income (āya) at the toll-gate

The principal and perennial sources of income to the state were three viz the king's share of the produce of land, tolls and customs duties, fines levied from wrongdoers or defeated litigants (vide Śānti 71 10 and Śukra IV 2 13) From this and from Manu X. 119-120 it appears that the principal tax-payers

244 स निरूप्या बहुषो यदो अग्निर्विश्वके बलिहृतं सहोभिः ॥ ऋ VII 6 5, अथो स इन्द्रः केचलीर्विशो बलिहृतस्करत् ॥ ऋ X. 173 6, हरत्त्यस्मै विशो बलिम् । तै. ब्रा II. 7 18 3

245 लुमिनिग्राम उबलिक (उबलिक) कडे अठभागिये (अठभागिकः) च । Corpus I I vol I. p. 164

were agriculturists, traders, manual workers and artisans. In Manu VIII. 307 quoted in the Dandaviveka of Vardhamāna (p. 5) it is said that the king who, without affording protection, levies *baḥ*, *kara*, *śulka*, *pratibhoḡa* (*pratibhāga* in the printed *smṛti*) and *danda* (fines) goes at once to hell and Vardhamāna explains *kara* as the dues recovered every month from villagers and city-dwellers (every month or twice a year in Bhādrapada or Pausa according to Kullūka), *śulka* as the twelfth share recovered from traders, *pratibhoḡa* as the dues in the form of fruits, flowers and vegetables presented every day. A few remarks on these and other taxes must be made here. Manu VII. 130, Gaut. X. 24, Visnu Dh. S. III. 22, Mānasollāsa (II. 3. 163 p. 44) and several others prescribe that the king is entitled to the 6th, 8th or 12th part (only sixth in Visnu, also 10th in Gaut.) of the yield of grain from land. Brhaspati and the Visnudharmot-tara²⁴⁶ (II. 61. 60-61) quoted in the Rājāniti prakāśa (pp. 262-263) make it clear under what circumstances these different shares are to be taken: viz the king takes 1/6 of *śūkadhānya* (awned or bearded grain like wheat and barley), 1/8 from *śimbidhānya* (grain in pods), 10th part from crops grown on land that was fallow for many years, 1/8th from lands sown in the rainy season and one-sixth from lands that have spring crops. The tax was to be paid once every year or once in six months according to the custom of the country. The varying rates prescribed by Kautilya have been indicated in describing the duties of the *sītādhyakṣa*. Śūkra (IV. 2 121-122) gives a salutary rule that if a cultivator constructs a tank, a well or an artificial water-course or brings under cultivation land previously fallow, the king should not levy a tax thereon till the person making the expenditure has recovered twice the amount spent by him. Kaut. (II. 1) provides that the king may show favour (*anugraha*) to the cultivators by supplying them with seed, cattle and money and that they should return the advances by easy instalments and that the king shall bestow favours and remissions (*parihāna*) in such a way that they might tend to swell the treasury and not tend to its

246 विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । शुकधान्येषु षड्भागं शिमीधान्येष्वष्टमाहम् । राजा वत्सर्थ-
माद्यादेशकालानुरूपतः ॥ शुकशिम्ब्यतिरिक्ते धान्ये मञ्जुतमोको द्वादशो दशमो वा भागः ।
तथा च बृहस्पतिः । दशाष्टपटं वृषतेभर्गं दद्यात्कुवीचलम् । शिलाहर्षावसन्तान्च कुम्ब-
मणाक्षपाकम् ॥ ... स एवाह । देशस्थित्या बलिं दद्यात्तं यन्मासवारिकम् । एव धर्मः
समाख्यातः कीनाशनो गुरातनः ॥ राजनीतिम्. pp. 262-263 and राजधर्मकाण्ड p. 63
(for last two verses).

depletion.²⁴⁷ It has already been stated that according to the *smṛtis* the ordinary share of the king was one-sixth, but that in case of the danger of invasion or similar calamity he was allowed to raise it to one-fourth. Megasthenes (Fragment I, p 42) says that no person is permitted to own land and that besides the land tribute people pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce. This shows that the tax on land was very heavy in the times of Candragupta probably owing to his wars to drive away the Greeks, and the huge armies that he had to employ. Manu VII 130, Gaut X. 25, Visnu Dh. S III 24, Mānasollāsa (II 3 163 p 44) hold that the king is entitled to the 50th part of the cattle reared by herdsmen and of the interest earned by those who lend money at interest. This last appears to be analogous to modern income-tax. The Śukranitiśāra IV 2 128 makes the tax to be $\frac{1}{2}$ on the interest earned by money-lending.²⁴⁸ Visnu adds cloth to these two. Manu VII 131-132, Gaut X 27, Visnu Dh S III 25, Visnudharmottara II 61 61-63 and Mānasollāsa lay down that the king is entitled to a sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes (like sandal-wood), medicinal plants (like *qudūci*), rasa (salt &c), flowers, roots (like turmeric), fruits, leaves (like palm leaves), vegetables, grass, hides, articles manufactured from bamboo slips, earthenware, articles prepared from stones. Visnu adds deer hides to these.

Sulka is of two kinds, what is levied on goods carried by land and what is levied on goods carried by water (Mit on Yāj II 263). Gaut X 26 and Visnu Dh S. III 29 state that the sulka is 1/20th part on merchandise for sale (bought and sold in the country itself) which is interpreted by some (like Haradatta and Nandapandita) as meaning that 5 per cent of the price of articles sold should be taken by the king as tax, while the Rājānitiśāra (p 264) explains that the king is entitled only to five per cent of the difference between the cost price and the sale price of merchandise. Manu VIII 398 also is susceptible of these two interpretations, as the commentaries of Medhātithi and Kullūka show. The Visnu Dh S (III 29-30) prescribes that the king takes one-tenth on merchandise produced in his own country and one-twentieth on goods imported from a foreign

247 धान्यपशुद्विग्येयैश्चैवानुशुद्धीपात्तान्पशुद्वयेन ददुः । अनुग्रहपरिकारी चेत्यः ।
कोशाद्विकरी दद्यात् । कौटिल्य II 1. p 47

248. वार्धुविकाश्च कौसीदाश्च द्वात्रिंशत् हरेन्मुपः । शुक्र IV. 2. 128

country Yāj. II. 261 says that the *śulka* on goods is twentieth part of the prices of the goods Kaut (II 21) in his chapter on the superintendent of tolls (*śulkādhyakṣa*) sets out several rules, of which a few interesting ones are given here. Commodities intended for marriage or taken by a bride from her parents to her husband or meant as presents or for the purpose of sacrifices or the *acconchement* of women or for the worship of gods, or for the ceremonies of *cūla*, *upanayana*, *godāna*, or for the observance of a *vata* or for the consecration of a person for a sacrifice and for other special ceremonies shall be allowed to go free of tolls. Whatever commodities would cause harm to the realm or are useless should be destroyed; whatever is of great benefit and seeds not easily available should be allowed to be imported without charge²⁴⁹ He further says (II. 22) that *śulka* is levied on exports and imports of merchandise and that on imports the tax will be one-fifth of the price of the commodities (as a general rule) and prescribes varying rates (1/6, 1/10, 1/15, 1/20, 1/25) on different kinds of articles. In II 28 (on the superintendent of shipping) Kāntilya gives further rules some of which have been already noted. He prescribes rules for ferries also, viz. that *brāhmanas*, ascetics, children, very old people, sick men, messengers, pregnant women are to be provided with free passes by the superintendent enabling them to use the ferries. A man with a load and small animals were to pay one *māsa* at a ferry, a cow or a horse two *māsaḥ* and so on. The *Mānasollāsa* (II. 4. vv. 374-376 p 62) prescribes that the king should well guard all harbours (*telā-pura*) that are near the sea, that when the boats of sailors residing in his own country return to the harbour the king should charge one-tenth (of the price of goods brought) as the duty and that when foreign boats are driven to his harbour by an unfavourable wind, the king should confiscate all their merchandise or may give a little to the owners of those boats. In this connection a very interesting inscription may be referred to The Motupalli pillar inscription²⁵⁰ of the Kākatiya king Ganapatideva (of

249 राष्ट्रपीडाकरं भाण्डमुच्छिन्न्यादफलं च यत् । महोपकारमुच्छुल्लकं कुर्याद्भीर्जं तु दुर्लभम् ॥ कौटिल्य II 21, verse at end.

250 पूर्वराजानः पोतपात्रेभ्यश्च देशान्तरप्रवृत्तेषु दुर्वातेन समापतितेषु भग्नेष्वतीर्थ-संगतेषु च संभृतानि कश्चिदुपररनादीनि वस्तूनि सकलानि बलादुपहरन्ति । वयमपि प्राणेष्वपि गरीयो धनमिति संशुद्रयानकृतमहासाहसेभ्यस्तेभ्यः क्लृप्तशुल्कादृते कृपया कीर्त्यं धर्माय च सर्वं नितराम इति । सच्छुल्कपरिमाणं; then a Telugu passage about the dues Vide E I vol. XII p 195

1244-45 A. D.) issues (E. I. vol. XII p. 195) a charter of security (abhaya-śāsana) to the sailors who ply between towns in different countries, islands and continents: 'when ships that made voyages from one country to another were driven or were shattered or touched at a place that was not meant as a place of call, owing to unfavourable winds, former kings forcibly took away all commodities therein such as gold, elephants, horses &c.; but we, considering that wealth is dearer than life itself, have with kindness decided to give everything except the fixed *śulka* to those sailors who undertake the great venture of crossing the sea, so that thereby we shall secure fame and righteousness; the *śulka* fixed is as follows'. About *śulka* to be levied on goods brought by the sea the Baud. Dh. S. (I. 10. 15-16) prescribes that it is 10 per cent of the cargo except one best article (which is totally exempted). In the Kharepatan grant of the Śilāra king Rattarāja dated sake 930 it is provided that one golden *gadiyāna* was levied as duty on each vessel that came from another country (dvipāntarāyāta-vahitrāt) and one golden *dharana* had to be paid on each vessel coming from the district of Kandalamūliya excepting Cemulya (modern Cheul) and Candrapura. Vide E. I. vol. III p. 292 at p. 301 Śukra (IV. 2 109-111) lays down some very reasonable rules viz on the same commodity *śulka* is to be taken in the same country by the king only once and never more than once; the king may take either 1/16, 1/20 or 1/32 from the vendee or vendor; no *śulka* is to be taken from the vendor when he has to sell his goods at the same price at which he bought them or for less than the cost price; the king should always take from the buyer the proper *śulka* after seeing what profit he is going to make Nār (sambhūya-samutthāna verses 14-15) lays down that whatever is to be used by śrōtrīyas (brāhmanas learned in the Vedas) for domestic purposes is exempt, but not what they may employ in trade; the gifts received by brāhmanas, the property of stage-players, whatever is carried on a man's shoulders—on all these no *śulka* must be levied. The exemption of brāhmanas and others from taxation has already been dealt with in H. Dh. vol. II pp 143-145. Gaut. X. 9-12, Āp Dh. S II. 10. 26 10-16, Vas I 42-46 and 19 23-24, Manu. VIII. 394 exempt a learned brāhmana, the women of all varnas, all boys before the signs of puberty appear, all those who stay with a teacher for study, ascetics who are intent on dharma, śūdras that do menial work such as washing the feet of higher varnas, the blind, the deaf and dumb, the diseased, the cripple, an old man of 70 years or

more. Though these really required more protection than most people, humanity and higher feelings made them exempt from taxes from very ancient times. The claims to exemption were probably exaggerated and not respected in practice. For example, Nārada (VI. 14) states that the king is not to levy tolls or customs duties on articles required by śrotriyaś for domestic use but if they engaged in trade they had to pay taxes on merchandise.²⁵¹ The Mit. on Yāj. II. 4 states that the six exemptions mentioned in Gaut. (VIII. 12-13) apply only to a very learned brāhmana and not to all brāhmanas. Manu. VII. 133 provides that a king even when he has lost everything should not levy a tax on śrotriyaś and relying on this the Vaijayanti explains Viṣṇu Dh S III. 26 as referring only to learned brāhmanas. The Rāmāyana (III. 6. 14)^{251a} states, differing from other authorities, that the king shares one-fourth of the merit of *mums* (ascetics) dwelling in his kingdom. There was a corresponding liability on the king; viz. he shared half and half in the demerit due to the sins committed by the subjects that are not properly restrained by him (Yāj. I. 337). Manu and Viṣṇu. Dh S. III. 28 and Viṣṇudharmottara II. 61. 25 say that he reaps the sixth part of the sin of his subjects.

Kautilya in II. 15 mentions numerous kinds of taxes or dues that were levied by the king. It is not possible to explain many of the terms used by him. In the ancient inscriptions, when making grants of a village and the like, it is usual for the kings to specify the exemptions from taxes and dues that went with the grant. Such exemptions were called *parihāra*, which word occurs in Kautilya and also in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (in the 2nd century B.C., E. I. vol. xx at p. 9) where we read 'bamhanānam jātam parihāram dadāti'. In certain early records even, these exemptions are said to be eighteen, e.g. in the Hirahadagalli plate of Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I. p. 6) and²⁵² the Omgudu plate of Vijayaskandavarman

251. सदा ओत्रियवर्ज्यानि शुल्कान्याहुः प्रजानता । ग्रहोपयोगि चत्वेष्टा न तु बाणिज्यकर्मणि ॥ नारद VI. 14, ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात् । तिष्णधर्मसूत्र III. 26, on which वैजयन्ती says 'परंतु ओत्रियेभ्यः । श्रियमाणो ... करमिति मानवात् ।'

251a यत्करोति परं धर्मं मुनिर्मूलफलाशनः । तत्र राज्ञश्चतुर्भागः प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षतः ॥ रामायण, अरण्य 6. 14.

252. The passage in the plate of Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I pp. 8-9) is rendered by Dr Bühler as 'this garden .. is to be free from taxes, free from the taking of sweet and sour milk, free from troubles about

(E I 15 p. 250) Vide H Dh vol II pp 864-865 and notes thereon for grants containing names of numerous taxes that were remitted to the grantees and 'Pandyan kingdom' by Prof Nilkanta Śāstri p 217 on the same subject

Fines as a source of revenue will be discussed in the next section about 'law and justice' The king had numerous other sources of income Kaut (II 12) describes the duties of the superintendent of mines Every thing dug up from mines belonged to the king (Visnudharmasūtra III 55) According to Manu VIII 39 and Medhātithi thereon the king is entitled to a half (or some share $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ &c) of the ore dug out of mines, as he is the lord of the earth and gives protection In modern times under sec 69 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code, Government have a right to all mines and minerals The 'Parasūrāmapratāpa'^{252a} quotes a verse - 'Brahmā arranged that the king was (to be) the owner of all wealth and specially (wealth) that is inside the earth,' while Kāt (16-17) says (vide note 243) 'the king is declared to be the lord of the land, but never of other kinds of wealth; therefore he should secure the sixth part of the fruits of land, but not otherwise at all Since human beings reside on it (land) their (qualified) ownership thereof has been declared' For further discussion of the theory of the king's ownership of all land, vide H of Dh. vol II, pp 865-869 The State itself manufactured salt, took its share in salt manufactured by private persons and levied $\frac{1}{6}$ as State dues on imported salt. Kautilya mentions ten kinds of revenue from mines The

(Continued from the last page)

salt and sugar (alonagulacchobham=alavana—guda—ksobham), free from taxes, forced labour, free from the taking of the oxen in succession, free from the taking of grass and wood, free from the taking of vegetables and flowers, with these and other immunities of eighteen kinds it must be exempted &c' (evamādikeḥ atthārasajātiparīhāreḥ). Vide Vilavathi grant of Pallava king Simhavarman for a long enumeration of taxes collected from villages in South India in E I vol 24 p 296 and a copperplate grant of the Śilāhāra king Aparājita dated Śake 915, where in granting a garden to a brāhmana occur the following words, 'साद्वृः सद्दण्डदशापराप प्रधाननिधानैकद्वेषवाह इतरसमस्तपुत्रालीयक-कुमारीसाहसमभ्युतिवृण्णद्वेषसमन्वितः पूर्वद्वेषद्वेषावब्रह्मद्वेषवर्जितः समस्तारथानसहितः दत्तः in 'Important Inscriptions from Baroda' vol. I edited by Mr A. S. Gadre (p 55 at p. 61). कुमारिसाहस appears to mean the 'fine levied for violating a virgin or her modesty',

252 a धनानामीश्वरा राजा ब्रह्मणा परिकल्पित. । भूयतावा विशेषेण भर्तासौ विबुधाधिपः ॥ q. in परशुराममताप folio 27a.

Mānasollāsa (II. 3 verses 332 and 361) asks the king to guard mines of gems, gold and silver and declares that the Creator made the king the ruler over all wealth and especially over what is inside the earth. Rudradāman (150 A. D.) boasts that he filled his treasury by means of *bak*, *śulka* and *bhūga* levied according to the śāstras and that his treasury overflowed with heaps of gold, silver, diamonds, *lapis lazuli* and other gems (E I vol VIII p. 36 at p 44) Kaut (IV 1) says that those who sweep the dust (near mines &c) should get one-third of the valuable things found and the king should get two-thirds and all jewels. The king had also monopolies in certain matters. He alone could catch elephants. Kaut (II 31-32) and Mānasollāsa (II 3, pp 44-58) deal with this matter, the latter describing several methods of catching elephants. Medhātithi²⁵³ on Manu VIII 400 says that kings have a monopoly as to elephants because it is well-known that they are most useful to them and he specifies certain monopolies such as those in saffron, silken cloth and wool, horses, pearls and jewels. Megasthenes (Fragment XXXVI p. 90) states that a private person was not allowed to keep an elephant or a horse and that those animals were held to be the special property of the king.

The king recovered a sort of road cess through officers called *antapāla* (guardians of borders or boundaries) viz 1½ pana on each cart loaded with merchandise, half a pana on each head of cattle, ¼th pana on minor quadrupeds, and one *māsa* on a load carried on a man's shoulders (Kaut. II. 21 p 111). Śukra IV. 2. 129 permits for the repairs to the roads a tax on those who use roads. Revenues were raised in numerous other ways such as by charging for stamping weights and measures, by fees levied from keepers of gambling halls, from players, singers and musicians, from prostitutes, from forests and pastures &c. Bṛhat-Parāśara X p 282 allows the king in a financial crisis to use even temple funds and make them good when freed from his difficult position. Similarly it allows the king (in difficulty) to take the wealth of usurers, of low people,

253. यानि भाण्डानि राजोपयोगितया यथा हस्तिनः काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमपायेषु पट्टोर्णादीनि प्रतीयेन्मन्वा दृगक्षिणाख्येषु मणिमुक्तादीनि । मेधा. on मनु VIII 400 The passage as printed by Mandlik and Gharpure is corrupt. We should rather read यथा हस्तिनः । काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमं पायेषु पट्टोर्णादीनि. Saffron is still a monopoly in Kashmir 'सरकपांडुधावकाः सारत्रिभाग लभेन् । द्वौ राजा रत्नं च । अर्थशास्त्र IV. 1

of heretics and prostitutes, as the continuance and prosperity of temples and the others depend upon the king ²⁵⁴

The Rājataranginī (VII. 1008) notices that a tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śrāddha at Gayā. An inscription of Vikramāditya V found near Gadag dated śaka 934 (1012-13 A. D.) refers to taxes levied on upanayana, marriages, vedic sacrifices &c. (E I vol 20 p. 64). It appears that the king of Anahilavād, Siddharāja (1094-1143 A. D.), levied a tax on pilgrims going to Somanātha at the frontier town Bahuloda and it is said that the tax yielded 72 lakhs of rupees a year, which Siddharāja remitted for the sake of and at the intervention of his mother; vide Bom G. vol I. part 1 p. 172 and Prabandha-cintāmaṇi (p. 84, Tawney). The amount is probably very highly exaggerated in order to glorify Siddharāja, but this shows that the yield of the pilgrim tax must have been substantial. The Manasollāsa in its great desire to help the king with the accumulation of wealth advises the king even to resort to alchemy ²⁵⁵

A question may be asked. what were the means of preventing a king from being over-exacting and tyrannical in his taxes? Kaut. (VII. 5 pp 276-277) cites at great length the causes that lead to the impoverishment of the subjects, to their being greedy and disaffected. Among these he mentions ²⁵⁶ 'not paying what ought to be paid and exacting what ought not to be exacted, not punishing the guilty and severely punishing the guilty, not protecting the people against thieves and robbing them of their wealth'. He then states that when the subjects become impoverished they become greedy and when greedy they become disaffected and voluntarily go over to the side of the king's enemy or destroy their own king. In another

254 द्रुपस्य यदि जातानि देवद्रव्याणि कोशवत् । आदाय रक्ष्य चात्मानं ततस्तत्र च
सत् क्षिपेत् । किन्तु वार्युषिकाणां तु कर्तव्यं स्यात् यद्धवेत् । पापविहगणिकाश्चित् हरणानो न
किलिष्यन्ति । देवर्षाद्व्यगणपापविहगणका गणिकादयः । वणिग्वाधुषिकाः सर्वे स्वस्य राजानि
हृदि स्थिताः ॥ बृहस्पतराक्षर X p 282.

255. घातुषादप्रयोगैश्च विविधैर्धन्यैर्जनैः । ताम्रेण साधयेत् स्वर्णं सौव्यं च त्रेण साधयेत् ॥
मानसोल्लास II 4, verse 327 p 63 Vide n 240 above

256 अमदानैश्च देवानामदेयानां च साधनैः । अदण्डनैश्च दण्डयानां दण्डयानां
चण्डदण्डनैः ॥ ... अरक्षणैश्च चोरेभ्यः स्वानां च परिभोजणैः । ... राज्ञः प्रमादालस्यभ्यां
योगक्षेमविधावपि । प्रकृतीनां क्षयो लाभो वैराग्यं चोपजायते ॥ क्षीणः प्रकृतयो लोभं हृष्या
यान्ति विरागताम् । विरक्ता यान्त्यमित्रं वा भर्तारं भ्रान्तिं वा स्वयम् ॥ कौटिल्य VII 5

place Kautilya (XIII. 1) suggests²⁵⁷ that a conqueror may employ spies who should encourage the subjects of his enemy suffering from famine, depredations of thieves and wild tribes to tell their king, 'we shall beg the king for favours (remission of taxes or help in the way of seeds &c.) but if he does not agree to bestow favours we shall go to another country'. So the threat of disaffection and migrating to another country were the deterrents against the tyranny of heavy taxation according to Kautilya. Śānti 87. 36 says^{257a} that if the vaiśyas (*gominah*, who bore the brunt of taxation) were neglected, they may disappear from the country and dwell in forests. Manu (VII. 111-112) warns kings who through folly rashly oppress their kingdoms that they may ere long lose their own lives and those of their relatives and also their kingdoms. Yaj. (I. 340-341) is even more emphatic and says that the king who seeks to increase his treasury with wealth extracted by unjust means from his realm loses his wealth in no time and meets destruction along with his relatives. 'The fire springing from the wrath caused by the harassment of the subjects does not cease without burning the family, the wealth and the life of the king.' Kātyāyana (v. 19) harps on the spiritual consequences: 'the king who unjustly takes from his kingdom taxes, fines, share of crops and tolls, incurs²⁵⁸ sin.' Śukra²⁵⁹ (II. 319-321 and 370) emphasizes the keeping of daily, monthly and yearly accounts and the entering of the several items of income on the left side of the account and of those of expenditure on the right. The *Nītivākyaṃṛta*^{259a} refers to the appointment of auditors when there is discrepancy in the items of income and expenditure.

257. दुर्भिक्षस्तेनादभ्युपधातेषु पौरजानपदाकुत्साहयन्वः सन्निधौ ब्रूयुः । राजानमनुग्रहं प्राप्नुयान्ने तिरस्त्रयतः परत्र गच्छामः । इति । को. XIII. 1.

257a. उपेक्षिता हि नश्येदुर्गोमिनोऽप्यवांसिनः । तस्मात्तेषु विशेषेण दृढपूर्वं समाचरेत् ॥ शान्ति 87. 36.

258. अन्यायेन हि यो राजात्करं दण्डं च पार्थिवः । सख्यभागे च कुत्सो चाप्यावृत्ति स पापभाक् ॥ कात्यायन p. in राजनीतिम्. p. 276.

259. वत्सरे वत्सरे वापि मासि मासि दिने दिने । हिरण्यपशुधान्पाद्वि स्वाधनि स्वाध-संज्ञकम् ॥ पराधीनं कृते पशुव्ययसंज्ञं धनं च तत् । ... आयमादौ लिखेत्सम्पदं व्ययं पश्चात् प्राग्वत् । धामे वाप्यं व्ययं वृक्षे पत्रभागे च लेखयेत् ॥ कुकनीतिसार II 321, 370.

259a. आयव्ययविधितिपक्षौ कुशलकरणकार्यपुत्रव्ययस्तद्विनिश्चयः । नीतिवाक्यामृत- p. 189 (अमात्यसमुद्देश).

CHAPTER VIII

BALA (THE ARMY).

Bala is also called *danda* in Kaut and elsewhere. According to Sumantu *danda* means 'punishment, corporal or monetary' and the army with its four arms is included by Sumantu under *kośa* (acc to S V p 46) ²⁶⁰ In the Rgveda we have frequent references to armies, weapons, battles &c. The word *senāni* occurs in Rg X 84 2 where *Manu* (martial Fury) is invoked to be the Commander ²⁶¹ Rg VI 75 is full of references to bows, arrows, armour, bow-strings, quiver, charioteer, horses, chariots &c. Kām (XIII 34-37) states that the king possessed of a sound financial position increases his depleted army, supports his own subjects and is depended upon even by his enemies. All the following result from the possession of a (powerful) army viz increase of the wealth of one's friends and enemies and of the (king's) territories, prompt attainment of objects that seemed distant, protection of what is already secured, destruction of the armies of the enemy, the keeping together of one's army. Most authorities agree in saying that troops are of six kinds viz *maula* (hereditary), *bhṛta* or *bhṛtaka* or *bhṛtṛi* (hired troops), *sreni* (guild troops), *mītra* (troops of an ally or friendly power or feudatories), *amītra* (troops that once belonged to the enemy), *atavi* or *ātavika* (wild tribes as troops). Vide Kaut ²⁶² IX. 2 (first sentence), Kām. XVIII 4, Agnipurāṇa 242 1-2, Mānasollāsa (II 6, verse 556 p 76). The first three works say that each earlier variety of troops is superior to each later one. *Maula* troops corresponded to the modern standing army, since Kaut (IX 2) prefers them on the ground that they depend on the king for maintenance and are being constantly drilled. They most probably consisted of persons who and whose ancestors got tax-free lands in lieu of military service. The *Sabhā-parva* 5. 63 appears to refer to four kinds (omitting *sreni* and *amītra*) and *Yuddhakāṇḍa* 17 24 refers to five (omitting *sreni*).

260. दण्डः चतुरङ्गसैन्यं न भवति । अपराधाद्वसारेण शारीर्यदण्डः परिकल्पनीयः । अयमभिसन्धि-समन्तुवते चतुरङ्गसैन्यस्य कोश एवान्तर्भाव इति । स वि p 46

261. अशिरिव मन्यो दिवषितः सरस्व सेनानीर्गः सहरे हृत एधि । ऋ. X 84 2

262. मौल्युतकश्रेणीमित्रामित्रादवीकलानां ससुद्धानकालाः । ... पूर्व पूर्वैर्बैर्वा श्रेयः संनादयितुम् । कौटिल्य IX 2.

The *Āsramavāsikaparva*²⁶³ (7 7-8) names five kinds (except *amitra*) and states that *maula* and *mitra* armies are superior to the rest and hired troops and *sreni* troops are each other's equals. This division of armies into various kinds is mentioned in the grant of Dhruvasena I of Valabhi in Gupta-Valabhi year 206 (E. I. vol. XI p 106, where the king is said to have acquired the kingdom with the help of *maula*, *bhrta*, *mitra* and *sreni* armies). *Mānasollāsa* defines the *ātavika*²⁶⁴ army as consisting of *niṣūdas*, *mlecchas* and similar castes dwelling in the vicinity of mountains and *amitra* troops as soldiers who once belonged to an enemy king but being defeated were taken captive and made slaves. According to the *Rājanītiratnākara* (p 38) 'aribala' means 'troops that come to a king after leaving the king's enemy'. *Kām. XVIII* 7 says that the *ātavika* troops are, by nature, irreligious, greedy, *unāryas* and non-observers of truth. They correspond to the *pendhars* and freebooters of later times. The reasons why hereditary and other troops are superior to *amitra* and *ātavika* varieties are explained at great length by *Kaut. IX. 2* and *Kām. XVIII. 5-9*. *Kaut. (IX. 2)* states that an *amitra* army led by an *ārya* is superior to wild tribe troops. Both of them are out for plunder and in case no plunder can be had or when there is a disaster they may prove as dangerous as snakes. By *sreni-bala* he has in mind the organized bands of soldiers to whom he refers elsewhere as 'vārtāśāstropajīvinah' (vide p. 89 above). As it is not unlikely that members of trade-guilds either themselves learnt the profession of arms or engaged soldiers for the protection of their merchandise and property, these could be pressed into his service by a king in case of need and were distinguished from the hereditary army and hired troops as 'sreni-bala'. Differing from the *unāryas* that troops composed of *brāhmaṇas*, *ksatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* are superior for enlistment in the order of the castes, *Kaut.* holds that an army of *ksatriyas* well-trained in the wielding of arms or an army of

263. आद्वीत बलं राजा मौल मित्रबलं तथा । अटवीबलं श्रुतं चैव तथा अणीबलं प्रभो । तत्र मित्रबलं राजन् मौलं चैव विशिष्यते । अणीबलं श्रुतं चैव तुल्ये एवेति मे मतिः ॥
भाष्यभाषित 7. 7-8.

264. पर्वतोपान्तसंवासिनिबादुम्लेच्छजातिकम् । अधमं तत्समाह्वयतं बलमाटविकं
बुधैः ॥ शाववास्तु समाक्रान्ता दासभावमुपस्थिताः । तेषां बलं तु विज्ञेयममित्रजबलं बुधैः ॥
मानसोद्भास II. 6, verses 559-560 p. 79.

vaisyas and sūdras having greater numerical strength is better than an army composed of brāhmana soldiers, since an enemy may win over the latter army by prostrating himself before them²⁶⁵ Vide H Dh vol II pp 122-123 for discussion on the question whether brāhmanas could become soldiers In Udyogaparva 96 7 (cr ed chap 94) it is said that king Dambhodbhava every day asked in the morning whether there was any sūdra, vaiśya, ksatriya or brāhmana equal or superior to him in armed conflict That shows that soldiers of castes other than ksatriyas were not unheard of in the Epic age Kām IV. (63, 65, 67) says that the hereditary army (pitṛ-partāmaha) should consist mostly of ksatriyas In the Maliya copperplate of Mahārāja Dharasena II (252 Valabhi samvat i. e. 571-72 A. D.) Bhatārka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty, is said to have secured the kingdom with the help of maula, bhṛta, mitra and śreni troops (Gupta Inscriptions p. 165). Śukra (II. 137-139) says that the soldiers may be sūdras, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, mlecchas or of mixed castes, provided they are brave, restrained, well-built, devoted to their master and their dharma, and hate the enemy. Śānti (101 3-5) describes in what respects soldiers from Gāndhāra, Sindhu and other countries and Yavana and Deccan soldiers excel, remarks that brave and strong men are to be found everywhere (verse 6) and that men from the border (i. e. *bhullas* and *kavartas* according to Nilakanṭha) are desperate fighters, would never run away from battle and so should be preferred for enlistment in the army (verse 19). The Yasastilaka III (pp 461-467) describes the characteristics of Northern Indian (auttarāpatha), Deccan (daksinātya), Dramila (South Indian), Tīrhuṭ (Tairabhukta) and Gurjara soldiers. An army was said to be composed of four parts, viz. elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers (caturanga bala). Kām. XVIII. 24 says that *bala* is sixfold, viz the four sections of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants together with *mantra* (line of policy) and *kośa* (treasury) In Śānti. 103. 38 the army is said to have six angas (the well-known four plus *kośa* and roads for traffic) According to Kāntilya (II. 2, VII. 11) and Kām. XIX. 62 the destruction of

265. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रसैन्यानां तेजःप्राधान्यात् पूर्वं पूर्वं श्रेयः संग्रहापितृन्तियाचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः । अणिपतेन ब्राह्मणं परमिहारयेत् । महरणविद्याविनीतं तु क्षत्रियबलं श्रेयो बहुलसारं वैश्यशूद्रबलमिति । कौटिल्य IX. 2.

the enemy's forces and victory depended on elephants ²⁶⁶ *Sānti-parva* (100 24) says that an army in which the infantry predominates remains firm and that cavalry and chariots are all right when there is no rain. *Sānti* (59. 41-42) enumerates eight elements of the army viz. the well-known four (elephants etc.), *visti* (labourers or porters who gave free labour and were only fed but were paid no wages), boats, spies, and guides (*deśika*) ²⁶⁷ *Vide Sānti* 121. 44 also In the *Mahābhārata* elephants do not, except in rare cases, play any role in the fighting that went on, while chariots and the other arms of an army are described everywhere. In the *Virāṭaparva* (65. 6) *Vikarna* was seated on an elephant when he attacked *Arjuna*; *Bhīṣmaparva* 20. 7 refers to *Duryodhana* as riding an elephant and (95. 32-33) *Bhagadatta* is described as seated on an elephant when he attacked *Bhīma*. In this respect the *Epic* carries on the *vedic* tradition *Megasthenes* (*Fragment* 1 p. 30) notes that in ancient India elephants were trained for war and turned the scale of victory. Vast armies were kept by ancient kings and emperors. When *Satrugna* started against the demon *Lavana* he had an army of 4000 horses, 2000 chariots and 100 elephants with him (*Rāmāyana* VII. 64 2-4). In the *Daśakumāracarita* VIII the cynical jester *Vihārabhadra* reminds his master that the latter had 10000 elephants, three lakhs of horse and numberless foot-soldiers (*B. S. S.* p. 133, of ed. of 1919)

266. हस्तिप्रधानो विजयो राज्ञाम् । कौटिल्य II. 2 ; हस्तिप्रधानो हि परानीकवधः । कौटिल्य VII. 11. नागेषु हि क्षितिमुर्जा विजयो निबद्धस्तस्माद्भूजाधिकबलो वृषतिः सदा स्यात् । कामन्दक XIX 62 ; सुखं वृन्तिपलं राज्ञां समरे विजयेदिनाम् । तस्मात्क्षिजवले कार्या बहवो हिरदा वृषेः ॥ मानसोह्यस्त II 8 verse 678 p. 90 ; यतो नागास्ततो जयः । बुधश्च p 42 ; बलेषु हस्तिन प्रधानमङ्गं स्वैरवयवैरुद्युया हस्तिनो भवन्ति । नीतिवा० (बलस-सुदेश) p. 207. The four feet, the two tusks, the trunk and the tail are the eight weapons of an elephant Though the *Budhabhūṣana* (p. 42) contains a glowing eulogy of elephants, the *नीतिवाक्यामृत* holds that elephants, if not properly trained, cause loss of wealth (because they eat vast quantities of fodder and grains) and of lives (they trample down their own soldiers through fright) 'अक्षिप्ता हस्तिनः केवलमर्थप्राणहराः' 22 5 p. 208 The *यशस्तिलक* III p 491 notes 'न विनीता गजा देशां देशां ते वृष केवलम् । क्लेशायापि विनाशाय रणे चात्मसंधाय च ॥'. This has often been illustrated in battles against early Moslem and other invaders e g vide *Elphinstone's History of India* (5th ed. of 1866) p 309 (the fate of *Dahir* king of *Sindh* against *Mohammed bin Casim*, when the former's elephant was struck with a fireball) and p 329 (*Anangpal* against *Mahmud of Gazni*) and also *Cambridge History of India*, vol III. (1928) pp. 5 and 16 for the same.

267 रथा नागा ह्याश्वैव पादाश्वैव पाण्डव । विदिर्नावश्चराश्वैव देशिका इति चाष्टमम् ॥ अङ्गान्येतानि कौरव्य प्रकाशानि बलस्य तु । शास्त्रि 59. 41-42.

Megasthenes (in Fragment XXVII p 68) speaks of the camp of Sandrakottos (Candragupta Maurya) that had 400000 men, notes (in Fragment LVI) that the king of Palibothra had in his pay a standing army of six lakhs of foot-soldiers, 30000 cavalry and 9000 elephants (p 141, McCrindle), that the king of Horatae (Surāstra) had 150000 foot-soldiers, 5000 cavalry and 1600 elephants (*ibid* p. 150) and that even the Pāṇḍyan kingdom ruled by women had 150000 foot and 500 elephants (*ibid* p. 147). Vide Beal's 'Buddhist Records &c.' vol. I p 213 for the armies collected by Harsa in his march against the murderer of his elder brother (viz 5000 elephants, 2000 horse and 50000 foot-soldiers) and the vast armies that he had after six years of conquest viz. 60000 elephants and 100000 cavalry In the Āsvamedhikaparva (60. 14-20) it is narrated that when Drona assumed the post of commander-in-chief the Kaurava army had been reduced to 9 *akṣauhini*s from eleven, that only five were left when Karna became *Senāpati* and the Pāṇḍavas had then only three left and under Śalya's command there were only three *akṣauhini*s and the Pāṇḍavas could oppose to him only one. In reply to a question from Dhṛtarāstra Yudhishtira states that in the great war the total number of warriors killed in battle came to the colossal figure of 1660020006 (Śtriparva 26. 9).²⁶⁸ The Udyogaparva gives (155. 24-26) the following table for an *akṣauhini*: 500 elephants, 500 chariots, 1500 cavalry and 2500 foot-soldiers constituted an army called *senā*, 10 *senās*=*prānā*, 10 *prānās*=*vāhni*, 10 *vāhnis*=*dhvajinī*, 10 *dhvajinīs*=*camū* and 10 *camūs*=*akṣauhini*. The Kauravas had eleven *akṣauhini*s and the Pāṇḍavas had 7. If we take the table in Ādi 2. 19-22 one *akṣauhini* contained 21870 elephants, the same number of chariots, 65610 horses and 109350 foot-soldiers²⁶⁹ But 'if the other tables be followed then the numbers may be much larger still. Another table furnished by Udyogaparva 155. 28-29 is: 55 men constituted *patti*, 3 *pattis*=*senāmukha* or *gulma*, 3 *gulmas*=*gaṇa* and there were *ayutas* (10 thousands) of *gaṇas* in the army of the Kauravas The Ādiparva (2 19-22)

268 दशगुणानामयुतं सहस्राणि च विंशतिः । कोटयः बहिश्च बद् चैव हस्तिनाजय युये हताः ॥ अर्धपर्व 26 '9.

269 एको दशो गजश्रैको नराः पञ्च पदातयः । त्रयश्च तुरगास्तन्त्रे पतिरित्यभिधीयते ॥ पत्तिं तु विंशतिमेवामाहुः सेनामुखं युधाः । त्रीणि सेनामुखान्येको गुल्म इत्यभिधीयते ॥ त्रयो गुल्मा गणो नाम बाहिनी तु गणाक्षयः । मृतास्तिबन्ध बाहिन्यः युतेन विचक्षणैः ॥ चतुस्तु द्रवनास्तिबन्धश्च मृत्युनीकिनी । अनकिनीं दशगुणं माहुरकीर्णिगं युधाः ॥ आदि 2 19-22

differs from both tables in some respects. The Udyogaparva 155 22 further notes that each horseman was surrounded by ten men as attendants (*narā daśa hayaścāsan pādaraksāḥ samantataḥ*). Though throughout the centuries the infantry was theoretically and in practice more numerous than cavalry, not much importance seems to have been attached to them as compared with chariots or horsemen. The lexicon called *Vaijayanti* says that *patti* consists of three horses, five foot-soldiers, one chariot and one elephant, that three *pattis* are equal to *senāmukha* and that *senāmukha*, *gulma*, *gana*, *vāhini*, *prtanā*, *camū*, *anikinī* represent each three times as many as the preceding one and that 10 *anikinīs* are equal to an *aksauhini*. The *Nitiprakāśikā*²⁷⁰ gives a table of groups from *pathi* to *aksauhini* and remarks that each of these groups had in turn numerous supporting men e.g. each elephant was followed by a hundred horsemen and a thousand foot-soldiers and each horseman was supported by a thousand foot-soldiers (VII. 3-10). *Manu* VII. 192 refers to battles on water also. From references in the *Mahābhārata* it appears that chariots had only two wheels. Vide *Bhisma* 98 47, *Dronaparva* 154 3, *Salya* 16 24 (*Śaineyo daksinam cakram Dhṛstadyumna-tathottaram*). Two noted warriors were told off to guard the two wheels of the chariot of the principal commanders and are called '*cakra-raksau*' (vide *Bhisma* 54. 76, 108 5, *Drona* 91, 36, *Karna* 11. 31, 34. 44). Chariots of great warriors were drawn by four horses e.g. *Ādi.* 198 15, *Udyoga* 48. 50, *Drona* 145 81. *Udyoga* 83. 15-21 describe the chariot of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Udyoga* 140. 21 states that chariots had small tinkling bells attached to them and also screens of tiger-skin. The *Rg* contains very graphic descriptions of chariots. Chariots were generally drawn by two horses in the vedic age (*Rg* V 30 1, V 36 5, VI 23 1) and had two wheels, but the chariot of the *Āśvins* is described as having three wheels (*Rg*. I. 118. 2, I 157. 3, X. 41 1). *Ghatotkaca*, however, had eight wheels to his chariot (*Drona* 156. 61, 175 13). The *Sukranitiśāra* (II. 140-148) mentions another method of grouping the army. Five or six foot-soldiers made a *pathi* over which there

270. पतिः सेनामुखं गुल्मं गणो वै बाहिनी ततः । पृतना चम्बनीकिन्त्यो ततश्चाक्षौहिणी स्मृता ॥ . पर्वण्येक्षिण्युः सर्वैः कमादाख्या यथोत्तरम् । अनिकिनीं दक्षमुष्णामाह्वरक्षौहिणीं बुधाः ॥ नीतिप्रकाशिका VII 3 and 10 ; compare त्रिहयं पञ्चपादात्तं यद्वैकरयकुञ्जरम् । सैन्यं सा पत्तिरेतस्यास्त्रेण्युपास्तुयथाक्रमम् । सेनामुखं गुल्मगणो बाहिनी पृतना चम्बनी अनिकिनीत्यनीकिन्त्यः पुनरक्षौहिणी ब्रह्म ॥ verses 57-58 of the *सत्रियाध्याय* in the *सूक्तिकण्ड* of *वेजस्यन्ती*

was an officer called *pattipā*, over 30 *pattipālas* there was the *gaulmika*, over 100 *gaulmikas* was the officer called *śatānika*, who had as his assistants an officer called *anuśatika*, a *senān* and a *lekha* (scribe), the officer over twenty elephants or horses was called *nūyaka* (compare modern "naik") Each of these officers should have a distinctive badge indicative of their position. Ayodhyā 100. 32 (= *Sabhā* 5. 48) asks 'I hope you give at the proper time pay and rations to your soldiers according to their deserts and do not delay payment'. Both *Nār* (*sambhūya*-22) and *Br* state that among persons who work for hire the best is the soldier. The *Mānasollāsa* (II 6. 566-569 p. 80) describes that the chiefs of the hereditary army should always be honoured by the king with presents of jewels, ornaments, costly clothes and sweet words and sumptuous provision for their maintenance should be made by bestowing on them a village, or two or more villages and heaps of gold, while hired soldiers should be paid every day or every month or once in three, four or six months or once in a year according to the needs of the king. Megasthenes (*Fragment XXXIV* p. 88) describes the organization of the Indian army: 'A third governing body directs military affairs, of which there were six divisions with five members to each. One co-operates with the admiral of the fleet, another, with the superintendent of bullock trains, the third division has charge of foot-soldiers, the fourth of horses, the fifth of war chariots and the sixth of elephants'. In mediæval times chariots appear to have become obsolete. In the graphic descriptions of armies contained in the *Harsacarita* (particularly in the 7th *ucchvāsa*) war chariots are conspicuous by their absence. The *Mahābhārata* often speaks of horses from the countries to the north-west of India as the best; vide *Sabhā* 53. 5 (for *Kāmbōja* and *Gāndhāra* horses), *Udyoga* 86. 6 (horses from *Bālhi*), *Drona* 125. 25 and *Sauptika* 13. 2 (*Kāmbōja* horses). The *Harsacarita* II speaks of the best horses as coming from *Vanāyu*, *Āratta*, *Kāmbōja*, *Sindhudeśa* and *Pārasika*. *Sūkra* lays down certain practical rules about the army (IV 7. 379-390). He says that the soldiers should be encamped outside the town or village but not far from it, that no money-lending should be allowed between the soldiers and the village people, that the king should open separate shops for goods required by soldiers, that no army should be encamped at one place for more than a year, that soldiers should not enter the village without the king's permission, that receipts should be taken from soldiers

for payments made to them and they should be furnished with a writing about their pay. Some of these rules are very old. The Udyogaparva²⁷¹ 37. 30 mentions among persons with whom no contractual transactions should be entered into, the king, the king's servants and soldiers

The Arthasāstra contains an elaborate discussion (in IX. 1-7 and X. 1-6) about the organization of the king's army, the proper time and place for starting on an invasion, internal and external troubles and calamities and measures against them, means of dealing with traitors and enemies, religious remedies (worshipping gods and falling at the feet of brāhmanas, magical rites based upon the Atharvaveda) against misfortunes like fire and flood, epidemics, famine &c., encampment (skandhāvāra) of armies, treacherous and strategic fighting, proper battle grounds, encouragement to one's own army, free labourers and their work, different arrangements or formations (*vyūhas*) of armies. Considerations of space prevent any treatment of these matters. But a few notable points will be set out here. A king may invade his enemy's country either in Mārgaśīrṣa (when the crops sown in the rains are ready) or in Caitra or when the enemy is suffering from some calamity. Śānti (100. 10-11) says the same thing. Internal trouble arises when any minister, *purohita*, *senāpati* or the crown prince is angry or dissatisfied with the king, who should get rid of such trouble by giving up his own fault or by pointing out the danger arising from an enemy. If the crown prince causes trouble he should be kept in confinement or killed, if there is another son of good character. The trouble caused by a provincial Governor or the officer in charge of boundaries (*antapāla*), the chief of wild tribes or a conquered king is termed external. The king should meet it by setting up one against the other. The encampment of an army is to be made on a site declared to be the best according to the science of buildings and measured by the *nāyaka* (the chief of the army), carpenter and astrologer, the encampment being circular, square or rectangular and having four gates, six roads and nine divisions. Disputes, drinking, holding merry gatherings (*samāja*) and gambling should be prohibited in the camp and the system of passes should be enforced (X. 1). Vanaparva (15. 14, 19) also refers to the system of passes and the fact that

271. पूर्णो राजा पुंश्चली राजभृत्याः युवो ब्रता विधवा बालयुवा । सेनाजीवी चोद्ध-
तसूत्रिरेव म्पवहारेषु वर्जनीयाः स्मरन्ते ॥ उद्योग 37. 30 (cr. ed. 37. 28).

dancers and musicians were driven away, when Dvārakā was besieged by Śālva. From Udyoga 151-58 (cr ed. 149-53), 195-12-19 (cr ed 196 12-19) it appears that markets, prostitutes, conveyances, oxen, machines, arms and physicians accompanied an army and that the camp (*senāniveśa* or *skandhāvāra*) of Duryodhana looked like the capital itself and was five *yojanas* in extent. Physicians with surgical instruments, blunt instruments (like tweezers), medicines, curative oils and bandages in their hands and women (nurses) looking after the food and drink of the army should stand behind the soldiers uttering encouraging words²⁷² (Kaut. X. 3). The Bhīsmaparva 120-55 also states that doctors well-versed in extracting splinters or arrow-heads (from the body) approached with their surgical instruments to extract the darts from Bhīsmā's body. The duties of the labourers (*uśh*) were to examine the camp, roads, bridges, wells, and river *ghats*, to carry machines, weapons, armour, utensils, fodder, to remove from the battle-field wounded^x men along with their weapons and armour.²⁷³ Each commander had some distinguishing device as his banner e. g. Bhīsmā had a golden tāla tree as his standard (Bhīsmaparva VI 17-18, tālena mahatā Bhīsmah pañcatārena ketunā). In X 6 Kautilya speaks of several formations (*vyūhas*) called danda, bhoga, mandala, asanihata and the subdivisions such as gomūtrikā, makara &c. In Kām. XVIII. 48-49, XIX. 40 ff., Manu VII. 187-191, Nitiprakāśikā, chap 6 and in the Mahābhārata many *vyūhas* are described. Vanaparva (285 6-7) refers to Rāvana's arrangement of his army according to the rules of Uśanas and of Rāma's army according to Bārhaspatya rules. The Āsramavāsikaparva 7-15 refers to the formations called Śakata, Padma and Vajra described in the work of Uśanas. Kautilya X. 6 also refers to Ausanasa and Bārhaspatya arrangements of armies. Drona 75-27, 87-22-24, Karnaparva 11-14 and 28 mention certain *vyūhas* like Makara, Śakata &c. Vide also Mānasollāsa II. 20 verses 1170-1181 pp 134-135, Agnipurāṇa 242 7-8 and 42-73 for *vyūhas*. Though Kautilya recommends all sorts of tricks and treachery for securing a victory, the

272. विक्रिस्तकाः शस्त्रयन्त्रागद्वनेहवज्रहस्ताः । क्षिपश्चाक्षयानराक्षिण्यः पुरुषाणाञ्च
र्षणीयाः पृष्ठतस्तिष्ठेयुः । कौटिल्य X 3. उन्नातिष्ठकथो वेद्याः शल्पोद्धरणकोविदः । भीष्म
120 55

273. क्षिपिरनासितुक्पतीर्यशोधनकर्मस्त्राद्युपावरणोपकरणज्ञासबहनायोपनास्त्र
ग्रहणावरणमतिविज्ञापनयनमिति विद्विकर्माणि । कौ X 4

Mahābhārata holds up a high ideal. The Bhīsmaparva²⁷⁴ 21. 10 remarks that conquerors do not secure victory so much by their armies and prowess as by truthfulness, freedom from cruelty, the observance of dharma and energetic actions. The Śānti-parva (95. 17-18) states that it is better to die while fighting according to the rules of dharma rather than obtain a victory by wicked actions.

In the Bhīsmaparva (I. 27-32) certain rules of war agreed upon between the Kauravas and the Pāṇdavas are set out, such as one should fight only with one similarly equipped (i e. a foot-soldier with a foot-soldier and so on), one should not kill a soldier who is already in combat with another, or who has turned back from fight or is without armour. Āp Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 12, Gaut. X. 17-18, Yāj I 326, Manu VII 90-93, Śānti 95. 7-14, 96.3, Śānti 98 48-49, 297. 4, Dronaparva 143. 8, Karna 90. 111-113, Sauptika 5. 11-12, 6. 21-23, Śankha (quoted by the Mit on Yāj I 326), Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 10-12, Vṛddha-Hārīta VII 226, Brhat-Parāśara X p. 281, Śukra IV. 7. 354-362, Yuddha-kāṇḍa 18. 27-28 contain rules of war dictated by noble sentiments of humanity and chivalry. Some of these (that will bear comparison with the conventions of the Geneva and Hague Conferences) are set out here Gaut. (X 17-18)²⁷⁵ states: 'no sin is committed by injuring or slaying men in battle excepting him who has lost his horse, charioteer or weapons, him who joins his hands (in supplication for life), whose hair are dishevelled (in flying), who turns away from the field, who sits down, who climbs an eminence or a tree (in flight), except envoys or messengers, except him who declares himself to be a cow or a brāhmana'. Vṛddha-Hārīta VII 216 exempts spectators. Manu (VII 90-93) declares "one should not fight with treacherous

274. न तथा बलवीर्याभ्यां जयन्ति विजिगीषवः । यथा सत्त्वावृशस्याभ्या धर्मेणैवोद्यमेन च ॥ भीष्म 21 10, धर्मेण निघनं श्रेयो न जयः पापकर्मणा । नाधर्मश्चरितो राजन् सद्यः कलति गौरिव । मूलानि च मशस्त्राश्च दहन् समधिगच्छति ॥ शान्ति 95. 17-18

275. न द्वयोर्हिंसायामाह्वे । अन्यत्र व्यभ्रसारथ्यानुयुक्ततास्त्रिभकीर्णकशपाङ्गुश्लो-पविष्टयलवृक्षाभिरुद्धदूतगोत्राह्वणवादिभ्यः । गौतम X. 17-18; न पानीयं पिबन्तं न शुक्रानं मेषानहौ शुचन्तं नावर्माणं सर्वमां न जियं न करेणं न वाजिनं न सारथिनं न सूतं न दूतं न ब्राह्मणं न राजानामराजा हन्यात् । शङ्ख 9 12 मिताक्षरा 02 या. I 326, बद्धास्त्रास्त्रि-पुटं दूतं याचन्तं शरणागतम् । न हन्याद्वाहृश्रयार्थमात्रं शत्रुं वरन्तम् ॥ आतो वा यदि वा दूतं वरेषा शरणं गतः । अतिः प्राणाच्च परित्यज्य रक्षितव्यः कृतात्मना ॥...एवं द्वयोर् महानञ्च प्रपञ्चानामरक्षणे । अस्वर्ग्यं चायशश्च च बलवीर्याविनाशनम् ॥ रामायण VI. 18. 27-28, 31; न यद्यः पूज्यते लोके सुमानानिह धर्मतः । सौमिकपर्व 5. 12; दृष्ट्वा लो न हन्तव्यो न च स्त्री नैव वृष्टतः । तुण्युपलक्ष्यैव तवास्मीति च यो वदेत् ॥ शान्ति 98. 48-49.

(or concealed) weapons, or with barbed or poisoned weapons or with weapons the points of which are blazing with fire. Let a fighter not strike one who has climbed on an eminence, nor a eunuch, nor one who joins the palms of his hand (in supplication), nor one with flying hair (in flight), nor one who sits down or says 'I am thine', nor one who is asleep, nor one who has lost armour, nor one who is naked or disarmed, nor one who is merely looking on without taking part in the fight, nor one who is fighting with another foe, nor one whose weapons are broken, nor one who is afflicted with sorrow, nor one seriously wounded, nor one who is in fear, nor one who has turned to flee.' Śāṅkha adds that a soldier should not kill another while the latter is drinking water or taking his meals or is taking off his shoes, nor should one kill a woman, a female elephant, nor a charioteer, nor a bard nor a brāhmana nor should one who is not a king (or noble) kill one who is a king. Baud. Dh S I. 10 10 forbids the use of poisoned or barbed arrows (*karnan*). Śānti 95. 11 also does the same. Śānti (95 13-14) enjoins that even an enemy soldier, when wounded, should be treated with medicine and allowed to go when his wounds are healed.²⁷⁶ Śānti adds that a soldier should not kill boys or old men nor from behind nor one who holds a blade of grass in his mouth (as a mark of submission). These rules, though probably ideal and not strictly followed in every case, are far more humane as compared with the practice in modern warfare when non-combatants are killed from the air even at night without warning. In ancient times non-combatants went generally unmolested, to which Megasthenes bears testimony when he says (Frag I. p 32) 'Tillers of the soil even when battle is raging in the neighbourhood are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested.' Manu VII. 32 allows a king to harass his enemy's country, but Medhātithi on VII. 32 asks the invader to save his enemy's people if possible (particularly brāhmanas). The rule in *gadāyuddha* (fight with maces or clubs) was that no blow was to be struck below the navel (Salyaparva 60 6). But this rule was violated by Bhīma when he struck Duryodhana on the thigh with his mace., Duryodhana recounts (in Salya 61) all the bad deeds of Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas and the only reply that Kṛṣṇa makes is that he too was guilty of

276 भयशङ्को विपक्षश्च कृत्तज्यो हतबाह्वनः । विकल्पः स्यात् स्वविषये शत्रो वा स्वगृहे भवेत् । निर्वर्णश्च स मोक्ष्य एव धर्मः समातनः । शान्ति 95 13-14.

numerous breaches of morality and the chivalrous rules of war (such as the slaying of Abhimanyu by many engaging him at one time). The general rule was that fighting ceased when the sun went down (Bhisma 49. 52-53). But in Dronaparva 154 and 163. 16 ff we have a description of night battles and it is provided that chariots, elephants and horses should carry lamps.

It has already been shown how it was the duty of a ksatriya and of every soldier to fight and die in battle rather than run away. A fighting spirit was inculcated by holding out several rewards. One was the acquisition of booty and territory (Gaut. X. 41, Manu VII. 206, Bhagavadgītā II. 37); others were the satisfaction of having done one's duty as a ksatriya (Gītā II. 31-33), honour and fame (Gītā II. 34-35), heaven and other-worldly rewards (Yāj. I. 324, Manu VII. 88-89), protection of brāhmanas (Āp. Dh. S. II. 10. 26. 2-3). Visnu Dh. S. III. 44-46 have already been quoted above (p. 58). The Śānti (98. 40-41) states that a soldier who runs away from the field falls into Hell. Yāj. (I. 324-325) declares that those who, while fighting with weapons that are not treacherous (poisoned &c.) for the sake of the land (of their master or of the enemy) die in battle without turning back from it go to heaven like *yogins*, that each step of those who do not flee even when their comrades have been killed is equal to a solemn sacrifice (like the Asvamedha), the king (the master) takes away all the merit of those who run away from the battlefield and are then killed. Manu VII. 95 contains the same idea. These remarks were applicable not only to ksatriya soldiers, but to soldiers of all castes who maintained themselves by following the profession of arms. Vide Rājānitiprakāśa p. 407. Parāśara (III. 31) and Brhat-Parāśara X. p. 281 remark that a valiant soldier who does not seek mercy though surrounded by many enemies and falls fighting attains imperishable worlds and that when he reaches heaven divine damsels run after him to choose him as their Lord (III. 34-35). Parāśara III. 36 is a ²⁷⁷ verse which is

277. यं यज्ञसर्वैस्तपसा च विभ्राः स्वर्गपिणोत्र ययैव यान्ति । क्षणेन यान्त्येव हि तत्र वीराः प्राणान् सुयुद्धेषु परित्यजन्तः ॥ पराशर III. 36; कौटिल्य X. 3 presents some different readings. The second verse in कौटिल्य is नव शराव सलिलस्य पूर्णं सुसंस्कृतं दर्भकुतोत्तरीवम् । तत्तस्य मा भूत्कारकं च गच्छेद्यो भर्तृपिण्डस्य कृतं न युज्येत ॥; it occurs also in the ब्रह्मेजायौगन्धरायम् (IV. 2) attributed to भाग, where also it appears to be a quotation being introduced with the words हृण्वन्तु भवन्तः. पराशरमुखी-कृते सैन्ये यो युद्धात्त निवर्तते । तत्पदानां हि तदुपानि मृत्युधमेकचेतसः ॥ शिरोहतस्य ये वक्त्रे विशान्ति रक्तचिह्नवः । सोमपानेन ते तुलया इति वसिष्ठजोवर्षी ॥ सुध्वने भूयतो ये च मृत्युधमेकचेतसः । इदमेतैर्बहुभिर्वापिरेव यान्ति त्रिविष्टपम् । बृहस्पराशर X. p. 281. वसिष्ठ-जो means पराशर.

one of the two quoted by Kaut (X 3) when soldiers are to be urged on to fight Kautīlya (in X 3) advises that the king himself and his *mantri*n and *purohita* should urge on his soldiers by quoting Vedic and classical Sanskrit passages about the rewards waiting for those who fall fighting for their master and the religious punishments for those who run away Astrologers should infuse spirit into their side by asserting that the heavenly aspects favour their side The day before the battle the king should observe a fast, offer oblations into fire to the accompaniment of Atharvaveda *mantras* and cause benedictory texts to be repeated that refer to victory Bards should recite lays describing heaven as the reward for the brave and hell for the timid and extol the caste, guild, family, deeds and character of the soldiers The assistants of the *purohita* should declare that they have practised witchcraft against the enemy. The commander-in-chief and the officers under him should address the army as follows — 'a hundred thousand (*panas*) will be the reward for him who kills the enemy king, fifty thousand for him who kills the commander-in-chief or the crown prince, . . . a hundred for slaying the officer of the *patti* (a battalion), twenty for bringing the head (of a common soldier) and twice the pay and the booty seized by each to all soldiers' Kām (XIX 18-21) says that the king should give the rewards (promised as in Kaut) to the soldiers after they succeed in the exploits mentioned Vide also Mānasollāsa II 20 verses 1163-1167 (pp 133-134) for similar promises Gaut (X 20-23) prescribes that whatever wealth is acquired by a soldier by his individual effort should be given to him by the king, but the horse or elephant caught by a soldier goes to the king, that if many soldiers by a joint effort obtain some valuable plunder the king should choose and retain the best for himself and the rest should be divided among the soldiers according to their services in the battle Vide Manu VII. 96-97 (which allow even a chariot, horse or elephant to be retained as booty by the soldier and everything else including female slaves, except jewels, gold and silver), Kām XIX ²⁷⁸ 21-22, Śukra IV. 7. 372

A treatise will be required to deal with the weapons of war from ancient times. Even in the Rgveda several weapons are mentioned e g *rsti* (Rg V 52 6, V 57 2 and 6 on the shoulders

278 रूप्य हेम च कुप्य च यो यज्जयति तस्य तत् । दद्याद् वस्त्वद्वरुणं हि द्रक्षे यो धाज्जराधिपः ॥ काम XIX. 21-22 and शुक्र IV 7 372 (read: दद्यात्कार्पाद्वरुणं च ... प्रहर्षयन्).

of the Maruts), arrows (V. 57. 2, VI. 75. 17), quivers (V. 57. 2), the *ankuśa* (of Indra in VIII. 17. 10, X. 44. 9), *paraśu* (X. 28. 8), *krpāna* (probably a dagger, in X. 22. 10), *vajra* made of *ayas* (X. 48.3, X. 113.5). Atharvaveda IV. 6. 6. refers to poisoned arrows. In the Atharvaveda²⁷⁹ I. 16. 2 and 4 reference is made to lead as destroying sorcerers and it is said 'if you kill our cow or horse or man we shall pierce you with lead so that you will cease to kill our strong men'. In Tai. S. I. 5. 7. 6 it is said²⁸⁰ that when a *samīdh* is offered into fire with the mantra 'indhānās-tvā śatam himāh' the sacrificer discharges against his enemy the *śataghni* (weapon killing a hundred) which acts like *vajra* itself'. Dr. Oppert in his Introduction to the *Nītiprakāśikā* pp. 10-13 relies on these and other passages for holding that the ancient Indians knew fire-arms and that Atharvaveda I. 16.4 refers to *lead balls* discharged from cylinders. Vide Dr. Oppert's work on the 'weapons, army organisation and political maxims of the ancient Hindus' (1880), where he describes several weapons and holds that gunpowder was known in India long before the 13th century A. D. Mr. G. T. Date's 'Art of war in Ancient India' (London 1929), Dr. P. C. Chakravarti's work (1941, Dacca) and Prof. Dikshitar's book on the same subject may be consulted for details. The numerous weapons mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (e. g. Udyoga 155. 3-9) also are passed over here. Vide Hopkins' paper in J. A. O. S. Vol. XIII pp. 269-303 for detailed descriptions. The Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (middle of 4th century A. D.) contains a long list of weapons (C. I. I. III pp. 6-7).^{280a} One important question is whether gunpowder and fire-arms were known to our ancient and medieval works. Śukra refers to gunpowder called *agnicūrṇa* in II. 93.196, IV. 7. 203, guns (IV. 7. 209-211) and gives the formula of gunpowder in IV. 7. 201 (viz the mixing of five *palas* of saltpetre, one *pala* of sulphur and one *pala* of coal powder). The Śukranītisāra is comparatively a late work and was probably

279. सीतायाध्याह्नं वचनः सीतायाश्चिरुपावति । सीतं न हृन्दः प्रायच्छतदङ्गं यादृच्चा-
तनम् ॥ यदि नो गो हंसि यद्यथं यदि पूरयत् । तं त्वा सीतिं विधायामो यथा नोऽसौ भवीरहा ॥
अथर्ववेद I. 16. 2 and 4.

280. एषा वै सुमी कर्णकावत्येतया ह स्म वै देवा अहुराणां शततर्हा^० स्तुदन्ति बदेतया
समिधमादधाति वज्रमेवेतच्छतर्ही यजमानो ब्रह्मव्याघ्रं प्रहरति । तै. सं I. 5. 7. 6 सायण
explains 'ज्वलन्ती लोहमयी स्फूणा सुमी । सा च कर्णकावती छिद्रवती । अन्तरि ज्वल-
न्तीत्यर्थः । तत्समानेयमुक्त्वा । ... अनया समिधाद्य जैन शतर्हीमेमासु च वज्रं कृत्वा'.

280a. 'परच्छ-शर-शङ्ख-शक्ति-मास-असि-क्षीमर-भिन्दिपाल-नाराच-वैतसिकाद्यनेक-
प्रहरणविरूढाकुलवज्रशताङ्गशस्त्रसङ्घद्वयोपचितकान्तवरवर्मणः' Gupta Inscriptions
pp. 6-7.

written in the 13th or 14th century when cannon came to be used in Europe for the first time. Both in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata the word *śataghnī* (killing a hundred people) occurs frequently. In the Yuddhakāṇḍa²⁸¹ 3 13 it is stated that at the gates of Lankā hundreds of iron *śataghnīs*, looking burnished, sharp and terrible, had been arranged by the demons. In a poetic description of Lankā in the Sundarakāṇḍa chap 2, it is said that *śataghnīs* and *śūlas* were like the hair on the head of Lankā (verse 21). In the Vanaparva 15 there is a fine description of Dvāravati (Dvārakā) besieged by Śālva, in which it is said that the capital had numerous towers and turrets, machines, tomaras, ankuśas, *śataghnīs* &c. In Ādi. 207. 34, Vanaparva 169. 16, 284. 5, 290. 24, Drona 156. 70, Karna 11. 8, Śalya 45. 110 the *śataghnī* is mentioned, but it is impossible to find from these what exactly it was like. From Vanaparva 284. 31 it appears that the *śataghnīs* were discharged with force by the hands and had wheels and round balls or stones in it. In Drona 179. 46 it is said that the *śataghnī* employed by Ghatotkaca had wheels and killed four horses at once. In Drona 199. 19 *śataghnīs* are said to have two or four wheels. In Vanaparva²⁸² 284. 4 it is said that the powder of *sarjarasa* (resin from Sal tree) had been collected. In the Harivaṃśa (Bhaviṣyaparva 44. 20), among the weapons hurled at Narasimha by Hiraṇyakaśipu were blazing *śataghnīs* (*śataghnībhiḥśca dīptābhir-dandairapi sudārunaiḥ*). In Rāmāyana VII. 32. 44 we are told that at the tip of the weapon called *musala* (club) blazed forth fire like a bunch of *Āśoka* flowers. The Sundarakāṇḍa couples together *śataghnī* and *musala* (4. 18). It looks probable that resinous powder was used in some cylindrical contrivance (or rockets) mounted on wheels and capable of throwing stones. But gunpowder appears not to have been used. There is no description of smoke due to *śataghnīs*. Hopkins (J. A. O. S. XIII pp 299-303) holds that gunpowder and fire-arms were unknown to the great Epic and in the present state of our knowledge this view seems to be correct.

The Nitiprakāśikā (chapters 2-5) names and describes numerous weapons divided into four classes viz *mukta* (thrown

281. द्वात्रिंशु संस्कृता भीमाः कालायसमया शिताः । अतश्चो रक्षिता धीरे शतघ्ने रक्षसां गणैः ॥ युद्धकाण्ड 3 13 ; वज्रपाकारजघनी विधुलाश्चुवनाम्भराय । शतघ्नीशूलैकैस्तान्वा-महालक्ष्मणसकाम् ॥ नसेव कृतां लङ्का निमितां विश्वकर्मा । सुन्दरकाण्ड 2. 21-22

282. कणाटपन्नवर्धुर्धर्वा यधुउ रत्नपेयलाः । साक्षीविषयटा पोधाः ससर्जरसपातवः । कुसलालातनाराक्षतोमरासिपरम्पदैः । अश्विनाम् शतघ्नीभिः समधूयेच्छङ्खद्वयम् ॥ वनपर्व 284. 4-5.

or discharged such as arrows), *amukta* (not thrown such as swords), *muktāmukta* (thrown and not thrown, such as *astras* which after discharge can be taken back) and *mantramukta* (*astras* which cannot be taken back). The *Agnipurāṇa* (249-252) and the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (II 178-182) give a summary of the *Dhanurveda* (both agreeing almost word for word, but the latter containing more verses than the former) and speak of five kinds of weapons viz *yantramukta* (discharged from a machine, a sling, bow &c.), *pāṇimukta* (thrown with the hand such as a stone or *tomara*), *muktāmukta* (like a *prāsa*), *amukta* (sword) and *niyuddha* or *bāhuyuddha* (wrestling). The science of *astras* was of a supernatural kind. In the epics and *purāṇas*, the great heroes are said to have learnt *astravidyā* either from a teacher or from their father or by practising austerities and sometimes (as in the case of Kuśa and Lava) certain *astras* pass to the son by the mere fact of his birth and the wish of his father. Whether the *Dhanurveda* often referred to in the epics had consigned this science of *astras* to writing and could have enabled a reader to possess the miraculous powers attributed to *astras* is more than a modern can say. The *Agnipurāṇa* (chap. 134-135) contains magical incantations for victory in war and conquest of the worlds. The *Parāśurāmapratāpa* (*Rājavallabhakāṇḍa* folios 9-12) contains numerous mantras and yantras and incantations derived from Tantra works like the *Brahmayāmala*.

The *Mahābhārata* is careful to point out that an army constitutes the most inferior kind of *bala* (power). *Udyogaparva* (37 52-55) states that *bala* is of five kinds viz. brute force (*bāhubala*), that due to the acquisition of ministers (*amātyalābha*), that derived from wealth (*dhanalābha*), that from noble descent (*abhyātābala*) and the power of wisdom (*prajñābala*), which last is the best of all. These are quoted by the *Budhabhūṣana* p. 79. In *Śānti* 134 8 it is said²⁸³ that there is nothing that the strong cannot accomplish and that whatever the strong do is pure. In another place it is said 'everything is wholesome to the powerful' (*Āśramavāsi* 30, 24). In *Ādi* 175, 45 a warrior's power is scorned and the power of the spiritual merit of *brāhmanas* is extolled as the real power.

283 यद्बलानां बलं श्रेष्ठं तत्प्रज्ञाबलमुच्यते । उद्योग 37. 55 : नास्त्यसाधये बलवता सर्वं बलवतां ह्युचि । शान्ति 134. 8, सर्वं बलवतां पश्य सर्वं बलवतां ह्युचि । सर्वं बलवता धर्मः सर्वं बलवतां स्वकम् ॥ आश्रमवादि 30 24 : शिबलं क्षत्रियबलं ब्रह्मणेजोबलं बलम् । बलबले विनिश्चिष्य तप एव परं बलम् ॥ आदि 175 45-46 These dicta about the strong remind us of the words of Nietzsche in 'Beyond Good and Evil'. section 29 'It is the business of the very few to be independent, it is a privilege of the strong' (tr by H. Zimmern)

CHAPTER IX

SUHRT OR MITRA (ALLY OR FRIEND).

Manu inculcates the necessity of making friends in VII 208 and cites the qualities of a good friend (for a king) 'a king does not prosper by the acquisition of gold and land so much as by securing a firm friend who would be powerful in future, though he may be of depleted resources at the time, That friend, though a weak one, is commended, who is righteous, grateful, whose subjects (or ministers) are contented, who is attached and who pursues (to the end) work undertaken' According to Manu VII. 206 land, gold and ally are the three fruits of royal endeavour or policy. Yāj I 352 is similar to Manu VII. 208. In VII. 9 Kautilya in opposition to the above holds that the acquisition of land is better than that of gold and friend and the acquisition of gold is superior to that of a friend²⁸⁴. The Mahābhārata (Śānti 138.110) states 'no one is the friend or enemy of any one else; friends or enemies are made by wealth (or objects pursued by a person)'.²⁸⁵ Kām. VIII 52 says the same. Śūkra. (IV. 1.8-10) opines 'in the case of a brave, energetic, strong and politic king all others, though outwardly friendly, secretly cherish enmity to him and only wait for (the proper) time (to strike) There is no wonder in this. Are they not themselves greedy of conquering territories? A king has no friend and he is the friend of none'. Śānti (80. 3) says²⁸⁶ that a friend is of four kinds, one who has the same goal, one who comes for protection or security, one who is naturally so and one who is acquired. Karnaparva 88. 28 gives the four kinds somewhat differently viz. natural (*sahaja*), acquired by conciliatory words,

284 संहितप्रमाणे मित्रहिंस्यभूमिलाभानामुत्तरोत्तरो लाभः श्रेयस्व । मित्रहिंस्ये हि भूमिलाभाद्भवतः । मित्रहिंस्यलाभाद्यो वा लाभः सिद्धः श्रेयसोरन्यतरं साधयति ॥ कौटिल्य VII 9.

285 न कश्चित्कस्यचिन्मित्रं न कश्चित्कस्यचिन्मुहम् । अर्थवस्तु निबध्यन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ॥ शान्ति 138 110; कारणेन हि जायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा । कामन्दक VIII 52, नास्ति जात्या रिपुर्नाम मित्रं नाम न विद्यते । सामर्थ्ययोगाज्जायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ॥ विशुद्धसौत्तर II 145 14=शान्ति 140. 5, न राज्ञो विद्यते मित्रं राजा मित्रं न कस्य वै । शुक्र IV, 1, 9

286 सहार्थो भजमानश्च सहजः कृत्रिमस्तथा । शान्ति 80 3 भजमान may mean 'हितुर्नेमहकमानत' and सहज friends are one's mother's sister's son and the like.

won by wealth and one drawn by one's prowess. Kām. (IV. 74) says that a *mitra* is of four kinds viz. by birth (such as one's father's father, mother &c.), made by relationship (i. e. marriage), hereditary (one's father's friend), one who is saved from calamities.²⁸⁷ According to Kām. (IV. 75-76) the qualities of a friendly king are purity (of heart), liberality, bravery, sharing happiness and sorrow, affection, vigilance (to carry out one's friend's object), truth; and briefly the characteristic of a true friend is devotion to the objects desired by his friend. The purpose for which a friend is made is to secure one of the three *purusārthas*, *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* (Kām. IV. 73).

This subject of making friends leads on to the well-known theory of *mandala* i. e. of inter-state relationship. Kaut. VI. 2 and VII, Manu VII. 154-211, Āśramvāsiparva 6-7, Yāj. I 345-348, Kām. VIII-XI, Agnipurāṇa 233 and 240, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 145-150, Nītivākyaṃrta pp. 317-343, Rājantiprakāśa pp. 316-330, Nītimayūkha pp. 44-46 deal with this theory of *mandala* and the six *guṇas* at great length. As the Kautiliya is probably the earliest of these and contains the most elaborate treatment of the subject, a brief outline from it is presented here. The Nītivākyaṃrta (pp. 311-313) copies the very words of Kautiliya.

The *yogakṣema* (welfare) of a State springs from peace (*sama*) and exertion (*vyāyāma*). The latter achieves the completion of works undertaken, while *śama* brings about the undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of undertakings. The (proper) employment of the six *guṇas* (*sandhi* &c.) is the source of *śama* and *vyāyāma*. What results (*udaya*) from these six *guṇas* is either deterioration, stagnation or progress. *Udaya* depends upon human and divine causes which together govern the world. The human ones are *naya* and *apanaya*. Human causes are seen (anticipated) and can be operated (by men). *Naya* (good policy) is that out of the human causes from which results *yogakṣema* (welfare); *apanaya* (impolitic way) is that which produces loss (or an unfavourable state). In VI 1 (last verse) Kautilya says that a king who understands *naya* and is endowed with the *ātma-guṇas* and all the elements of the State will conquer the whole world, though originally he may have a small kingdom. The *mandala* theory is set out in relation to a king who

287. औरसं कृतसम्बन्धं तथा वंशक्रमागतम् । रक्षितं व्यसनेभ्यश्च मित्रं ज्ञेयं चतुर्विधम् ॥ काम. IV. 74.

is called *vijigīṣu* (the ambitious ruler or conqueror). Kām. VIII 6 defines²⁸⁸ *vijigīṣu* as a king who aspires to extend his territories, who is possessed of all the seven elements of sovereignty, who has great energy and who makes great efforts. In verses 7-11 he mentions at length his qualities. All our works place before kings this ideal of conquest, domination or self-aggrandizement at the expense of one's weak neighbours. A *vijigīṣu* is a king who is endowed with good qualities (called *ātmasampat* on p 45 above) and with the several elements of the State and who is the fountain of policy (*naya*), i.e. who has a definite good policy to pursue. An *ari* (actual or potential enemy) is a king or kings who are the immediate neighbours on the circumference of the kingdom of the *vijigīṣu*. From this it follows that *ari* may comprehend one king, two kings or more who are the immediate neighbours of the *vijigīṣu*. But it should be remembered as insisted upon by the *Nītivākyaṃrta*²⁸⁹ (p. 321) that there is no inflexible rule that the immediate neighbour is an enemy and that the king whose dominion is beyond the immediate neighbour will be a friend. Contiguity or distance is not necessarily the cause of friendship or enmity, but rather it is the purpose (or object) that makes friends or enemies. All that is meant is that the immediate neighbour is most likely to be an *ari* (a real or potential enemy). A *mitra* (friend of the *vijigīṣu*) is he who is separated (from the *vijigīṣu*) by the intervention of the kingdom of the *ari*. A *śatru* is a neighbouring ruler possessed of the characteristics of an enemy²⁹⁰ (detailed in Kaut. VI 1). The *yātavya* (to be attacked or invaded by the *vijigīṣu*) is an *ari* who is involved in difficulties. From this it is clear that in the terminology of Kautilya *ari* is a generic expression including actual and potential enemies who will generally be on the borders of the kingdom of the *vijigīṣu*. A *śatru* is an *ari* who invites attack or destruction or harassment or reduction. That enemy who is plunged in vices or calamities may be

288. सपक्षस्तु मकृतिभिर्नहोत्साहः क्रुदभ्रमः । जेतुमेषणशीलश्च विजिगीषुरिति स्वतः ।
काम. VIII. 6.

289. अनन्तरः शत्रुरेकान्तरं मित्रमिति नैव एकान्त । कार्यं हि मित्रत्वमित्रत्वयोः
कारणं न युगवैयर्थ्यसंनिधौ । नीतिशा (बाह्यपत्र.) p. 321.

290. अराजबीजी दुःखः क्षुद्रपरिवर्तको विरक्तमकृतिरन्यायवृत्तिरुक्तो मत्समी निव-
त्साहो वैषम्याणो यत्किञ्चनकारी अगातिरन्यदुपपन्नः क्लीबो निर्यापकारी शेरवनित्रसंयत् । इ-
भूतो हि शत्रुः दुःखः सदुच्छेदं भवति । कौटिल्य VI. 1.

attacked and is then called *yātavya*²⁹¹; one who has no support or has only a weak support is to be extirpated; an enemy who is the opposite of this last (i.e. who has a support or strong support) is to be either harassed or to be reduced. Support (*āśraya*) means a strong fort or a good friend (Kām. VIII. 60). So that a *śatru* is of four sorts (*yātavya*, *ucchedya*, *pīḍaniya*, *karsaniya*). Harassment is caused to him who is without *mantra* and a strong army, while one who is strong in *mantra* and army is to be rendered weak in these respects. Both a *śatru* or a *mitra* are of three kinds, *sahaja*, *kṛtrima* and *prākṛta*. A *sahaja* (natural) friend is one who is related through one's parents (such as maternal or paternal aunt's son); one who is resorted to for wealth or safety is *kṛtrima* (acquired) i. e. one who has obliged the *vijigīṣu* or has been under his obligations; and the king who is next to the neighbour (i. e. who is separated from the *vijigīṣu* by the intervention of the neighbour king) is *prākṛta* (i. e. because he is a *prakṛti*, an element in the *maṇḍala* theory). A *sahaja* enemy is one who is born of the same family (such as a step-brother), a *kṛtrima* is one who is antagonistic or incites antagonists (i. e. one who has caused harm to or who has been harmed by the *vijigīṣu*), while the immediate neighbour is a *prākṛta* enemy. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 345 very concisely but lucidly explains all these and the four kinds of *śatru*. The Visnudharmottara (II. 145. 15-16) and the Agnipurāṇa (233. 21-22) say that in their opinion the *prākṛta* is really *kṛtrima*. Kām. VIII. 56 also speaks of only two, *sahaja* and *kṛtrima*. Although it is possible that the *vijigīṣu*'s realm is surrounded by many kings, the one who is taken for discussion is the enemy and is to be regarded as in front (*purastāt*) of the *vijigīṣu*. Therefore in front of the *vijigīṣu* come in order the *ari* (immediate neighbour), then the *mitra* (whose domain is next after that of the *ari*), then the *arimitra* (the friend of the enemy who will be immediately after the *mitra* of the *vijigīṣu* and so will be the enemy of the *mitra*), then comes the *mitra-mitra* (friend of the friend of the *vijigīṣu*) and then *arimitra-mitra* (ally of the enemy's friend). When the *ari* is said

291. अरिसम्पद्युक्तः सामन्तः शत्रुः । स्वसनी यातव्य अनप्राप्तयो दुर्बलाश्रयो बोधोद्गी-
भीयः । विपर्यये पीडनीयः कर्शनीयो वा । कौटिल्य VI. 2. अरिः युनश्चतुर्विधः । 'यत्तिल्योच्छे-
त्तव्यपीडनीयकर्शनीयभेदेन । तत्र यातव्योऽनन्तरशुनपतिः स्वसनी हीनबलो विरक्तप्रकृतिः ।
विदुषो मित्रहीनो दुर्बलश्चोच्छेत्तव्यः । पीडनीयो मन्त्रबलहीनः । प्रबलमन्त्रबलयुक्तः कर्श-
नीयः । निर्बलनास्तस्योच्छेदं पीडनं बलनिग्रहश्च । कर्शनं तु युनः प्राहुः कोशद्वयपाककोशाद् ॥
इति । शिवाक्षरा on वा. 1. 345 These very words are quoted in the सरस्वती-
विलास p 36.

to be in front of the vijigīsu, the ruler of the territory in the opposite direction is said to be in the rear of the vijigīsu (*paścāt*) and is called *pārsnigrāha*²⁹² (lit. one who may seize or attack the heels) He is really an enemy but this special term is applied to him and he causes trouble in the realm of the vijigīsu when the latter has started on an invasion or is about to start on one. The king who is the ruler of the country beyond the *pārsnigrāha* is called *ākṛanda* (lit. one for whose help a cry is or may be raised by the vijigīsu). He would ordinarily be a friend being separated from the vijigīsu by the realm of the *pārsnigrāha*. The friend of the *pārsnigrāha* (who would be immediately next after the *ākṛanda*) is called *pārsnigrāhāsāra* and the friend of the *ākṛanda* who would be beyond the *pārsnigrāhāsāra* is called *ākṛandāsāra*. A *madhyama*²⁹³ king is one whose realm is close to (is on the border of) that of the vijigīsu and that of the *ari* (the immediate enemy in front) and who is capable of helping (or favouring) both of them whether both are combined in alliance or not and who is capable of resisting either of them individually when the two are not in combination. An *udāsīna* king is generally defined as one whose territory is beyond or outside of the sphere of the realms of the vijigīsu, his enemy in front and the *madhyama*, who is very strong on account of his elements of sovereignty, is capable of helping the above three kings whether they be in combination or not and who is capable of resisting any of the three when they are not in combination. Kullūka on Manu, VII 153 differs from this explanation i.e. the *udāsīna* is a powerful king whose realm may be situated in front or in the rear or even at a distance from that of the vijigīsu, but he is indifferent for some reason or other to the activities of the vijigīsu. The Mit on Yāj. I. 345 observes that the *udāsīna* also is of three kinds and the *prākṛta udāsīna* is the overlord of the State that is separated from the central state (vijigīsu) by two intervening States; the

292 यो विजिगीषो मरिचतेपि प्रतिष्ठमाने वा पश्चात्कोपे जनयति स पार्ष्णिग्राहः । पार्ष्णिग्राहाद्यः पश्चिमः स आक्रन्दः पार्ष्णिग्राहमित्रमासार आक्रन्दमित्रं च । नीति-वाक्यामृत p 319.

293 अरिविजिगीष्वोर्ध्वमन्तर संदतासंहतयोरनुग्रहसमर्थो नियदे चासंहतयोर्ध्वमः । अरिविजिगीषुमध्यानां बहिः प्रकृतिभ्यो बलवत्तरः संदतासंहतानामरिविजिगीषु मध्यमानामनुग्रहे समर्थो नियदे चासंहतानाहुदासीनः । कौटिल्य VI. 2 p 261; vide अग्नि 240 3-5 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II, 145. 11-12 for almost the same words in verse मण्डलाद्वहिरिरेवाहुदासीनो बलाधिकः । अनुग्रहे संदतानां व्यस्तानां च बधे प्रभुः । अग्निपुराण 240 4-5 This is quoted by the सरस्वतीविलास p 39 without naming the source.

madhyama (or *madhyastha* acc. to *Nītivākyaṃrta* p. 318) is the immediate neighbour of both the *vijigīsu* and his enemy, but wants to remain neutral in the conflict of the two for some reason. It will have been noticed that the *vijigīsu*, the enemy, the *madhyama* and the *udāsīna* are independent categories, while four out of the remaining eight others viz. *mitra*, *mitramitra*, *ākṛanda*, *ākṛandāsāra* can be grouped under *vijigīsu*, while the other four viz. *arimitra*, *arimitramitra*, *pārsnigrāha* and *pārsnigrāhāsāra* may be grouped under *ari*. It is therefore that Manu (VII. 155-156) speaks of the four *prakṛtis* (*vijigīsu*, *śatru*, *madhyama* and *udāsīna*) as the *mūla* (basis) of the *maṇḍala* theory and Kām. VIII. 20 informs us that Maya declared that a *maṇḍala* was constituted by these four. Kām. VIII. 86 gives it as his own opinion that *maṇḍala* is constituted by *mitra*, *udāsīna* and *ipu* (enemy) only.²⁹⁴ Kautilya says that the *maṇḍala* is constituted as explained above by twelve *prakṛtis*. Uśanas was of the same opinion (Kām. VIII. 22) and Kām. (VIII. 41) states that there were numerous views about the number of the elements of the *maṇḍala*, but a *maṇḍala* of twelve kings is quite clear and well-known among all people.²⁹⁵ Kām. (VIII. 20-41) explains how by various combinations of the elements of the *maṇḍala* with some elements of sovereignty (viz. ministers, *rastra*, *durga*, *kośa*, *bala*) different writers held that the *maṇḍala* comprised 18, 26, 54, 72, 108 and other numbers of *prakṛtis*. The *Sarasvatīvilāsa* (pp. 37-41) shows how from different standpoints Uśanas himself argued that the *maṇḍala* was constituted by one *prakṛti*, two, three, 10, 21, 108 and that other writers speak also of 4, 5, 6, 14, 18, 30, 36, 44, 60, 72 *prakṛtis*. All these figures are due to the inveterate habit of scholastic minds to run an idea to the earth and to indulge in divisions and sub-divisions. Even Manu (VII. 157) states that combining each of the twelve members of *maṇḍala* with the five elements of sovereignty from *amātya* onwards we get 60 which with the twelve²⁹⁶ come to 72. It is to this that the

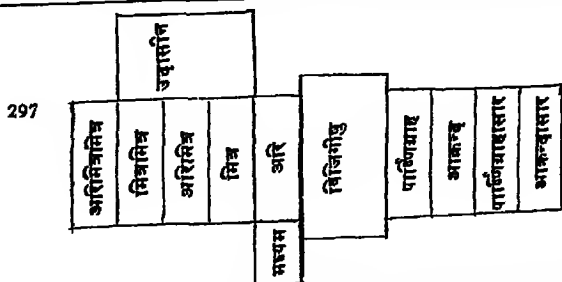
294 Vide the *mitaśaraṇa* on Ya. I. 345 'पाणिग्रहाक्रन्दसाराद्यस्वमित्रित्रो-
दसिनेवेवान्तर्भवन्ति संज्ञाभेदेनात्र ग्रन्थान्तरे दक्षितमिति योगीश्वरेण न पृथगुक्ताः ।'

295 इतिप्रकारं बहुधा मण्डलं परिचक्षते । सर्वलोकप्रसीतं तु स्फुटं द्वादशराजिकम् ॥
काम. VIII. 41. This is quoted as a verse of Uśanas in the *सुरस्वतीविलास* p. 41.

296 एवं चतुर्मण्डलसङ्क्षेपः । द्वादश राजप्रभृतयः पश्चिद्वैष्यप्रभृतयः सहस्रेष्वेण
हिसप्ततिः । तासां यथास्वं सम्पदः शक्तिः सिद्धिश्च । बलं शक्तिः सुखं सिद्धिः । शक्तिस्त्रि-
विधा । कौटिल्य VI. 2. p. 261 ; मण्डलस्या च या चिन्ता राजन् द्वादशराजिका । हिसप्त-
तित्तिक्षेपं योक्ता या च स्वयम्भुवा ॥ शान्ति 59 70-71. नीलकण्ठ connects this half
with medicine, while some read हिसप्ततिविधा चैव शरीरस्य प्रतिक्रिया

Daśakumāracarita (VIII p 144) refers when speaking of the tree of *naya* that it has 72 prakrtis as its leaves (dvīsaptatiprakrtipatraḥ nayavanaspatih). The central idea of the mandala was to keep a balance of power among a circle of States, some being friendly among themselves owing to their position and surroundings, while others would form an antagonistic group. Kaut (VI 2) also refers to this number 72, out of which twelve are constituted by kings (*rājaparakrtis*) and 60 (five sovereignty elements of each of the twelve) are styled (*dhairyparakrtis*). The Śāntiparva (59 70-71) also refers to a mandala of 12 kings and to the number 72. Vide N. N. Law's 'Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity' pp 195-208 for elucidation of the theory of mandala. The theory of mandala has this element of truth in it that on a calculation of probabilities the kings who are the immediate neighbours of a ruler are likely to be his enemies (at least potential) and the kings that are beyond the immediate neighbours may make common cause with the central State taken for discourse in order to crush between them a hostile intermediate State. It suggests that diplomacy may take the lines indicated by position and probabilities. The diagram below will²⁹⁷ illustrate the idea. Manu (VII 177 and 180) declares that (state) policy consists briefly in this that a king must so arrange all things or means that the ally, the udāsina and the satru cannot harm him or become superior to him. Medhātithi (on Manu VII 177) remarks that even an ally may become an enemy if his interest so requires (*sauriḥagabhavāśācca matṛamapyarubhavaḥ*).

Kautilya²⁹⁸ relates the theory of mandala to the theory of *takṣa* (already referred to on p 171) and the six-fold policy (*śadgunya*)



298 विजिगीषुः शक्यपेक्षः बाह्यगुण्यस्यपञ्चमीति । कौ VII 3. बाह्यगुण्यस्य प्रकृतिः मण्डलं योनिः । सन्धिविग्रहासन्धानसंश्रयद्वैधीमावाः बाह्यगुण्यमित्याचार्याः । कौ. VII 1: मण्डलानि समावृत्त्य विजिगीषोर्यथाविधि । यान्थाभित्य द्वये कार्ये सन्धिविग्रहचिन्तनम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे II. 145. 6.

Everything secures success (i.e. his and his kingdom's happiness) according as the king is able to put forth each of the śaktis to their utmost. The aspiring king taking into account his three śaktis may employ the six guṇas (methods of policy). The circle of the twelve States gives rise to the employment of the six methods. Differing from Vāṭavyādhi (who said that there were only two methods, sandhi and vighraha) and for once agreeing with the ācāryas, Kautilya accepts the position that there are six guṇas and briefly defines them. The *Sarasvativilāsa* (p. 42) quotes a sūtra of Gautama about the six guṇas, which is not found in the printed text.²⁹⁹ Kautilya defines the six as follows: *Sandhi*³⁰⁰ means making an arrangement or agreement; *vighraha* means taking up a hostile attitude; *āśana* means an attitude of indifference; *yāna* means preparing (for attacking one's enemy); *samśraya* means taking shelter (with another powerful king); *dvaiddhibhāva* means making peace with one king and adopting a hostile attitude to another. He then states that a king who is less strong than his neighbour may make an agreement with him, one who is rising in power may take up a hostile attitude, whoever thinks 'the hostile king cannot hurt me nor can I hurt him' may remain indifferent (or neutral) in his own State, one who is endowed with all advantages may march against the enemy, whoever is devoid of strength should seek the protection (of a powerful ruler), and one should resort to a two-fold attitude when one's object can be accomplished by a friend. Some other works give more exact definitions and also define *dvaiddhibhāva* somewhat differently, viz. *dvaiddhibhāva* is dividing one's army into two parts. Vide *Viṣṇudharmottara*³⁰¹ II. 150. 3-5 and *Mit. on Yāj. I. 346*. Some say that *samśraya* means seeking the protection of the udāsina or madhyama king. Kautilya (book VII) gives the most elaborate treatment of these six guṇas and so do

299. तथा च गौतममुच्यते । बहुपुत्रपायानवलम्ब्य सन्धिविग्रहयानासनैर्द्वैधीभाव-
समाभ्यासकृत्पाण्डुनाम् परिकल्पयेत् । इति । *सत्त्वतीविलास* p. 42

300. एणवन्धः सन्धिः, अपकारो विग्रहः, उपेक्षणमासनम्, अम्युक्चयो यानम्, परा-
पणं संभयः, सन्धिविग्रहोपादानं द्वैधीभावः, इति बहुगुणाः । परस्माद्धीयमानः सन्द्वेषितः ।
अम्युद्धीयमानो विग्रहीयात् । न मां परो नाहं परमुपहन्तुं शक्नो इत्यासीत् । गुणाविशयमुक्तो
यायात् । शक्तिहीनः संभयेत् । सहायसाधये कार्ये द्वैधीभावः गच्छेत् । इति गुणावस्थापनम् ।
कौटिल्य VII. 1. Vide *Rāghuvamśa* 8. 21 where Kālidāsa follows this 'एण-
वन्धमुक्ताम्पुनानजः बहुपाण्डुकृत् समीक्ष्य तत्फलम् ।'

301. एणवन्धः स्तुतः सन्धिरपकारस्तु विग्रहः । जिघीषोः शत्रुविषये यानं यात्रा विधी-
यते ॥ विग्रहेषु स्वकी देहे स्थितिरासनमुच्यते । बलायैव प्रयाणं तु द्वैधीभावं तदुच्यते ॥ उदासीनं
मध्यमे वा संभ्यासंभयः स्तुतः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 150. 3-5; द्वैधीभावः स्वबलस्य द्विधा-
करणम् । निडा. on या I. 346,

Manu VII 160 ff, Kām. IX-XVI, Visnudharmottara II 145-150, Agnipurāṇa 240, Mānasollāsa pp 94-116, Rājantiprakāśa pp. 324-413. Only a few remarks are all that considerations of space allow. Manu (VII 162-168) states that each of the gunas is of two sorts. Kām. IX. 2-18 and Agni 240 enumerate sixteen kinds of sandhis and Kām defines them. His treatment is based on Kaut. VII 3 Kaut (VII. 3) says that when a weak king is attacked by a powerful king who is the leader in a circle of States, the former should at once submit and sue for peace on condition of offering his army, treasury, himself and his territory. Then he says that sandhis made on condition of offering the army are of three kinds viz *ātmaṃśa* (lit. offering himself as the prey, which involves the condition that the king himself with a fixed number of troops or with the flower of his army would present himself when called), *ātmaraksana* (saving himself, where the condition is that the commander-in-chief or the crown prince would present himself with an army), *adrsta-purusa* (lit. in which no person is definitely prescribed, where the agreement is that some one on the king's behalf or the king himself should march with the army to some place as required by the invader) These sandhis are called *dandopanata* (lit. in which submission is made with the army) Sandhis made on condition of offering the treasury (*kośopanata*) are *parikraya* (lit. price, where by offering the treasury the other elements of *ājya* are kept free), *upagraha* (where as much money is offered as can be carried on a man's shoulder), *kapāla* (lit. broken half of a pot, where an immense amount of money has to be paid) Sandhis called *desopanata* (submission with offer of territory) are *āchista* (where a part of the realm is ceded and the rest saved from the invader), *ucchunna* (where all the realm except the capital which has been deprived of all its wealth is offered), *apakraya* where by offering the produce of the land the kingdom is freed, *paribhūšana* where the agreement is to pay more than the produce of the land Kām adds some varieties and remarks (IX. 21-22) that *upahāra* (offering a present) is the only *sandhi* (of which all the rest are varieties) in his opinion, that only the *matra* sandhi (alliance of friendship without the offer of land, money or anything else) does not come under *upahāra*³⁰² Kām IX. 20 and Mānasollāsa (II 11

302 एक एवोपहारस्तु सन्धिरेतन्मते हि नः । उपहारस्य भेदास्तु सर्वेभ्यः सैत्रवर्जिताः । अभियोक्ता बली यस्मादलब्ध्वा न निवर्तते । उपहारस्तु तस्मात् सन्धिरस्यो न विद्यते । कामन्दक IX. 21-22

pp. 94-95) speak of four sandhis, *mantra*, *parasparopahkūra* (agreement to help each other), *sambandhaja* (by offer of a princess in marriage) and *upahāra*. An interesting example of a sandhi is furnished by the Lekhapāṇicāśikā which gives a form of treaty dated Monday, Full Moon of Vaiśākha in *śamāt* 1288 (1232 A. D.) between Yādava king Singhana of Devagiri who is styled *mahārājādhirāja* and Lāvanyaprasāda (Lavanaprasāda) a Vāghela king who is styled *śānaka* and *mahūmaṇḍaleśvara*, whereby the high contracting parties agreed not to invade each other's possessions, to combine and oppose anyone else who invaded one of them. Vide Bom. G. Vol I part 1 p. 200 based on Bhandarkar's Report on the search for Mss. 1882-83 pp 38-40. Kām IX. 23-26 and Agnipurāṇa 240, 10-13 mention twenty kinds of persons with whom *sandhi* should not be made, Kām. (IX. 27-41) states the reasons why it should be so and in IX. 42-52 seven persons are enumerated with whom he recommends *sandhi* and gives reasons. A king should make sandhi even with one equal in strength (not only with one who is more powerful), since victory in battle is doubtful (Kām. IX. 59) ³⁰³ Kaut uses a striking simile when he says that if one king comes in conflict with an equal they both will be destroyed in the same way as two unbaked earthen pots striking against one another. If a more powerful king rejects the proposal of a weaker king for sandhi, the latter should take up the attitude of offering his army or follow the course prescribed in book XII (*ū baliyasam*) In VII. 12 when dealing with agreements between kings, about undertakings to build forts or irrigational works or forests &c. Kaut makes very interesting remarks about land routes being superior to water routes and about the route to the Deccan and the south being more profitable than the one leading to the Himālayas. ³⁰⁴ Kām X. 15 (= Agni 240. 19) says that *śara* (hostile attitude) is of five kinds viz that of step-brothers, that due to land (seizure of or encroachment on lands or houses), due to woman (carrying away one's wife or loving the same woman), due to words (cutting speech) and due to wrongs. Kām. X. 2-5

303. सन्धिलिच्छेत्समेनापि सन्दिग्धो विजयो युधि । न हि संशयितं कुर्यादित्युवाच
बृहस्पतिः ॥ काम. IX. 59.

304. स्थलपथेनैवैवतो दक्षिणापथाच्छ्रेयात् इत्यवश्वगन्धर्वाजिनरुत्तमसुवर्ण-
पन्थाः सारवस्त्रा इत्याचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः । कम्बलाजिनाम्बपण्यवर्जाः शङ्खवज्रमणि-
कुक्काः सुवर्णपन्थाश्च प्रवृत्ततरा दक्षिणापथे । कौटिल्य VII. 12

(= Agni. 240. 20-24) enlarges upon the 16 ways in which *vigraha* (hostility) springs, such as seizing the kingdom, wife, districts, vehicles (horses, elephants) and wealth of another, pride, harassment of subjects &c. When a king feels that his own army is well-nourished and pleased, that his subjects are prosperous and contented and that the army and subjects of another are the opposite of this, then he may adopt a hostile attitude and when he feels sure that he will secure one of the three fruits of hostility (viz. land, ally and wealth—Kām. X. 26-28). Kaut. VII 15 deals with the attitude and conduct of a conquered king who has offered to the conqueror his army (*dandopanata-vṛtta*), while VII 16 speaks of the conduct of the *dandopanāyī* (an aspiring king who wants to make by means of his army another king submit to him) *Yāna* means marching for invasion on the part of a *vijigīsu* whose army and prowess are of the highest and whose subjects are contented on account of his good qualities (Kām. XI 1) The Matsya 240 2 and the Agnipurāṇa (228. 1-2) add that when the enemy in the rear is overwhelmed by an *ākṛanda*, then the *vijigīsu* should start on an invasion or when the enemy is plunged in calamities But before actually invading the enemy who is *yātaṇya* (chosen for attack) an ambassador (*dūta*) should be sent (Kām. XII 1) to see whether the enemy will submit without fighting That is, there was to be no war without negotiations and an ultimatum In the Mahābhārata (Udyoga 83 5-7) it is said that Kṛṣṇa started as an envoy from the Pāṇdavas to the Kauravas at the end of *sarad* (autumn) on the Revatī nakṣatra in the month of Kārtika (verse 7, *Kaumude māsṛ revatīyām saradante himāgame*) In the Purāṇas and the medieval digests elaborate rules are laid down about the religious and propitiatory ceremonies before starting on an invasion. The Visnudharmottara II 176 and Agnipurāṇa 236. 1-18 require that for seven days before starting on an invasion the king is to engage in the worship of and make offerings to various gods, first to Ganapati, then to all the guardians of the quarters, the planets, Aśvins, Viṣṇu and Śiva and the images in the temples of his capital Then he is to note what good and bad dreams he sees on those days in his sleep and judge accordingly Vide Matsya 242, Agnipurāṇa 229 for dreams portending good and evil This prognostication of good fortune from dreams is very ancient The Chāndogya Up (V 2 8-9) quotes a verse to the effect that when a man is engaged in the performance of solemn sacrifices for securing some object and sees a woman in a dream he should feel that his rite will be

crowned with reward. Similarly the Ait.³⁰⁵ Ār. III 2. 4 mentions the signs of approaching death, one of which is to see in a dream a dark person with black teeth. Both these passages are quoted by Śāṅkarā in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra II 1. 14. The Visnudharmottara II. 132-144 (based on Garga), II 164, Matsya 228-241, Agni 230-232 are concerned with the portents and omens in the heavens, in the sky and on the earth and rites (*śāntis*) meant to avert the evil prognostications from them. The Mānasollāsa II 13 pp. 97-112 and Rājāniti prakāśa pp 331-351 also deal with these and other astrological matters, which are passed over here, though some of them are very interesting e. g. Visnudharmottara II 135. 1 refers to the weeping and dancing of images. On the 6th day from the time the rites begin which is the day previous to the starting of the invasion the king undergoes a ceremonial bath for victory called *jayābhuseka*. This is described at great length in the Rājāniti prakāśa pp. 351-395 quoting extensive passages from the Lingapurāṇa. The ceremony of *Jayasnāna* resembles the coronation ceremony in many respects. The Matsyapurāṇa 243 15-16 and the Visnudharmottara II 163. 18-31 contain the same long list (with very slight variations) of articles, persons and animals the sight of which is auspicious when the king starts on an invasion and Matsya (243. 2-14) contains another long list of inauspicious sights. A few of the auspicious ones are white flowers, jars full of water, cows, horses, elephants, fire in flames, a courtesan, dūrvā grass, gold, silver, copper, all gems, sword, umbrella, banner, corpse not accompanied by crying persons, fruits, the *svastika* sign. Among the inauspicious things and sights are dark grains, cotton, dried cowdung, fuel, jaggery, tattered or naked man or man with dishevelled hair or wearing reddish robes, a lunatic, a cāṇḍāla, a pregnant woman, broken pot, chaff, ashes, bones. The Mānasollāsa II 13 verses 811-823 (pp. 102-103), Nītimayūkha pp 58-59 also give long lists of inauspicious and auspicious sights or events. Matsya 243. 27 and Visnudharmottara II 163. 32 are both careful to add that all evil signs are counterbalanced by the confident (or joyous) frame of the mind, which is the highest sign of victory.³⁰⁶ Gaut.

305. स यदि स्त्रियं पश्येत्समुद्ध कर्माति विद्यात् । तदेव श्लांकाः । यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु क्षियं स्वमेव पश्यति । समुद्धिं तत्र जानीयात्तस्मिन्स्वमानिदर्शने । छान्दोग्य V 2 8-9, न चिरमिव जीविष्यतीति विद्यात्... अथ स्वप्नाः । सुषवं कुप्यं कुप्यं दन्तं पश्यति स एव हन्ति । ऐत. आर III 2 4

306. मनसस्तुष्टिरेवात्र परमं जयलक्षणम् । एकतः सर्वलिङ्गानि मनसस्तुष्टिरेकतः ॥ मत्स्य 243. 27 = विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 163. 32.

(XI. 15-17) prescribes that the king should heed the advice of astrologers and of those who are adepts in averting the effects of portents and perform the rites indicated by them such as *grahasānti*, rites on auspicious days and of *svastyayana*, rites of black magic against his enemy &c. Kaut. IX. 7 (at the end) says that the removal of divine calamities is brought about by the worship of deities and by honour to brāhmanas and by performing rites prescribed in the Atharvaveda. Manu VII. 82 and Yāj. I. 315 state that gifts made to learned brāhmanas are an inexhaustible treasure for the king. The Rājadharmakāṇḍa (p. 109) quotes the Brahmapurāṇa requiring the king to perform two Laksahomas every year and also a Kotihoma. The Rājadharmakāṇḍa (p. 113) and Rājanītiprakāśa (p. 144) quote Udyogaparva 33. 93-95 which set out eight indications of a man's approaching fall, viz. hating brāhmanas, opposing brāhmanas, depriving them of their wealth, desire to kill or harm them, taking pleasure in calumniating them, not liking their praise, not remembering them in religious acts and getting angry when they make requests.

It may be useful and interesting to see how in very ancient times the king was made ready for battle. The Āsv. Gr. S. (III. 12) says: when a battle is impending (the purohita) should make the king put on his armour (in the following way). The purohita should stand to the west of the chariot (of the king) muttering the hymn (Rg. X. 173) 'I have brought thee &c.'. He should hand over to the king his armour with Rg. VI. 75. 1 'when the man with armour advances it is like the appearance of the cloud &c.'. He hands over the bow with the next verse (Rg. VI. 75. 2 'dhanvanā gā'). The purohita should make the king recite the next verse (Rg. VI. 75. 3) and should himself mutter the 4th verse (Rg. VI. 75. 4). He should hand over the quiver to the king with the 5th verse (Rg. VI. 75. 5). When the chariot turns in the direction intended the purohita should mutter the sixth verse (Rg. VI. 75. 6). He should recite over the horses the 7th (Rg. VI. 75. 7). He makes the king recite the 8th (Rg. VI. 75. 8) when the latter looks at the arrows and makes the king recite Rg. VI. 75. 14 ('he envelopes his arm' &c.) when the latter fastens to his arm the leather (that protects his arm against the bow-string). When the king is being taken forward in the chariot by the charioteer the purohita ascends the chariot near the king and makes him recite the hymn called Abhivarta (Rg. X. 174) and the two verses (Rg. VIII. 101. 3-4). Then the priest looks at the king with

the Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103 'āsuh śiśāno'), the Śāsa hymn (Rg. X. 152 'śāsa itthā') and the Sauparna hymn 'pra dhārayantu madhuno ghrtasya'.³⁰⁷ Then the king should traverse in order all directions in his chariot. He should stand in that direction in which the Sun (by day) or Venus (by night) shines and give fight from that direction. The king should pass his hand over the drum with the three verses (Rg. VI. 47. 29-31 'fill with breath (or roar) the heaven and the earth'). The king should discharge arrows with Rg. VI. 75. 16 and the purohita should mutter Rg. VI. 75. 17 ('where the arrows fall together &c.) when soldiers are fighting, or the purohita may direct or teach (the king to recite from the above such verses as are appropriate to his actions).³⁰⁸ In the Harsacarita (7th Uchhvasa first paragraph) Bāna favours us with a realistic and graphic description of the preparations made when Harsa marched out from his palace on his *dagvijaya*. The astrologers found out an auspicious day and *lagna* (sign of zodiac

307 This hymn is found in no *samhitā*. Sāyana in his comment on Ait Br. 29. 9 (where the sauparna hymn is mentioned) gives an alternative explanation saying that the sauparna hymn referred to is the one declared in the ghyasūtra viz 'pra dhārā yantu &c.', i.e. he does not read 'pradhārayantu' as in the printed *Aśv Gr*, on Ait Br 37. 7 (where the Abhivarta, Śāsa, Apratiratha and Sauparna hymns are mentioned) the comment of Sāyana as printed reads 'pradhārayantu'.

308. संग्रामे सद्युधोद राजानं संनाहयेत् । आ र्वा हार्धमन्तरेषीति पश्चाद्वापस्थाव-
स्थाव । जीमूतस्येव भवति प्रतीकमिति कवचं प्रयच्छेत् । उत्तरया धनुः । उत्तरां वाचयेत् ।
स्वयं चतुर्था जपेत् । पञ्चम्येधुर्ध्वं प्रयच्छेत् । अभिमर्शमाने वडीम् । सप्तम्यान्वात् । अष्टमी-
मिथुनवैशमाणं वाचयति । अहिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुमिति तलं बह्ममानम् । अथैनं सारय-
माणमुपाकृत्वाभीषते वाचयति य यो वां मित्रावरुणेति च ह्ये । अथैनमन्वीक्षेत्तमामिरेषज्ञास-
सौपर्णैः । य धारयन्तु मधुनो वृतस्येति सौपर्णम् । सर्वा दिशोऽस्तुपरियायात् । आदित्यमीशानसं
वावस्थाव प्रयोधयेत् । उपस्थासय धृषिर्वीर्युत धामिति तुच्चेन दुष्टमिममिधुनेत् । अवदुष्टा
परापेक्षीभून्विसर्जयेत् । यत्र बाणाः संपतन्तीति शुभ्यमानेषु जपेत् । संक्षिब्धायाह । आश्व. दृ.
III. 12. With आदित्यमीशानसं वा compare कान्तिसर्ग 100. 20 'यतो वायुर्भवः स्योर्ध्वः
लूकस्ततो जयः । पूर्वं पूर्वं ज्याय दृषां संनिपाते सुधिहिरः' . This shows that the king
desiring victory should not face the Sun or Venus (औशानस) but should have
them behind him and that he should not have the wind blowing in his face
but blowing behind him कालिदास in the कुमारसंभव III. 43 'हृदिप्रातं परिदृश्य
तस्य कामः पुनः लूकमिव प्रयाणे' refers to this, on which अङ्गिनाथ quotes a verse
'प्रतिलूकं प्रतिदुर्धं मयङ्कारकमेव च । अपि शक्रसमो राजा हतसैन्यो निवर्तते ॥' The
शुक्लिकल्पवृक्ष (ed. by N. N. Law) p. 176 says 'शस्त्रस्तु देवलसेवेऽथानि वृष्टतोऽर्कः'
(verse 79) Oldenberg's translation (in S. B. E. vol 29 p. 234) 'he should
commence the battle in the line of battle invented by Āditya or Uśanas' is
wrong, as will be seen from the above quotations Hopkins in J. A. O. S
XIII p. 193n simply follows Oldenberg's translation holding Āditya and
Auśana to be vyūhas.

rising on the eastern horizon) indicative of his conquest of all the four quarters, Harsa was bathed in water poured from silver and golden jars, performed worship of Śiva, offered oblations into fire that sent up flames turning from left to right, made gifts of jars full of sesame grains and of cows whose hoofs and horns were tipped with gold, sat on a throne on which tiger-skin was spread &c

When starting on an invasion the king was required to perform a rite called *nirājanāvidhi* which consisted in waving lights before horses, elephants, banners, armies &c.³⁰⁹ In II 30 Kautilya³¹⁰ prescribes that on the 9th day of Āsvina lights should be waved before horses and at the beginning and close of invasions and in times of diseases. In II 32 Kautilya speaks of the waving of lights before elephants thrice in the *cāturmāsya* (from about July to October) and at the time when two seasons meet. Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa* 4.25 refers³¹¹ to the performance of this ceremony when Raghu started on his *digvijaya* and states (in 17.13) that *dūrvā* grass, barley sprouts and the bark of the *palāśa* tree were required in the *Nirājanāvidhi*. Kām IV. 66 speaks of waving lights before horses and elephants (*nirājita-hayadvipah*). The *Brhatsamhitā*, chap. 44 (verses 16-28) deals with the ceremony of waving lamps before horses, elephants and men. This ceremony had to be performed every year in the month of Āsvina from the first to the 9th day of the bright half or on the 8th, 12th, or 15th of the bright half of Kārtika (acc. to the *Brhatsamhitā* 44.2) by those who owned horses and also elephants. It is also described in the *Śaunakīya* II 8, *Agnipurāṇa* 268, *Visnudharmottara* II 159 (quoted at length in the *Rajantī-prakāśa* pp 434-438), *Kālikāpurāṇa* 88.15 ff, *Nirṇayasindhu* II p 169, *Yuktikalpataru* p 178. The *Brhatsamhitā* describes it as follows:—In the north-east of the capital an ornamental arch of some holy tree was to be erected 10 cubits wide and 16 high. Round the necks of horses threads smeared

309. राज्ञा यात्राविधिं वदये जिगीदृषां परावनीम् । नीराजनाविधिं कृत्वा सैनिकांशानयेत्ततः । गजानन्यान्धुगानन्यानि ति यात्राक्रमो मतः ॥ युक्तिकल्पतरु p 178

310. नीराजनामाश्वशुजे कारयेत्तत्रमेऽहनि । यात्रादाववयाने वा स्याथौ वा शान्तिके रतः ॥ अर्थशास्त्र II. 30 last verse, तिस्रो नीराजना. कार्याश्चातुर्मास्यर्तुसन्धिषु । अर्थशास्त्र II 32, last verse but one उत्पल explains नीराजन as नीरेण जलेन अजन रपशाम् (on बृहत्संहिता 43.1) It is possible to derive the word from निर + राजन (from राज.).

311. तस्मै सम्यग्युतो बाह्विर्वाजिर्नीराजनाविधौ । प्रदक्षिणाच्चिन्मार्जने हस्तेनेव जद्वदौ ॥ रघु 4. 25.

with saffron paste and marking nut, with rice grains and white mustard and *kustha* plants tied on them were to be suspended. For seven days mantras addressed to the Sun, Varuna, Viśve-Devas, Prajāpati, Indra and Visnu were to be recited over the horses, during those days the horses were not to be harshly addressed nor struck with a whip and auspicious words were to be addressed to them, conches were to be blown, drums beaten and singing indulged in before them. On the 8th day, to the south of the arch a shed with its face to the north and covered with kuśa grass and barks was to be erected and in front of it on a *vedi* fire was to be lighted and various materials and plants such as sandal-wood were to be collected and thrown into jars full of water, various foods were to be offered as *bali*, fuel sticks of *khadera* and other holy trees were to be brought. The king seated on a tiger-skin and facing the east should sit near the fire together with an astrologer and horse doctor and should follow at the direction of the purohita the procedure laid down for Grahayajña (sacrifice to planets) and the raising of Indra's banner. A horse and an elephant possessing the most auspicious signs should be bathed and honoured with new white cloth, sandal-wood paste, garlands and incense and should be brought to the foot of the arch near the shed with sweet words to the accompaniment of music and conch-blowing. The movements of the horse and elephant should be watched and prognostications made therefrom about victory &c. A ball of food over which mantras have been recited should be offered to the horse and if the latter smells it or eats it that is a sign of coming victory. Dipping an *udumbara* twig in the jars filled with water and plants the purohita should touch therewith the horse, the elephant, the king and his soldiers to the accompaniment of mantras. Then making an effigy of the enemy the purohita should pierce it with a sharp and pointed stave in the region of the heart with incantations from the Atharvaveda and break it. The purohita should pronounce over the bridle vedic mantras and insert it in the mouth of the horse, which the king should ride and proceed in the north-east together with his army, with drums beaten, conches blown and banners displayed. This is a propitiatory rite (*sānti*) as said by Varāhamihira (*Brhat-samhita* 44.2) and the *Agnipurāna* 26.8 and 31 and must have been in vogue centuries before Kautilya flourished.

The duty of the conqueror, after vanquishing his opponent, to place on the throne of the late king his son or a kinsman and to respect the customs and usages of the territory conquered has

already been set forth above (p. 71) Conquests resulted in either loss of territory or more generally in the offering of tribute of various kinds to the conqueror viz. wealth (gold and silver), horses, elephants, pearls and gems, fine cloth &c Particularly horses from Kāmbōja, Bālīhika, Gāndhāra and other countries in the north and west were highly prized Vide Sabhā 51.10, 53 5, Udyoga 86. 6, Drona 156. 47, Sautika 13. 2; and Sabhā 27 27, 28 6 for horses as tribute. In Sabhā 30, 28-30 all the above kinds of tribute are said to have been levied from the Mleccha kings by Bhīma³¹²

Kautilya devotes one book (VIII) to the discussion of *vyasana*. Vyasana³¹³ means 'what deprives a man of great good' (from the root 'as' to throw with 'vi') According to Kaut vyasana may be either the absence of qualities (such as noble birth) or the opposite of such qualities, faults (such as hot temper), excessive attachment (to women &c), harassment (by invasion or calamities like famines) So vyasanas may broadly be divided into two classes viz calamities and faults due to *kāma* (passion) and *krodha* (hot temper) The view of many *ucūyas* is that of the vyasanas of the king, ministers, the people of the realm, fort, treasury, army and ally, the vyasanas of each preceding one are more serious than those of each succeeding one From the discussion in VIII 1 it appears that Kautilya in this case agrees with the *ācāryas* Differing from Bhārdvāja Kaut holds that the calamities befalling a king or his vices are more serious in their consequences than those of the ministers, since it is the king who appoints the ministers, the *purohita*, other servants and superintendents of departments and he can employ others in their places and since the rise or fall of the people depends upon him Disagreeing with Viśālākṣa Kautilya holds that the vyasanas of ministers have more serious consequences than those of the people, as all (national) undertakings proceed from the ministers, as the security of person and property from internal and external enemies, adoption of remedies to resist calamities, recruiting of army, collection of taxes are all in their hands. Differing from the school of

312. स सर्वान् म्लेच्छपुत्रान् सागरादुपवासिन । करमाहारयामास रत्नानि विविधानि च ॥ चन्द्रनागदन्तवज्राणि मणिमौक्तिककम्बलम् । काञ्चनं रजतं चैव विभुनं च महाभयम् ॥ ते कोटिशतसंख्येन कौन्तेयं महता तदा । अन्यवर्षेन्महात्मानं जनवर्षेण पाण्डवम् ॥ सभा 30. 28-30.

313. गुणभ्रातिलोभ्यमभानः मद्रोष प्रसङ्गः पीडा वा व्यसनं व्यवसयेन भेषस इति व्यवसनम् । कौटिल्य VIII 1 Vide काम. XIII. 19 and नीतिवा p 177 for a similar derivation व्यवसयावर्तयत्येनं दुर्बलं भेषस इति व्यवसनम् । नीतिवा.

Parāśara, Kautilya is of opinion that the vyasana of the people has graver consequences than that of the fort (or capital), for forts, treasury and army, all irrigation and agricultural work, stability, bravery and abundance (of things) spring from the people. Against Piśuna, Kautilya states that the calamities befalling the fort (or capital) give rise to graver consequences than those of the army for the reason that it is in the fort that the treasury and army are kept safe. Kaut. (VIII. 2) holds that internal troubles are more serious than external ones and troubles due to ministers are the most serious of all internal troubles. Kaut. prefers an ignorant ruler (who has not studied śāstras) to a king who is bent on swerving from the dictates of śāstras which he knows; he prefers a king suffering from illness to a new king (a conqueror), a weak but a high-born king to a strong but low-born one. In VIII 3 he enumerates the several faults and vices which have already been stated above (p. 54). After remarking that ignorance and lack of training are the causes of vices or faults, Kaut. discourses on the relative seriousness of the several faults or vices and holds that gambling is worse than hunting, that sexual passion is worse than gambling, that drinking is worse than sexual vice and that gambling is the special cause of dissension among *sanghas* (corporate assemblies) and among families of nobles that have the characteristics of *sanghas*. In VIII. 4 he states that among divine visitations like fire, flood, epidemics and famine, floods are more devastating than fire, diseases and epidemics are less destructive than famine, that the loss of outstanding³¹⁴ men is more serious than that of common men even in large numbers, since there can hardly be one eminent man among a thousand ordinary or inferior men. He holds that the trouble caused by the Crown Prince is a lesser evil than that caused by a favourite queen. In VIII. 5 Kautilya holds a discussion on the troubles arising from the army and allies. He first enumerates thirty-three matters that may cause trouble with the army, such as not giving due respect to it, or showing contempt to it, not dispensing the pay at the proper time, not preventing diseases from attacking it, having soldiers who are very fond of their wives. He then takes pairs of troubles out of these and states which is the lesser evil of the two. Then he deals with causes that lead to the loss or defection of allies

314 नेति कौटिल्यः—शक्यः क्षुद्रक्षयः प्रतिसन्धातुं बाहुल्यात्। क्षुद्रकारणात् मुख्य-
क्षयः। सङ्घेषु हि मुख्यो भवत्येको न वा सत्त्वमज्ञाधिक्याज्जपत्वात् क्षुद्रकाणामिति।
कौ. VIII 4

In the Rājadharmakāṇḍa, the Rājanītiprakāśa and other works the king is advised to celebrate several rites and festivals, which may be briefly referred to here. They were meant as propitiatory rites to avert national calamities and also to keep the populace in good humour and to afford enjoyment to people. The Rājadharmakāṇḍa (pp 115-117) and the Rājanītiprakāśa (pp 416-419) quote about 35 verses from the Brahmapurāṇa to the effect that the king is to celebrate in one or more of the six months from Vaiśākha festivals (devayātrā) in honour of various deities such as Brahmā, the gods, the Ganges, Vināyaka, Nāgas, Skanda, the Ādityas, Indra and Rudra, the Mātṛs (Durgā and others), the Earth, Viśvakarman, Viṣṇu, Kāmadeva, Śiva, the Moon respectively on the *tithis* from the 1st to the 15th. The same two works quote a passage of 18 verses from the Skandapurāṇa about the festival of moonlight and also the rite of raising the banner of Indra and the latter quotes (pp 425-433) a long passage from the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa also. Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp 825-26 for description of the festival of Indra's banner. They describe the worship of Devī on the 8th and 9th days of Āśvina (from the Devīpurāṇa) when animals were sacrificed, the gifts of cows on the Amāvāsyā of Kārtika, the rite called Vasordhārā (stream of wealth). The details of all these are passed over here for want of space.

CHAPTER X

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY OF RĀJADHARMA AND THE ENDS OF THE STATE

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to present a picture of the theory and practice of Government and statecraft as delineated by ancient and medieval Indian writers on dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra. One feature that would strike any reader is the religious colouring with which all theories and ideals are suffused. Another is that the ideal set before rulers and their officers is a highly moral one. Several faults have been found in the theory and practice inculcated by the writers. Except for some centuries before and after the Christian era, monarchy has been the only form of government known in India and monarchy alone is generally envisaged by Indian writers. The result has been that the king came in practice to be almost synonymous with government and the State, though a very lofty sense of his duties and responsibilities was impressed on the king. Another defect lies in the almost total absence of discussion on the form and working of oligarchical or republican States. Besides, once the main outlines of the theory of the State were established by the first writers on polity, for about two thousand years succeeding generations of authors were content to follow in the old grooves and hardly ever made any fresh approach to the problems of government or started any rival conceptions or theories. Ancient authors were content to induce the kings and the people to support as far as possible the *status quo*. They thus provided for a more or less static society and did not encourage any dynamic thoughts or movements. There was no strong or assertive middle class nor was there any organized Church. Though the brāhmanas were a sacred class, they were not organized as a body and had to depend only on exhortations and texts to exert influence on the monarchs. It may no doubt be pointed out that similar conditions prevailed almost all the world over. Small States, constant wars and invasions were the commonest phenomena in Europe till the 15th or 16th century and no reproach should be levelled at the Indian writers alone. It cannot, however, be gainsaid that even after experiencing the constant plundering expeditions and religious persecutions of Scythian, Hun and Moslem invaders from the

1st to the 11th and the following centuries the able thinkers, warriors and statesmen of India did not enlarge their limited horizon and find means to consolidate and weld together into a united block the numerous small States that were scattered all over India. They could have put forward a common idea and ideal before all the provinces and peoples of India viz. meeting the onslaught of plundering and fanatical invaders, which, if properly handled, would have acted as a unifying force. It was to some extent only in Vijayānagara and Mahārāstra that in medieval times means were adopted to weaken the power of the invader, to present a solid front and establish powerful Hindu kingdoms. The old writers spun the same old webs of theories that had been there for centuries, they did not formulate new theories nor did they take steps to infuse into the common people a sense of solidarity and unity as Indians and did not inculcate deep and abiding sentiments of patriotism similar to those we find in Western countries for the last two or three hundred years. In spite of such drawbacks it will have to be conceded that ancient Indian writers made substantial and independent contributions to the theory and practice of Government and that their handiwork can stand comparison with the ancient and medieval thought of most countries of the world.

It may be asked: What in these days is the use of the study of the theory and practice of Government in ancient India? It may be argued that the world is now hoping, as promised by the great leaders of the United Nations, 'to enjoy several freedoms, that great expectations are created in the minds of millions of down-trodden peoples, and that all peoples including Indians will be faced in the near future with democracy and great problems of reconstruction and that knowledge of the past cannot throw much light on the pressing needs of the present or the serious questions that will confront all in the latter half of the 20th century. It may be conceded that the situation in which we find ourselves now and in which we shall be placed in the near future is unique and much light cannot be thrown by a study of the past on the solution of the problems that will have to be tackled by us. But that study has certain useful purposes to serve. Millions of people in India as well as in the world are hardly better than hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own countries. They intensely desire to be masters in their own countries and of their own destinies. The iron has entered

deep in their souls that for countries as well as individuals freedom of action spells happiness and dependence on the will of others is misery (as Manu laconically puts in IV. 160), that men who have no independence are hardly human beings (as the Mārkaṇḍeya 125-29 says).³¹⁵ The study of the past will give us hope and convey the assurance that we have in the past conducted governments and administrations of vast empires, that we evolved theories and practices which were not inferior to those of some of the most advanced nations of the world, that, allowed opportunities and scope, we may rise equal to what the circumstances may demand of us. On the other hand, such a study will stimulate thought, focus our attention on our mistakes and short-comings, make us be careful to avoid pitfalls and give us indications of the directions in which we must make a new orientation in our ideals and practices.

At the end of this section on Rājadharmā, a question may be asked: what were the ends or purposes that the State in ancient India placed before itself or the dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra writers said the State should place before itself? The end of the State has been differently stated by different philosophers and theorists of the West from ancient times to the present day. To take only a few examples To Plato and Aristotle³¹⁶ the end of the State was good life for the citizens. But it is not very easy to say what is meant by the good life. Bluntschli in 'Theory of the State' (Oxford, 1885) Book V Chap. IV p. 300 formulates the proper and direct end of the State to be 'the development of the national capacities, the perfection of the national life and finally its completion', provided, of course, that the process of moral and political development shall not be opposed to the destiny of humanity. This definition is not easy to grasp. There is no agreement as to what is the destiny of humanity and the concepts of nation and national life are hardly older than a few centuries even in Europe. For 'nation' one may substitute the word 'country'

315. सर्वे परेषां दुःखं सर्वमात्मवशं सुखम् । एतद्विद्यात्ममासेन लक्षणं सुखदुःखयोः ॥ मनु. IV. 160; स्वतन्त्रता मनुष्याणां परतन्त्रा सदाबला । नरोपि परतन्त्रो यस्तस्य कीदृ-
ब्मनुष्यता ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 125. 29.

316. Aristotle in 'Politics' says 'A state exists for the sake of a good life and not for the sake of life only .. Political society exists for the sake of noble actions and not of mere companionship' (Book III Chap. 9).

or 'kingdom'. Then it may be of some application to India. It is impossible to define the end of the State in a single word or in a few words. This question about the end of the State has been partly answered already when speaking of the ideals of kingship. At the risk of some repetition a reply to the above question may be given in the following words. The authors on Dharmaśāstra had a very low estimate of human nature, they believed that ordinarily men were depraved, that it was difficult to find a man pure by nature and that men were kept in the straight path by the fear of punishment (Manu VII 22 = Śānti^{316a} 15. 34). Yāj I 361 requires the king to punish and bring to the proper path castes and guilds when they swerve from their dharma. Kām. (II. 40 and 42-43) says the same thing and adds that in the absence of danda the world will revert to the state of mātṣya-nyāya (the strong devouring the weak). Śūkra I. 23 says the same thing. The ancient writers did not rely on the natural moral impulses of man and on his will to do the right thing. The same ideas are expressed by some Western writers on law and politics. 'A herd of wolves is quieter and more at one than so many men, unless they all had one reason in them or have one power over them' says Jeremy Taylor. Salmond (Jurisprudence p 65) states 'man is by nature a fighting animal and force is the *ultima ratio* not of kings alone but of all mankind'. We must distinguish between immediate or proximate ends and the ultimate end. The ultimate end or goal of most of our philosophy was mokṣa (release or liberation from the ever-recurring cycle of births and deaths and from the miseries and suffering of life). The same was the ultimate goal of rājadharmā. But the proximate goal of the State in India was to create such conditions and

316a सर्वो दण्डजिवो लोको दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नरः । दण्डस्य हि भयाद्धीतो भोगार्थं प्रवर्तते ॥ शान्ति 15 34, इदं प्रकृत्या विषयैर्वैकीकृतं परस्परं स्वीचनलोलुपं जगत् । सनातने धर्मे नि साधुसेविते प्रतिष्ठते दण्डमयोपपन्नितम् ॥ काम. II 42, राजदण्डभयाद्धीक. स्वस्वधर्मपरो भवेत् । शुक्र I. 23, This conception bears striking resemblance to the words of Machiav. 'Discourses' I 3 quoted by H. Butterfield in 'Statecraft of Machiavelli' (1940) p 111 'Those who have discussed the problems of civic life demonstrate-and history is full of examples to confirm the fact-that whoever organizes a state and arranges laws for the government of it must presuppose that all men are wicked and that they will not fail to show their natural depravity whenever they have a clear opportunity, though possibly it may be concealed for a while'

environments as would enable all men to live in peace and happiness, to pursue their avocations, to follow their own customs and usages and their 'svadharma', to enjoy without interference the fruits of their labour and the property acquired by them. The king was the divinely provided instrument to create the conditions of peace, order and happiness. If the king impartially exercises the power of *danḍa* over all, whether his own son or enemy, in proportion to their guilt, he secures this world and the next for himself and the people; the king's scrupulous performance of his own duties leads him and his people to heaven. The task of the State (or the king who represented the State) was to repress by the threat and use of force any violation of the rights of personal freedom and property, to enforce the practice of people's own traditional customs and usages and to take serious care of virtues and dharma. These were the sentiments of Kautilya himself (III 1.).³¹⁶ At the very threshold of his work he remarks 'therefore the king should not allow people to swerve from or fail in their duties (dharma); for whoever holds fast by his dharma, observes the rules laid down for *āryas* and those of castes and *āśramas* (the stages of life) will be happy in this world and the next. The members of society consisting of four castes and having four *āśramas* when guarded by the king with *danda* will abide by their respective paths, being devoted adherents of their respective duties and avocations'.

Both Kām. I. 13 and Śukra I. 67 state³¹⁷ that a king following the path of righteousness confers upon himself and his subjects the group of three viz. the three *puruṣārthas* of dharma, artha and kāma; if he acts otherwise he certainly ruins (himself and the people). The same doctrine is inculcated by other works, such as Śānti 85. 2, Mārkaṇḍeya 27. 29-30.³¹⁸

316 b. राज्ञः स्वधर्मः स्वर्गाय प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षितः । ... दृष्टो हि केवलो लोकः परं चेन च रक्षति ॥ राज्ञा पुत्रे च शत्रौ च यथादोषं समं धृतः ॥ कौटिल्य III 1; तस्मात्स्वधर्मं शूलानां राजा न व्यभिचारयेत् । स्वधर्मं सन्ध्यानी हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दन्ति ॥ स्वधर्मस्थितार्थमर्थादं कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थितिः । त्रय्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति ॥ कौटिल्य I. 3, last two verses; चतुर्वर्णाश्रमो लोको राज्ञा दृष्टेण पालितः । स्वधर्मकर्माभिरतो वर्तते स्वेष्टं वर्त्मसु ॥ कौटिल्य I 4, last verse.

317 न्यायप्रवृत्तो वृषतिरात्मानमपि च प्रजाः । त्रिवर्णोपसन्धत्ते निहन्ति ध्रुवमन्यथा ॥ काम I 13 and ह्युक्त I. 67.

318. वर्णधर्मानं न सीदन्ति यस्य राज्ये तथाश्रमाः । वत्स तस्य सुखं प्रेत्य परचेह च शाश्वतम् ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 27. 29.

Therefore what the king was to do was to see that the dharma of *varna* and *āśrama* were observed by the people and if they swerved from them to bring them back by punishments Śukra IV 4 39 says that each caste was to observe the rules of the caste handed down from generation to generation and that if its members behaved otherwise they were liable to be punished by the king. The principal works emphasize that each individual in the State should fulfil his own duties (*svadharma*) as belonging to a particular class (*varna*) or a particular stage of life (*āśrama*) or his own duties due to the position he occupies and those known as *sāmānya dharma* such as *ahimsā*, truthfulness &c (for which see H of Dh vol II pp 10-11) and that the purpose of the State was to enable him to do so and to prevent others from interfering with him. All this laid undue emphasis on the preservation of the *status quo*, on current beliefs and practices as the ideal. The writers do not emphasize that each individual must actively pursue the good of the society as a whole. As the final goal was *moksa*, undue emphasis was laid on other-worldiness, on individual attainment and on detachment and running away from ordinary worldly affairs. The goal of the State was deemed to be to enable men to attain the four *puruṣārthas*, particularly the first three (as the last viz *moksa* depended only upon individual philosophical insight and mystical experience and was attainable only by a microscopic number). Even the Bārhaspatya-sūtra³¹⁹ (II 43) says that the fruit of polity was the attainment of dharma, artha and kama. Soma-deva begins his *Nītivākyāmrta* in a characteristic way when he performs obeisance to *rājya* (the State) that yields the three fruits of dharma, artha and kama³²⁰. Kām,³²¹ IV. 77 winds up his discussion of the seven elements of *rājya* with the declaration that the entire State depends for its highest stability on wealth and the army and that the State when handled by a sagacious minister results in securing the three goals. Kautilya³²² (in I 7) first advises people not to eschew pleasures altogether,

319. नीते. फलं धर्मार्थकामावाप्ति । धर्मेणार्थकामौ परीहयौ । बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र II 43-44

320. अथ धर्मार्थकामफलाय राज्याय नमः । नीतिवाक्यामुक्त p. 7

321. इति स्म राज्यं सकलं समीरितं परा प्रतिष्ठास्य धन सप्ताधनम् । शुहीतसेतजि-
युगेन सन्निवृत्ता त्रिवर्गनिष्पत्तिरूपैति शास्वतीम् ॥ काम. IV 77.

322. धर्मार्थाचिरोधेन कामं सेवेत । न नि मुक्तः स्यात् । समं वा त्रिवर्गमन्योन्माहवन्धम् ।

but to enjoy pleasures in such a way as not to conflict with the requirements of dharma and artha, and adds that a man may enjoy in an equal degree the three goals of life that are dependent on each other, since any one of the three if pursued to excess harms not only the other two but also itself. The Dharmaśāstra authors held that Dharma was the supreme power in the State and was above the king, who was only the instrument to realize the goal of dharma. To these authors the State was not an end in itself but only a means to an end. Kautilya, true to his position as a writer on arthaśāstra, finally states his opinion that *artha* is the chief among the three goals, as the other two depend upon wealth for their realization. With this statement of Kautilya, one of the most renowned figures of Indian antiquity, this section on rājadharma may be appropriately brought to a close.

VYAVAHĀRA

(LAW AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE)

CHAPTER XI

That to administer justice impartially and to punish the guilty were among the prime functions of the sovereign has been stated above (p. 57) The king was deemed to be the fountain (i.e. the distributor) of justice Kautilya³²³ (I. 19) prescribes that the king was to look into the disputes of citizens and country people in the 2nd part of the day (divided into eight parts). Manu (VIII 1-3) states that the king desirous of looking into the disputes of people should enter the *sabhā* (the hall of justice) accompanied by brāhmanas, ministers and should there decide every day the causes of litigants. Śukra IV. 5-45 is the same as Manu VIII 1, Vas 16 2, Śankha-Likhita, Yāj. I. 327 and II 1, Visnu Dh. S. III 72, Nār. (I. 2), Śukra IV. 5-5, Manasollāsa II. 20, verse 1243 state that the administration of justice was the personal concern of the king. The Mit on Yāj. II 1 says that protecting the subjects is the highest duty of a king and that that duty cannot be discharged without eradicating and punishing the wicked, which latter requires that the king should administer justice (vyavahāradarsana). Medhatithi on Manu VIII 1 also says that protection consists in the removal of troubles, secular and spiritual (adrsta). Manu VIII. 12 and 14 (= Nār III. 8-9 p. 42) personifies the administration of justice as Dharma incarnate by representing that when justice is administered the dart of adharma or falsehood by which dharma is pierced is taken out from the body of Dharma. Yāj. (I. 359-360) declares that the impartial administration of justice yields the same rewards as solemn vedic sacrifices do. In this way administration of justice was held to be a very sacred duty. Manu V II. 128 (= Vrddha-Hārta VII. 194) declares that a king who punishes those that do not deserve to be punished and who does not punish those that deserve punishment incurs great obloquy and goes to hell. Vas. (19-40-43) prescribes one day's fast for the king and three 'days' fast for the *purohita* when the king lets off those that deserve punishment and three days' fast for the king and the *kṛcchra* penance for the *purohita* when the king

323. द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत् । कौ. I. 19.

punishes the innocent. The Mahābhārata³²⁴ (Anuśāsana 6-38 and chap. 70) and Rāmāyana say that if a king intent on pleasures does not show himself to litigants who approach him for decision, he would suffer like king Nrga. The Śukranitisāra (IV. 5-8) also says the same thing. In the Rāmāyana (VII. 53-54) king Nrga is said to have been cursed to become a chameleon for a long period by two brāhmanas who had a dispute about the ownership of a cow and could not see the king for many days. Megasthenes (Frag. XXVII. pp. 70-71) says 'the king remains the whole day in court without allowing the business to be interrupted.' Kaut³²⁵ (I. 19) gives the advice that, when in court, the king should not cause petitioners or litigants to wait long at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible, those who are near him create confusion about what should or should not be done, whereby the king engenders disaffection among his subjects and makes himself a prey to his foes. The king's court³²⁶ of justice was called *dharmasthāna* (Śankha-Likhita), *dharmāsana* (Nārada I. 34, Manu VIII. 23, Śukra IV. 5-46) or *dharmādhikarana* (Kātyāyana and Śukra IV. 5-44). 'The place where the decision of the truth of the plaint (lit. the cause or root of dispute) is carried on by a consideration of the rules of the sacred law is called the *dharmādhikarana* (the Hall of Justice)'—says Kātyāyana. Kālidāsa (Śakuntala V) and Bhavabhūti (Uttararāmacarita I.) employ the word *dharmāsana*.

The authors of smṛtis believed that there was a golden age or era of perfect virtue in the dim past, when men were bent only on right conduct, that later ages saw the advent of sinful

324. अधिनाहुपसक्तानां परतु नोपैति दर्शनम् । सुखे प्रसक्तो ह्यपतिः स तप्येत दुर्गो यथा ॥ महाभारत quoted by दण्डविवेक p. 13; अधिना कार्यसिद्धयर्थं यस्मात्त्वं नैव दर्शनम् ॥ अहम्यः सर्वसूतानां कुकलासो भविष्यति । ... कार्यास्थिनां निमर्दो हि राज्ञां दोषाय कल्पते । रामायण, उत्तरकाण्ड 53. 18, 19, 25; पौरकार्याणि यो राजा न करोति सुखे स्थितः । व्यक्तं स नरके घोरे पच्यते नात्र सहायः ॥ शुक IV. 5. 8; vide उत्तरकाण्ड 53. 6 for very similar words; शकुलित्वितो । राजा स्वाधीनद्वितिरात्मप्रत्ययकोशः स्वयं कृत्याहुदर्शी तमस्त्वनिद्वत्तश्चिरं मद्राणि पश्यति । राजनीतिप्र. p. 134.

325. उपस्थानगतः कार्यार्थिनामहारासङ्गं कारयेत् । दुर्दर्शो हि राजा कार्याकार्य-विपर्ययात्सर्वैः कार्यते । तेन प्रकृतिकोपमरिवशो वा गच्छेत् । अर्थशास्त्र I. 19.

326. धर्मस्थानं प्राच्यां दिशि सप्चात्युद्कैः समवेतं स्यात् । शङ्ख q. in स्मृतिच. (II. p. 19); धर्मशास्त्रविचारेण मूलसारविवेचनम् । यत्राधिक्रियते स्थाने धर्माधिकरणं हि तत् ॥ कात्या० q. in स्मृतिच. (II, p. 19), परा. मा. III 1 p. 22. The sy. p. 8 reads धर्मशास्त्राद्विचारेण अर्थशास्त्रविवेचनम्. The verse as thus read is the same as Śukra IV. 5. 44. Vide स. वि. p. 63 'यत्र स्थाने आवेदितस्य त्वचनिकर्षः धर्मशास्त्र-विचारेण निर्येतुमिः क्रियते इति धर्मस्थानम् । अस्त्येव धर्माधिकरणमिति नामान्तरम् ।'

promptings, that therefore regulation of life by the learned and the king came into vogue (compare Gaut VIII. 1). Manu I. 81-82 (= Śāntiparva 231. 23-24) state that in the Kṛta age dharma prevailed in its perfection, there was no advent of adharma among men then and that in each of the three succeeding *yugas* dharma declined progressively by the introduction of theft, falsehood and deceit. The Śāntiparva (59. 13 ff) narrates that in the Kṛta age there was no king and no punishment, that gradually *kāma* (lust) and *rāga* (passion) began to wield sway and dharma dwindled away. This belief in an ideal or perfect past was universal and was probably depicted in order to induce men to rise higher and higher in goodness and virtue and to make them submit easily to the discipline of government and the priestly requirements. This ideal description of the past, is often found associated with the picture of anarchy that reigned in the dim past which was retrieved from horrors by the creation of the kingly office (vide pp 30-34 above). These diametrically opposite views of the past contained in the same works (such as Manu and the Mahābhārata) probably owe their origin to the desire of the writers to make the common people submit to the absolute rule of kings. Almost all works even from the Rgveda (X. 10. 10) downwards believe in the progressive deterioration of religion and morals. A state of anarchy is visualised in a few works only for the purpose of glorifying the great usefulness of the institution of kingship. Nār. I. 1 states³²⁷ 'when people were solely bent on dharma and were truthful, there existed neither administration of law and justice nor hatred nor jealousy. When dharma declined (or disappeared) among men, administration of law and justice came to be introduced and the king was declared to be the decider of disputes and the chastiser (of the guilty)'. Br. also (S. B. E. 33 p. 277) says 'In bygone ages men were pre-eminently virtuous and free from cruel tendencies; now that men are overwhelmed by greed and hatred, judicial procedure has to be declared'.

The idea of Dharma took the place of the very ancient conception of *ṛta*. In the Rgveda *ṛta* denotes the supreme

327. धर्मकालानां पुरुषा यदात्तन्मत्स्यवादिनः । तदा न स्ववहारोऽप्युच्यते द्वेषो नापि मत्सरः । नष्टे धर्मे मनुष्याणां व्यवहारः प्रयतते । द्रष्टा च स्ववहाराणां राजा दृष्टयः । श्रुतः ॥ नारद I. 1-2, धर्मप्रधानाः पुरुषा पूर्वमासजाहिंसकाः । लोभद्वेषाभिरुतानां व्यवहारः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ बृह. १ by सूत्रिच II p 1, स्व. म. p. 4 Compare Plato in 'Laws' (Book IV p 485 of the Random House edition) 'There is a tradition of the happy life of mankind in days when all things were spontaneous and abundant'

transcendental law or the cosmic order by which the universe and even the gods are governed and which is intimately connected with sacrifice. Vide Rg. I. 68. 2, I. 105. 12, I. 136. 2, I. 142. 7, I. 164. 11, II. 28. 4, IV. 23. 8-10 (in which the word *rta* occurs ten times), X. 190. 1. On the relation of *rta* and law Berolzheimer in his 'The world's legal philosophies' (translated by Jastrow, New York, 1929) says: "closely connected with the religious and philosophical views of the Aryans are certain fundamental positions in regard to the philosophy of law which in turn became the antecedents of later legal and ethical developments among the Greeks and Romans. Foremost among these philosophical conceptions is '*rita*', which is at once the organized principle of the universe and the divine ordering of earthly life; as the former it regulates the appearance of the sun and the moon, of day and night and embodies the unchangeable principle that pervades the succession of phenomena; as the latter it is affiliated with purpose and human benefit and is exemplified in the flow of the rivers which fertilize the fields; in the cattle useful to men; in the institutions of marriage, of the monarchical state, of the patriarchal home; and in man's sense of responsibility for his sins. The derivative conceptions of '*vrata*', '*dharma*', '*dhāma*', '*svadhā*' represent special aspects of '*rita*'; thus '*vrata*' refers to any specialized embodied '*rita*'; while '*dharma*' refers specifically to the moral function of rewarding good and punishing evil" (pp. 37-38). Vide Prof. V. M. Apte's paper on '*Rta*' in the Rgveda (pp. 55-60 of the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Annals of the B. O. R. Institute) in which he tries to prove that *rta* means primarily 'the belt of the Zodiac'.

The word *vyavahāra* is used in several senses in the *sūtras* and *smṛtis*. One meaning of *vyavahāra* is 'transaction or dealing' as in Udyogaparva 37. 30 quoted above (on p. 207) or in Āp. Dh. S. II. 7-16-17, I. 6-20. 11 and 16. It also means 'a dispute, a lawsuit' in Śānti 69-28, Manu VIII. 1., Vas. 16-1, Yaj. II. 1., Visnu Dh. S. III. 72, Nār. I. 1 and 2, Śukra IV. 5-5. A third sense is 'legal capacity to enter into transactions' (as in Gaut. X. 48,

Vas. 16.8, Śankha-Likhita (*raksed rājā bālānām dhanānyapī āpta-vyavahārāṇām* &c. quoted in V. R. p. 599) A fourth but a rare sense is 'the means of deciding a matter' (as in Gaut. XI. 19 '*tasya vyavahāro vedo dharmaśāstrānyangāni* &c.). In this chapter the word *vyavahāra* is taken to mean 'law-suit or dispute in a court' and 'legal procedure'. This sense is very ancient. In the Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict No. 1 of Aśoka (Corpus I. I. vol. I p. 123) we have the word '*viyohālasamatā*' (*vyavahārasamatā*) and the word '*vyavahāravidhi*' occurs in Kharavela's Hathigumpha Inscription (E. I. vol. XX. p. 79). A '*vohārika-mahāmatta*' (*vyāvahārika-mahāmātra*, minister of justice) occurs in the Mahāvagga, I. 40. 3 and Chullavagga VI. 49). In the medieval digests, both law and procedure are sometimes dealt with in one book as in the *Vyavahāra-nirnaya* of Varadarāja and the *Vyavahāra-mayūkha*, sometimes the titles of law are treated of in one work and judicial procedure in another. For example, Candēśvara composed the *Vivādaratnākara* (on titles of law) and *Vyavahāraratnākara* (on judicial procedure). The word *vyavahāra* is restricted in some works to judicial procedure alone (as in the *Vyavahāramātrkā* of Jīmūtavāhana and the *Vyavahāratattva* of Raghunandana). The word *vivāda* which means 'dispute' is often used as a synonym for *vyavahāra* in the sense of law-suit or legal procedure or both. In Āp. Dh. S. II. 11.29.5 and in Nār. I. 5 *vivāda* means 'law-suit'. In the *Vivādacandra* of Misarumīśra and the *Vivādatāndava* of Kamalākara both law and judicial procedure are treated of. Yāj. (II. 8 and 305) appears to distinguish between *vivāda* (law-suit) and *vyavahāra* (judicial procedure).

The word '*vyavahāra*' is defined by several *smṛtis* and commentators. Kātyāyana gives two definitions, one based on etymology and referring principally to procedure and the other giving the conventional sense having in view a dispute. "The (*upasarga*) *vi* is employed in the sense of 'various', '*ava*' in the sense of 'doubt', '*hāra*' means 'removing'; *vyavahāra* is so called because of its removing various doubts" (quoted by Y. M.

p. 283, Par. M. III. p. 7 and Kullūka on Manu VIII. 1).^{32a} This definition places the administration of justice on a high plane. The purpose of all branches of Indian philosophy is the quest of Truth or Reality. The purpose of legal procedure is, according to Kāt, the same viz. to find out the truth when there is a dispute. But there are some points of difference. The philosopher may take his own time in his search for truth; but justice has to be done as quickly as possible. Further, legal procedure has its own method and limitations in finding out the truth, that is, it depends on oral and documentary evidence, while a philosopher's quest of truth may be purely intellectual and subjective. Another definition is: 'When the ramifications of right conduct, that are together called dharma and that can be established with efforts (of various kinds such as truthful speech &c.), have been violated, the dispute (in a court between parties) which springs from what is sought to be proved (such as a debt), is said to be *vyavahāra*'. Hārīta gives an easier definition: 'that is declared to be *vyavahāra* where the attainment of one's wealth (taken away by another) and the avoidance of the dharmas of others (such as those of heretics) are secured with (the help of) the means of proof' (quoted by the Sm. C. II. p. 1). The Mit. (on Yāj II. 1) defines *vyavahāra* as 'avermment (about a matter) as related to oneself in opposition to another'. Śūkra IV. 5. 4 gives another definition. The Vyavahāramayūkha gives a much

327 a. वि नानार्थेऽव सन्देहे हरणं हार उच्यते । नानासन्देहहरणात् व्यवहार इति स्मृतः ॥ कारवा. quoted in व्य मा. p. 283, कुल्लूक on मनु VIII. 1, दीपकालिका p. 36, which says 'कृणादानादिनानाविवादपदविषयः निराक्रियतेऽनेनेति नानासंशयहारी विचारः व्यवहारः ।', प्रयत्नसाधये विच्छिन्ने धर्माख्ये न्यायविस्तरे । साध्यमूलस्तु यो वादो व्यवहारः स उच्यते ॥ अपरार्क p. 596, स्मृतिच. (II. p. 1), परा. मा. III pp. 5-7, व्य. प्र. pp. 3-4. This last verse is variously explained. Vide my notes to Kāt, 25. The मदनरत्न (स्य Ms in my possession) explains 'प्रयत्नसाधये कष्टसाधये शृङ्खलादिके विषये विच्छिन्ने स्वेच्छया भोक्तुमशक्ये सति न्यायविस्तरे न्यायः प्रमाण विस्तीर्यते प्रगच्छयते निर्णीयते परस्मिन्तस्मिन् धर्माख्ये धर्मनामके धर्माधिकरणमिति प्रसिद्धे सभालक्षणे स्थले साध्यमूलको यो शृङ्खलादिविषयो वादः स व्यवहार इति ।'; स्वधनस्य यथा प्राप्तिः परधर्मस्य वर्जनम् । न्यायेन यत्र क्रियते व्यवहारः स उच्यते ॥ हारीत q. by स्मृतिच. (II. p. 1).

more elaborate definition (vide text p 1 and notes pp. 3-4 of my ed.).

A *vyavahārapada*³²⁸ means 'the topic or subject matter of litigation or dispute'. It is the same thing as 'vivādapada' which word occurs also in Kaut. (III ·16 p 191 and IV. 7 p. 218) and in Nār. (dattāpradānika 1, abhyupetyāśusrūṣā 1). Manu VIII. 8 shows that '*pada*' means '*sthāna*'. Yāj. II. 5 defines it as 'If a person, who is set at naught by others in a manner that is opposed to the rules of *smṛti* and to good usage or conventions, informs the king (or his judge), that is a *vyavahārapada*'. From very ancient times eighteen *vyavahārapadas* have been enumerated. The underlying idea is that most of the disputes between men can be classified under 18 heads. Even Manu (VIII. 8) was conscious of the fact that the enumeration of 18 *vyavahārapadas* was a matter of a convenient arrangement and that the number 18 did not embrace all disputes whatever but only the largest number of disputes and the most important among them. Medhātithi and Kullūka make this position quite clear.³²⁹

There is some difference about the number and nomenclature of the *vyavahārapadas* among Manu and other writers of *smṛtis*. The following table will give some idea of the divergence as to nomenclature and the sequence in which they are treated of. All do not mention them in the same order as in Manu VIII. 4-7. For example, the order in Yāj is *rnādāna*, *upanidhi*, *dāyavibhāga*, *śimā-vivāda*, *svāmīpalavivāda*, *asvāmī-vikraya* &c. Yāj. does not enumerate all of them in one place as Manu and Nārada do.

328. व्यवहारः तस्य यद् विषयः । निता० on या. II 5; यद् स्थानं निमित्तमिति यावत् । अपराकं on the same

329. भूयिष्ठग्रहणं प्राधान्यरूपापनार्थम् । अन्येऽपि व्यवहारहेतवः सन्ति यथा निवे-
सनार्थं स्वया मे वेदम दत्त तत्र किमित्यर्थाकसंवत्सरादन्यस्मै दद्यासीति न चेदं दत्तानपकर्मे न
ज्ञात्र स्वस्वनिवृत्तिरस्ति भोगालुङ्गामात्रं वसतः । मेधा० on मनु VIII. 8, भूयिष्ठशब्देनाप्या-
न्यापि विवादपदानि सन्तीति सूचयति । तानि च प्रकीर्णकशब्देन नारदाद्युक्तानि । कुल्लूक
on the same.

It will be noticed that Yāj omits the duties of husband and wife from the 18 topics of *vyavahāra* as he had already dealt with them in his section on *ācāra*, adds *abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā* and *prakīrnaka* (miscellaneous wrongs) and splits *krayavikrayānuśaya* into two and thus gives 20 topics. Nārada (I. 16-19) has the same 15 topics as those of Manu (in some cases under slightly different names), omits *svāmipālavivāda*, *steya* and *strisangrahana*, adds *abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā* and another topic *viz prakīrnaka* and splits *krayavikrayānuśaya* into two, *viz kṛtānuśaya* and *akṛtīyānuśaya*. He includes *steya* under *sāhasa* (*sāhasa* verse 21) and also in what is an appendix. Brhaspati as quoted in the *Smṛti-candrikā* (*vyavahāra* p. 9) names the 18 *vyavahārapadas* and adds *prakīrnaka*. Kautilya also adds *prakīrnaka* and omits 'steya' under his *dharmaśāstra* section, though he deals with theft elsewhere (as in IV. 8 and 11). It is not to be supposed that the 18 topics were first started by the *Manusmṛti*. Gaut. XII. 1 mentions *vākparūsya* and *dandapārūsya*, treats of some of the topics without specifying the technical names e.g. he refers to the subjects of *sangrahana* (in XII 2-3), of theft (XII 12-13), of *svāmipālavivāda* (in XII 16 ff), of *rnādāna* (in XII 26-33), of *nidhi* (in XII 39), of *dāyavibhāga* (in XXVIII). Similarly the Āp Dh. S. speaks in scattered places of some of the topics of *vyavahāra* such as murder (I. e. *sāhasa*) in I. 9. 24, of adultery in I. 9. 25. 1-2 and I. 10. 28 15-20, II. 10. 26 18 ff, theft in I. 9. 25 4-11, *dāyavibhāga* in II. 6 14, *vākparūsya* in II. 10. 27 14. Vas. also mentions the word *dāyavibhāga* (in XVII 40) and sets out rules about it and about means of proof (XVI 13-15), about *rnādāna* (XVI 31), about the twelve kinds of sons (XVII. 12-39). The Baud Dh. S. (II. 2 8) employs the word *dāyavibhāga* and gives several rules on that subject. Thus some at least out of the eighteen *vyavahārapadas* (such as *vākparūsya*, *dandapārūsya*, *dāyabhāga*, *steya*) were distinctly recognized centuries before the present *Manusmṛti* was composed. Someśvara in *Mānasollāsa* (II. 20 verses 1265-1273) enumerates 22 *vyavahārapadas*, by splitting *dattasyānapākarma* into two as *datta* and *dattāpahāraka*, adds *svāmibhrtyavivāda* after *svāmipālavivāda*, counts *krayavikrayānuśaya* as two and *dyūta-samāhvaya* as two distinct topics.

The definition of *vyavahārapada* in Yāj II 5 (= Śukra IV. 5. 68) viz 'if a person informs or complains to the king' (*āvedayati ced rājāne*) conveys that *vyavahārapada* means and includes only those disputes that are started or brought before

the Court at the instance of the parties. Manu VIII. 43 prescribes that neither the king nor his officers should start a dispute (i. e. a legal proceeding), nor should he sit silent upon (hush up) a matter which has been brought before him by another (i. e. by a party). Gaut. XIII. 27 lays down that a party should humbly approach a judge with his complaint. Kātyāyana (27) states: 'The king³³⁰ should not, through influence or through greed of money, take upon himself the disputes of men, when they do not themselves want to contend (in a court)'. Mānasollāsa II. 20 verse 1274 and Śukra IV. 5. 69 say the same. There must have always been several matters, of which nobody might complain and which the king might have to look into *suo motu*. Manu after dealing with the 18 vyavahārapadas (in VIII. 1 to IX. 251) requires the king (in IX. 252-253) to make efforts to destroy kantakas (thorns, harmful persons) and dilates upon many aspects of his activities in this respect. Nārada relegates all matters in which the king took action *suo motu* to a separate topic, prakīrnaka, about which he says 'under prakīrnaka are comprised lawsuits depending on the king (i. e. on the king's own action) such as transgressions of the king's commandments and obedience to his injunctions, grants of towns, dissensions among the constituent elements (such as ministers) of the State, the duties and breaches there of among heretics, followers of the veda, corporations (of merchants) and groups, dispute between father and son, neglect of prescribed penances, abstraction of gifts made to worthy persons, the wrath of hermits, sinful confusion of castes and the rules regarding their maintenance and (in short) whatever (matter) has been omitted in the preceding (vyavahārapadas)—these are treated under prakīrnaka'.³³¹ Brhaspati defines prakīrnaka in

330 न राजा ह्य वसित्वेन धनलोभेन वा पुनः । स्वयं कार्याणि कुर्वीत नराणामविवादि-
नाम् ॥ कात्यायन ८, by कुल्लूक on मनु VIII. 43, व्य मा. p. 285 (which reads न
वागमविवादनाम्); स्वयं नीत्यादयेत्कार्यं समर्थः पृथिवीपतिः । नाददीत तथोक्तोच्चं दत्तं
कार्याणि वा द्रुपः ॥ मानसोल्लास II. 20. 1274.

331. प्रकीर्णके पुनर्ज्ञेयो व्यवहारो द्रुपाश्रयः । राज्ञामाज्ञात्पतिवातस्तत्कर्मकरणं तथा ॥
पुरमद्वानं समेद्वं प्रकृतीनां तथैव च । पाखाण्डिनैगमश्रेणीगणधर्मविपर्ययः । पितापुत्रविवादश्च
भ्रातृव्यतिव्यातिक्रमः । प्रतिग्रहविलोपश्च कोपश्चाश्रमिणामपि । वर्णसङ्करदीपश्च तद्वृत्तिनिय-
मस्तथा । न दृष्टं यच्च पुरैषु सर्वं तत्त्यात्यकीर्णकम् ॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक 1-4) quoted by the
मिता on वा. II. 295. The स्मृतिचं (II. p 331) reads पुरप्रमाणं and explains
पौराचरितलेख्यमाश्रय. तत्र बृहस्पतिः । एष वादिकृतः प्रीतो व्यवहारः समासतः ।
द्रुपाश्रयं प्रवक्ष्यामि व्यवहारं प्रकीर्णकम् ॥ स्मृतिचं II. p. 331.

the same way as Nārada Kautilya deals with the vyavahārapadas in his Dharmasūthiya (III) section and in the Kantakaśodhana section (IV) speaks of matters that are similarly dealt with by officers called *madestrs* (who correspond to coroners and police magistrates of modern times), while matters falling under the dharmasūthiya section (viz. the vyavahārapadas) were disposed off by judges (called *dharmasūthas*). Kantaka means in Kautilya as in Manu IX. 252 'harmful persons'. The chief matters that fell within the purview of the kantakaśodhana (removal or punishment of harmful persons) officers or courts were: Artisans like blacksmiths and carpenters were generally to work in guilds and receive from people materials for working them up; if they caused unreasonable delay in handing back finished articles, they were to receive one-fourth less than the proper wages and were to be fined twice the amount of wages, similar provisions are made for loss of wages and fines for weavers who do not increase the weight of cloth (cotton, linen, silk or woollen) woven up to the usual standard: washermen were to wash clothes on wooden planks or smooth stones, but if they washed them elsewhere, they were to pay compensation for loss caused and a fine of 6 *panas*; they were to be fined twelve *panas* for the sale, pledge or hiring out of other's clothes; they were also to be fined for keeping clothes with them beyond the time ordinarily required, for washing the best garments, garments of middling quality and inferior garments the wages were respectively one *pana*, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$; trustworthy persons and experts were to decide disputes about colour and wages; similar rules apply to tailors; goldsmiths, who

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In an interesting paper contributed to the Sir Denison Ross volume of papers pp 234-240 Dr. V. Raghavan describes a work called 'Vaiśyavamsā-sudhākara' composed by Kolācala Mallinātha, the renowned commentator of the five classical Sanskrit Kāvya. This work is the report or decision given by a commission presided over by Mallinātha appointed to settle a dispute (which in these days might be called a caste question not cognisable by civil courts) that arose in the times of Devarāja II of Viḍyānagara (1422-1466 A D). Vaiśyas were given a license to trade in the 24 cities and 108 shrines of the realm, certain subcastes like the Komatis claimed to be vaiśyas and this privilege also. Mallinātha decides after a searching examination of authorities that the words vaiśya, vanik, nāgara, ūruja, tritiya-jātiya are synonyms, that Komatis, who were styled vijāts by their rivals, were vaiśyas and entitled to all the privileges of vaiśyas. This decision would come under either प्रासङ्गिक ... विपर्ययः or तद्ग्रासिनिग्रहः.

without informing (government officers) purchased from unclean hands (i e from menial servants or slaves) without changing the form of the article or after changing the form, or purchased from a thief were to be fined respectively 12, 24 or 48 panas; for stealing one (gold) *māsaka* (one-sixteenth of a *suvarna*) from off a *suvarna*, the gold-smith was to be fined two hundred panas and for stealing one *māsaka* out of a silver *dharana* there was a fine of twelve panas; fines are provided for loss of weight (beyond the recognised standard) in the case of working up copper, lead, brass, bell-metal, tin into vessels and articles; for manufacturing a counterfeit coin, for accepting it or passing it off to another the fine was a thousand panas and for entering a counterfeit coin in the royal treasury the punishment was death; a physician, who undertook the medical treatment of a patient without informing (government officers) of the dangerous nature of the disease, was to be punished with the first amercement if the patient died and with the middling fine if the patient died through the carelessness of the physician and if the patient suffered some vital injury, the matter was to be dealt with as assault (*dandapārusya*); musicians and actors shall stay in one place during the rainy season and shall avoid taking excessive gifts or indulging in excessive praise of one patron; for violating this rule the fine was twelve panas. The same rules apply to those who show dumb plays and to other mendicants, the latter receiving as many lashes as the fine imposed in similar cases on others. In IV. 2 Kautilya prescribes fines against merchants that use false measures, weights and balances; that sell timber, iron, jewels, ropes, clothes misrepresenting them as superior when they are inferior; that conspire to prevent the sale of merchandise; that cause adulteration of grains, oils, salt, medicines &c.; that raise the prices beyond those fixed by the superintendent of commerce for local commodities and for foreign produce. In IV. 3 Kaut. provides for measures against such calamities as fire, floods, pestilential diseases, famine, rats, tigers, serpents and prescribes a fine of twelve panas for catching or injuring cats and mongooses employed to destroy rats. In IV. 4 Kaut. prescribes the measures that the officer called *saṃahartṛ* has to take to protect the subjects against those who prey upon the people secretly by employing foul means. He has to employ spies under various disguises to find out the honesty or corruption of officers in the villages, of superintendents, of judges, of magistrates and witnesses and the punishment in these cases is generally

banishment Kautilya IV. 5 deals with the detection of young men inclined to robbery and adultery by the employment of spies and agents *provocateurs* in the guise of ascetics and persons reputed to possess miraculous powers. The Kautilya IV 6 and 7 respectively describe the seizure of criminals on suspicion or in the very act itself and examination in cases of sudden death. Kaut IV. 8 speaks of questioning in the presence of the wronged party of the witnesses of the accused, whether they are his relatives or total strangers, as regards the country, the caste, the family, the name, occupation, property, friends and residence of the accused and of the application of torture to the accused to elicit an admission of guilt. It is said that torture is to be applied only in the case of those whose guilt is believed to be established *prima facie* (*āptadosam karma kūrayet*), that torture is not to be employed when the accused is guilty of a minor offence, is under age, old or diseased, is under the influence of intoxicants, or is a lunatic, or is overwhelmed by hunger or thirst or fatigue due to a journey, or has eaten to excess or is suffering from indigestion or is weak, nor is it to be employed in the case of a pregnant woman or a woman who was delivered of a child within a month; and in the case of other women only half the torture prescribed for males or only the asking of questions is to be employed. Learned brāhmanas and ascetics (when accused) are to be subjected to espionage only. Those who violate these rules or incite others to do so and those who are guilty of causing the death of an accused by torture are to be punished with the highest amercement. Four kinds of torture were employed in the case of complaints about wrongs viz. six dandas, seven whippings, two kinds of suspension, and (fourthly) water-tube (i.e. injecting salt water in the nose from a tube) ³³² In this chapter Kaut states that one who

332 The exact meaning of the four kinds of torture is not clear. Prof. V. R. Dikshitar in 'Hindu Administrative Institutions' pp 237-247 tries very hard to establish that Kaut recommends no torture in any case, that 'vākyānu-yoga' means 'pronouncing of guilt by the jury' and *karmānu-yoga* means 'judgment of the Chief Justice'. Though the learned Professor's attempt to exculpate Kautilya may be due to laudable motives, the words of Kautilya are too clear to admit of any other interpretation than the one given above. If one dispassionately considers the fact that no *karma* was allowed to be employed in the case of the weak, the diseased, old men &c., that in the case of women '*ardhakarma*' alone was allowed, that a heavy fine was imposed for causing death by *karma* (*karmānā vyāpādaneṇa*).

charges an innocent man with being a thief or who conceals a thief is to be punished like a thief and that even one who is not a thief may for fear of torture admit that he is a thief, as Māṇḍavya did. Kaut in IV. 9 prescribes that the *saṃāhārtr* and *pradestrs* should exercise control over all superintendents of the various State departments and their subordinates, that those who steal or seize valuable articles or jewels from State mines or manufactories should be simply sentenced to death, prescribes various fines and punishments for stealing or removing by force articles of different prices from the State granaries and store-houses, provides punishment for judges that threaten, browbeat, send out or unjustly silence or abuse litigants or that do not ask proper questions or ask improper questions, that cause unnecessary delay, unjustly rehear causes that have been heard or disposed of, and provides heavy punish-

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that Māṇḍavya, though really not a thief, declared that he was so through the fear of the torments of *karma* (*karmakleśabhayāt*), that in the four *karman* we find suspension and water-tube and that immediately after the words '*karma kīrayet*' we get the rule that in all crimes the brāhmaṇa was not to be subjected to bodily pain, it will have to be admitted that '*karma*' in this chapter of the Arthashastra means 'torture'. One fails to see what '*ardhakarma*' in the case of women will mean if '*karma*' signifies only the judgment of the chief justice or why Māṇḍavya should have confessed theft through fear of '*karmakleśa*'. And one need not feel apologetic if Kautilya recommends torture in certain well-defined cases. Torture was an essential part in the Roman Criminal Procedure and Augustus had issued an edict about it. Vide Stephens' 'History of English Criminal Law' vol. I, pp. 47-49. Torture by the police and third-degree methods are not unknown in the 20th century in the West (even apart from the latest German methods) or in India, though they are not expressly mentioned in any text-book or Act as allowable. Vide Harry E Barnes' 'Story of Punishment' pp. 10-15 for various kinds of tortures employed in the West for several centuries and third-degree methods (pp. 15-24), which he asserts are even now in almost universal use by the Police Department in the U. S. A. The story of Māṇḍavya who though not a thief was held to be a thief, because he, owing to his vow of silence, did not reply when questioned and near whom was found the booty stolen and who was impaled, is found in Ādi. 63. 92-93 (cr. ed chap. 57), Ādi. 107-108 (cr. ed chap 101), Anuśāsana 18. 46-50 and in Nār. (I 42) and Br. quoted by Aparārka (p 599). श्ले श्रोतः पुराणविरचोरश्चोरसङ्कया । अणीमाण्डव्य इत्येवं विख्यातः ॥ आदि 63. 92-93 Kaut IV 8 appears to have had a different version of the story before him. The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa chap 16 has the story of Animāṇḍavya. The story of Māṇḍavya was a leading case, it appears, in criminal law. The Mṛcchakaṭīka (Act IX, 36) appears to refer to torture.

ments for releasing persons jailed or for rape on a woman in a lock-up Kaut. IV. 10 prescribes alternative punishments of fines in lieu of the cutting off of fingers or mutilation of limbs for several offences such as theft or assault, abuse and defamation or showing contempt to the king by riding his horse or other conveyance or fabricating royal orders, prescribes death for selling human flesh, simple death or highest amercement for stealing images of gods or animals, for abducting human beings or for wrongfully seizing fields, houses, gold, gold coins, jewels and crops. Death with or without torture is provided for in Kaut. IV. 11 for murdering a man in a quarrel (but when the wounded man dies a fortnight or a month after the quarrel, highest fine or fine of five hundred *panas* and the expenses of medical treatment); different kinds of punishments are provided for wounding with a weapon, impalement for causing violent death of men and women, burning alive for those who aim at securing the kingdom or force entrance into the royal harem or incite wild tribes or enemies or instigate disaffection in the capital or country or army, drowning (or solitary confinement in a dark room, acc. to another reading) for a brāhmana offender of this sort, cutting of tongue for insulting or abuse of parents or a teacher or an ascetic, drowning for one destroying the dam of a tank or for a poisoner or for a woman murdering a man, tearing to death by bulls for a woman who murders her husband or child or her elders or administers poison or sets fire Kaut adds that the punishment of death with torture has been prescribed by ancient smṛti-writers, but that it is proper to order simple death in cases of offences in which no cruelty enters. Kaut. IV 12 starts by declaring that no man shall have sexual intercourse with a woman (not his wife) against her will, prescribes different punishments for forcible sexual intercourse with an immature girl or a girl that has attained maturity, of the same caste, or of a different caste, provides that for intercourse with a willing maiden the fine will be 54 *panas* for the man and 27 for the maiden, further provides that it is no offence for a man of the same caste to have intercourse with a maiden who has not been got married for three years after the appearance of menses, provides fines for deceitfulness in substituting one girl at marriage while showing another before, provides that if a woman whose husband is gone abroad commits adultery a relative or servant of the husband may keep her under restraint and that if the husband on his return forgives the woman her paramour may not be proceeded against,

but if he does not condone, the nose and ears of the woman may be cut off and the paramour should be sentenced to death. Kaut. IV. 13 provides punishment for brāhmanas eating or drinking what is forbidden to them and varying fines for administering forbidden food or drink to members of the four varnas, provides fines for house-trespass and lurking house-trespass by night, provides punishments for witchcraft, provides burning alive in a vessel for adultery with the queen and other punishments for adultery with women of the several castes, whether guarded or unguarded, prescribes a fine of 24 panas for adultery with a nun

The above is a meagre summary of Kautilya's section on *kanṭakaśodhana*. Kautilya is encyclopaedic on this subject as on several others. The number of offences dealt with by him is very large and his treatment in some respects compares favourably with such modern criminal codes as the Indian Penal Code. Many of the provisions contained in Kaut. IV are found in Yāj. (II. 273-304), in Nārada (in *prakīrnaka* and elsewhere) and also in Manu (e g. VIII. 365-368 about rape or adultery, VIII. 396-97 about washermen and weavers, IX. 225-226 about musicians and dancers, IX. 231-232, IX. 261-267). Why Kaut. treats of several offences under *kanṭakaśodhana* and not under the *dharmasthiya* section, it is somewhat difficult to say. It is probable that he included under *dharmasthiya* only those complaints or actions that were fought out between the parties, even though many of the wrongs complained of under *vākpārusya*, *danḍapārusya*, *sangrahana* and *steya* were criminal and the same as those treated of in the section on *kanṭakaśodhana*. In wrongs dealt with in the *kanṭakaśodhana* section it was the king or king's officers who themselves brought up the offenders for punishment and the offences were viewed not as mere private matters, but as matters in which the State was concerned for the eradication of crime in general. Kautilya in III. 20 speaks of *prakīrnaka* but therein he seems to include some miscellaneous matters like non-return of borrowed articles or deposits (at the proper time and place), evading payment of ferry tax under the pretence of being a brāhmana, connection with a public woman kept by another, misappropriating revenue collected as agent for a householder, a cāṇḍāla's touching an Ārya woman, inviting for dinner in honour of Gods and Manes Buddhist or Ājīvaka or Śūdra mendicants, abandonment of parents, child, wife or husband, brother or sister, teacher or pupil (when not

guilty of a grave sin), wrongful confinement of a person &c. Kautilya does not apparently include under *prakīrnaka* all matters in which the king acts *suo motu* as Nār, Br. and Kāt do but includes these latter under *kantakaśodhana*. He, however, states here and there (IV. 1 and 13) that the matters dealt with under *kantakaśodhana* are quite analogous to those under such titles as *dandapārusya* treated of under the *dharmaśāhīya* section. For example, in IV. 1. he says that if a physician through negligence causes loss of a vital part to a patient then the matter may be treated as *dandapārusya*.³³³ So Kautilya probably represents a much earlier stage of judicial administration than Nār. or Br, who included under *prakīrnaka* all matters in which the king acted of his own motion (i. e. all that falls under *kantakaśodhana* in Kaut.)

The enumeration of *vyavahārapadas* is very ancient and authoritative, but there is hardly any scientific principle of classification underlying them. A writer called *Nibandhanakāra* quoted in the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*³³⁴ (p. 51) holds that in all the *vyavahārapadas* from *mādāna* to *dāyavibhāga* the relief claimed is something to be given or rendered (*deya*) by one party to the other, while in *vākpārusya*, *dandapārusya*, *sāhasa*, gambling and betting the principal relief is in the form of *danda* (punishment). Here there is a glimmering of the distinction between civil and criminal litigation. Two deep-seated principles in the administration of law and justice everywhere are 'fulfil your promises' and 'cause injury (*himsā*) to no one'. It is therefore that we find *Brhaspati* stating that lawsuits are of two kinds according as they originate in (demands about) wealth or in injuries. Yāj II 23 speaks of *arthavivāda* (civil dispute) and so made a distinction between civil and criminal disputes. Lawsuits³³⁵ originating in wealth are divided into

333. निषजः कर्मापराधेन विपत्तौ मध्यमः । मर्मवेद्यैरुप्यकारणे वृण्वपाकस्य विद्यात् । अर्थशास्त्र IV. 1. दुर्बलं चेद्म शकटमनुसन्धयन्मूर्खस्तन्महात्मनपात्रममतिप्रसन्नं च अत्र कुर्यात् कृतावपातं वा कृत्वा हिंसायां वृण्वपाकस्य विद्यात् । अर्थशास्त्र IV. 13.

334. तथा च गौतमसूत्रम् । द्विरुत्थानतो द्विगतिरिति । व्यवहार इत्यनुवृत्तते । तत्र निषन्धनकारेणोक्तम्-अपादानादिदायविभागान्नाना देयनिषन्धनत्वं साहसादियत्प्रकारं वृण्वनिषन्धनत्वमिति द्विरुत्थानतेत्यर्थ इति । स. वि. p. 51.

335. द्विपदो व्यवहारः स्वाद्धनहिंसासहस्रम् । द्विसप्तकोट्यमूलस्य हिंसाशूलमूलपरिचः । ... एवमर्थसहस्रस्थानि पदानि तु चतुर्दश । हुनरेव परिभाषा क्रियाभिदाद्वेकपा । पाकस्य द्वे साहसं च परस्त्रीसंग्रहस्तथा । हिंसोद्भवपदान्येवं चत्वारिणां वृण्वपातः ॥ स्थापितम् II p. 9, स्व. मा. p. 277 (for first verse), परा मा. III. pp. 20-21, साध्यं वादस्य मूलं स्वाद्यादिना यत्किंचिदिति । देयप्रदानं हिंसा चेत्युत्थानद्वयमुच्यते ॥ कात्यायन (30) quoted in सूत्रिणः II p. 13.

fourteen sorts and those originating in injuries are of four sorts. These last are vākpārusya (defamation and abuse), dandapārusya (assault and battery), sāhasa (murder and other forms of violence) and strisangraha (adultery). Here there is a clear distinction made between civil disputes (*arthamūla* or *dhanamūla*) and criminal ones (*himsā-mūla*). Kāt. also says that disputes have their source in two viz. not rendering what should be given and injury (*himsā*). Though in this way a distinction was made between civil and criminal disputes among the 18 titles of law, it appears that the set of rules and the procedure in both were the same (except as to the time allowed for reply, as to the qualifications of witnesses and as to proxies), the same courts tried both kinds of disputes and not as in modern times (when civil disputes are tried in one class of courts and criminal complaints in another and when the procedure also in both differs a great deal). There were not two sets of courts in ancient India as there were in England before the fusion of Law and Equity, but all courts in ancient and medieval India were required to administer the law of the texts tempered by common sense and reason as laid down by Br.: 'a decision should not be given by merely relying on the text of the sāstra; when consideration of a matter is divorced from reason and common sense loss of dharma results' (q by Aparārka p. 599).

Nār. (I. 8-29), Br., Kāt, the Agnipurāṇa (253. 1-12 which reproduce almost *verbatim* the verses of Nār.) and others predicate several things about vyavahāra, such as that it is *dviphalā* (has two results) and so on. All these are brought together here below for convenience. Vyavahāra is:—

Catuspād—having four feet, viz. dharma,³³⁶ vyavahāra, caritra, rājasāsana, acc. to Nār (I. 10); while acc. to Yāj II. 8

336. Among the verses at the end of IV. 1 of the Arthaśāstra the following two verses occur. चरित्रं व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम्। विवादार्थश्चतुष्पादः पश्चिमः पूर्वशापकः। तत्र सत्ये स्थितौ धर्मो व्यवहारस्तु साक्षिषु। चरित्रं संग्रहे पुंसां राज्ञामाज्ञा तु शासनम् ॥ These two occur in Nār (I. 10-11) and Hārīta (q. in S. V. p. 58) with variations, viz. both read चतुष्पादः व्यवहारोपहृत्तरः पूर्वो and चरित्रं पुस्तकरणे. Par. M. III. p. 10 reads चरित्रं तु स्वीकरणे. Lengthy explanations of these verses are offered in Aparārka (p. 597), Smṛticandrikā (II. pp. 10-11), Vyavahāra-prakāśa (pp. 7, 88-89) and other digests. It has to be noted that the four (dharma &c) mentioned in these verses are the means of arriving at a decision in a law-suit, as Br. says. धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण दुपाज्ञया। चतुष्पकारो-भिहितः सन्दिग्धेयं विनिर्णयः ॥ (in स्मृतिच. II p. 10, परा. मा. III. p. 16, वृ. प्र. p. 6); व्यवहारोपि चरित्रेण वाच्यते यथा। साक्षिभिः साधितेऽप्याभीरक्षिया। दुष्यन्तरोपभोगे वदुद्वे च व्यवहारतः भवेति राजकुलाधिगतलिखितास्तिवते। एवं हि तत्र लिखित-आभीरक्षिणां ग्यमिचारेपि सति दण्डो न ग्राह्य इति। अपराकी p. 597 (on या. II. 17.)

and Br. they are the plaint, the reply, the proof (*kuṣṭhā*) and decision (*nirṇaya*) or acc. to Kāt. 31 (q. by Aparārka p 616) plaint, reply, *pratyākālita*³³⁷ and *kuṣṭhā*

Dharma and the other three are really the four feet of *nirṇaya* (final decision), which is one of the four stages of a law-suit (*vyavahāra*) and so only in a secondary or far-fetched sense they are the four *pādas* of *vyavahāra*. Each of these four is said to be of two kinds. Vide Sm C. II. pp 10-11, Par. M III. pp. 198-199, V. P. pp. 87-88 where the verses of Br are set out and fully explained. A decision is said to be arrived at according to dharma when the wrong-doer admits his guilt or wrong-doing and the real owner secures his wealth or the relief due to him without having to undergo the trouble of a protracted trial by means of witnesses, documents &c. Similarly a decision to be arrived at by ordeals is said to be one by dharma. Dharma and *satya* are often identified (vide note 125 above) and here the wrong-doer tells the truth and the decision is therefore said to be by *dharma*. When a litigation is fought out in Court by citing witnesses, the decision is said to be by *vyavahāra*. 'Witnesses' are mentioned only by way of illustration (and imply documents, possession and other means of proof). When a defendant is guilty of not giving a straight reply or when his reply is tainted with faults and so is unacceptable and a decision is given against him on that ground alone it is still a decision by *vyavahāra*. *Caritra* means 'the usages of a country, village or family' (*deśasthith pūrvakṛtā caritram sanudāhṛtam*—Vyāsa q. in Sm C II. p 11 and Vy Nir p 138). This seems to be the sense of 'caritra' in 'phalakavāre charitratoti' occurring in Nasik Inscription No 12 in E. I. vol VIII p 82. In *prakīrnaka* 24 Nār seems to give the same sense 'sthityartham prthivīpālas. caritravisayāḥ kṛtāḥ'. *Caritra* also means 'anumāna' (possession and presumptions). 'Anumānena nirṇitam caritramiti kathyate'—says Br. quoted in Vy Nirṇaya p. 139 and Par. M. III. p. 198. Usages are the means of decision in certain cases apart from the question whether they are supported by the *smṛtis* or

337. *Pratyākālita* means, acc. to Aparārka p 616, the deliberation of the judge and *sabhyas* as to where the burden of proof (*onus probandi*) lies and as to the method of proof. Acc. to the Mit on Yāj I 3, *pratyākālita* in this sense is not a *vyavahārapāda*, since it is not directly related to the litigants. Acc to Nār. II. 21 *pratyākālita* seems to mean an addition to the plaint or to the reply (i.e. a supplementary written statement), वादिप्रति लिखिताद्यर्थं यद्युपवादिना स्तुतम् । तत्प्रत्याकलितं नाम स्वपादे तस्य लिख्यते ॥

not. 'Caritram pustakarane' means that such usages are valid means of decision if they have been written down or recorded by the king, while 'caritram tu svikarane' (the reading in Par. M) means 'usages become the rule of decision when they are accepted as valid by the people and by the courts'. When a king issues in a matter of dispute an order which is not opposed to *smṛtis* or local usages and which is thought out as the most appropriate one by the king's intellect or which is issued to decide a matter when the authorities on each of two sides are equally strong, it is a decision by royal command Br (in Par. M III p. 148) and Kāt (verses 35-38 q in Sm C II p. 10, Par. M. III pp. 16-17, V P p 7) explain the above four. Brhaspati gives two meanings of *caritra*: (1) what is decided by inference; (2) the usages of a country. When it is said that each later one of the four stultifies each preceding one, the idea is not that in all cases it is so, but that it is so only in some cases. Vide Kāt. (43 q by V. P. p 90) which makes this clear. Some examples may be given. If one litigant says that he would prove his case by an ordeal, while the other says that he will prove his contention by human means (documents or witnesses &c.), then the trial by ordeal is not to be resorted to but the hearing of the case is to proceed in the ordinary way. Vide Kāt 218 (q. by Mit. on Yāj. II. 22) for this rule. Here *dharma* is set aside in favour of *vyavahāra*. Another example is given in the Par. M. III p. 18. A person belonging to one of the four *varnas* commits a seditious act (*rājadroha*) and through timidity admits his guilt (this is *satya*), but the witnesses (relying on Manu X. 130 that where the punishment would be death, a witness may tell a lie) deny that he was guilty of the act and he is let off. Here *dharma* is set aside in favour of *vyavahāra* (trial based on the depositions of witnesses). Vide Sm. C. (II p. 11) for another similar example. In the country of Kerala visiting a prostitute was not condemned by custom. So even though it is established by witnesses that a person in Kerala did so, the local king may not punish him with a fine. Or suppose a person is charged with the offence of adultery with the wife of an *abhīra* and this fact is established by witnesses. Yet the man charged may show that among the *abhīras* there is a usage (written down in the census records of the king) that adultery with an *abhīra* woman is not punishable. In such cases *caritra* (usage) annuls the (ordinary) *vyavahāra*. But suppose that in such cases the king, in order to improve the morals of a section of his subjects, issues a

proclamation that from the date of the proclamation one who is guilty of adultery with an ābhira woman will be punished, then in that case usage will be set aside by royal command, which will then be the rule of decision. Similarly where there are no witnesses nor documents nor possession and no room for ordeal and there are no texts and local usages it is the king who has to decide as best as he can. Vide Pitāmaha q in Sm C (II p 28) Kāt (verses 39-43 q in V. P p 89) describes how and when each later one sets aside each prior one.

Utuskhāna—having four bases viz satya, witnesses, pustakarana and rājasāsana

Utusādhana—having four means viz sūma, dāna, bheda and danda

Utuluta—benefitting the four (the four varnas and four āśramas).

Uturyūpan—that envelopes or reaches four viz the disputants, witnesses, the sabhyas and the king

Utuskārin—that brings about four results viz dharma (justice), gain, renown, love or regard of the people

Astānga—it has eight limbs or members viz, the king, his good officer (chief judge), sabhyas (justice judges), sāstra (law books), accountant, scribe, gold, fire and water

Astūdaśapada—has eighteen titles (viz rnādāna and others enumerated above)

Śatśākha—having a hundred branches. This is approximate. Nār. (I. 20-25) states that the 18 titles have 132 sub-heads (rnādāna 25, upanidhi 6, sambhūyasamutthāna 3, dattā-pradānika 4, asūsrūsā 9, vetana 4, asvāmivikraya 2, vikriyā-dāna 1, kritānusaya 4, samayasyānapākarma 1, ksetravāda 12, śrīpumsayoga 20, dāyabhāga 19, sāhasa 12, yākpārusya and dandapārusya 3, dyūtasamābhava 1, prakṛnaka 6)

Tryom—having three springs or motives viz kāma (sexual desire), krodha (hot temper), lobha (greed).

Dvayabhyoga—founded on two kinds of complaint viz on suspicion or on fact. Nār I 27 says that a complaint on suspicion may be made against those who associate with men of evil repute (such as thieves, gamblers and dissolute persons) or it may be made on the ground that a certain person is really

the thief because the thing stolen is found with him (this is *tattvābhyoga*). This latter may take two forms i. e. the grievance of the plaintiff may be negative (e. g. the defendant took or borrowed a debt or article and does not return it) or positive (e. g. the defendant has dispossessed the plaintiff of land).³³⁸ Vide Mit on Yāj II. 5.

Dvandvāra—having two openings i. e. it is based on the statements in the plaint and those in the reply.

Dvigaṭi—having two issues, that is, the decision may be founded on truth or on error.

Dvīpada—having two aspects, viz. relating to wealth and so civil (*dhanamūla*), and relating to injury and so criminal (*himsāmūla*) This is acc to Kāt. 29.

Dvurūthāna—having two springs or sources. It is the same as above. Hārīta and Kāt. 30 mention this

Dvuskandha—having two trunks viz. *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* (acc to Kāt. 32).

Dvīphala—having two results, victory or failure (Kāt 32).

Ekamūla—Hārīta and Kāt mention this. It means 'having only one (viz. what is to be established) as its root'.

Sapana and *apana*—where both parties to the litigation or one of the parties stakes (either through pride or anger or belief in the truth of his case) a certain sum of money to be paid by him in case of his defeat, that is called *sapana* law-suit (Yāj. II. 18); in this case the defeated party will pay to the king the usual fine for a defeated party and also the sum staked by him and will deliver to the successful party what is due to him. Vide also Visnudharmottara III. 324 44. A lawsuit may also be *apana* (without a stake being declared). Nār. (I. 4) employs the words *sottara* and *anuttara* for these two

The Sm. C. (II. pp 27-28), Par. M. (III. pp 42-45), Sarasvatī-vilāsa pp. 73-74, V P. pp 36-38, state that, according to Pīṭamāha, the king may take cognizance of his own motion without

338. न्यायं मे नेच्छते कर्तुमन्यायं वा करोति च । न लेखयति यस्त्वेवं तस्य पक्षो न लिख्यति ॥ कात्या. q. by विवरूप (on या. II. 6), स्मृतिच० II p. 39. मिता. on या. II. 5 'न्यायागर्तं मदीयं धनं गृहीत्वा न ददातीतिवत् अतिषेधरूपेण वा मदीयं क्षेत्रादिकमपहरतीति वा विधिरूपेण वा यो न लेखयतीत्यर्थः' । स्मृतिच० II. p. 39.

the complaints of private persons of certain matters called *aparādhas*, *padas* and *chalas* and these works set out the lists of ten *aparādhas*, 22 *padas* and 50 *chalas*³³⁹. The king may himself come to know about these or these matters may be brought to his notice by an officer called *sūcaka* or a private man called *stobhaka*, defined acc to Kāt. (33-34) as follows —³⁴⁰ that man is declared to be *sūcaka* who is appointed by the king himself for finding out the wrong-doings of people and who on coming to know of them conveys them to the king; that man is a *stobhaka* who with a sole eye to money and without being urged by the king informs the king first of actions (among the people) that are condemned by the *sāstras*. Therefore a *stobhaka* is a private informant for money. The ten *aparādhas*, acc. to Nār., are: disobedience of the king's order, murder of a woman, confusion of varnas, adultery, theft, pregnancy from one not the husband, abuse and defamation, obscenity, assault (*danda-pārusya*), abortion³⁴¹. They were called *aparādhas* because they were met with fine. It will be noticed that some of these come under several *vyavahārapadas* and some like 'varnasankara' are included in *prakṛnaka* by Nārada (v 4). The king could by his own action investigate these even if no private complaint be lodged. Samvarta (quoted by the Sm C II p 28, Par M III. pp 44-45) gives another list which differs in some respects from the above. In the Nālandā copperplate of Devapāladēva (E I vol XVII p 310, p 321) an officer called 'dasāparādhika' is mentioned. In many grants from the 7th century onwards among the taxes remitted to the donees we often meet the expression 'together with the ten *aparādhas*' (*sadaśāparādhah*), in Valabhi grant of Dhruvasena III dated samvat 334 i e 653-4 A.D., E I vol. I p. 85, at p 88, E.I. XVII p 310 at p 321, in Gupta Ins. No 39 p 179 of 766-767 A. D.), or 'dasāparādhādisamastot-pattisahito dattah' (in E I vol VII p. 26, p 40 of śake 852), or

339 छलानि चापराधाश्च पदानि द्रुपतेस्तथा । स्वयमेतानि शुद्धीयान्द्रुपस्तावेद-
कौर्विना ॥ पितामह प ३३ स्मृतिच II p 27, परा. मा III p 42

340 शास्त्रेण निन्दितं त्वर्थमुख्यो राज्ञामचोदितः । आवेदयति यस्तु सर्वं स्तोभकः स
उदाहृतः ॥ द्रुपेणैव नियुक्तो यः परदोषमवेक्षितम् । द्रुपस्य सूचयेज्ज्ञात्वा सूचकः स उदाहृतः ॥
कात्यायन प ३३ स्मृतिच III p 28 (reads मुख्यस्वार्थमचोदितः), परा. मा III
p 45 (reads त्वर्थे मुख्यस्वार्थः and द्रुपस्य समर्थः ज्ञात्वा), श्व प्र p 38 (reads
परदोषानवेक्षणे)

341. आज्ञासङ्घर्षनकर्तार जीवथो वर्णसङ्करः । परस्त्रीगमनं चौर्यं गर्भश्चैव पातं विना ।
वाक्यारुध्यमवाच्यं यद्व्यङ्ग्यपारुष्यमेव च । गर्भस्य पातनं चैवेत्यपराधा वृत्ते ह ॥ नारद प ३३
स्मृतिच. II. p 28, परा. मा III p. 44, स. वि. p 73, दण्डनीतिमकरण of कोश प. 12.

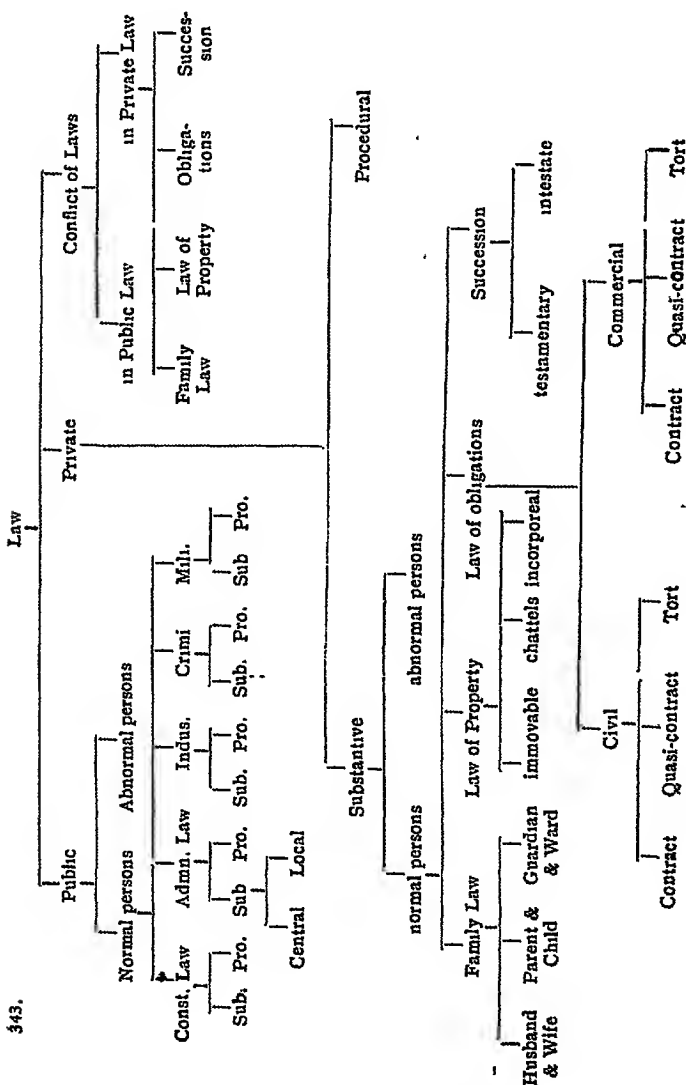
'sadaṇḍadaśāparādhab' (E. I. vol. III p. 53 at p. 56, Torkheda plate of Govinda in śake 735, and E. I. vol. III p. 265, 266, the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva dated Vikrama saṁvat 1016). It is not correct to hold that the words refer to the right of the donee to be exempt from guilt arising from the commission of some traditional offences or that authority was conferred by the grant on the donee to deal with offenders committing the ten *aparādhas* and to recover the fines imposed by themselves (as suggested in J B O R S for 1916 p. 53n). No king would ever think of exempting donees in pious gifts or the villages in those grants from the results of such grave *aparādhas* as the murder of a woman, adultery, theft and abortion, nor is it possible to hold that a king authorised a private individual or individuals to exercise judicial power in such crimes as murder when (as we shall see later on) the power of dealing with *sāhasa* was not conferred on śreni or gana tribunals. The real meaning appears to be that the fines levied by him for the commission of the *aparādhas* in the villages granted would be made over to the donees as part of the gift, when recovered by the king. The 22 *padas* were called *padas* of the king to distinguish them from the *vyavahārapadas*. According to Pītāmaha³⁴² they are: ripping open an animal's body (with a sharp weapon), destruction of growing crops, incendiarism, rape of a maiden, concealment of treasure trove, making a breach in an embankment or thorny hedge, grazing cattle over the field of another, destruction of a public garden, poisoning, high treason, unauthorised breaking of the royal seal, divulging the secret line of policy of the king, releasing from jail a prisoner, appropriation of the taxes or fines to be levied by the king (these are two), appropriating gifts (made by the king) or the *utseka*

342. उत्कर्त्ता सत्त्वपाती चाप्यशिक्ष्य तथैव च । विध्वंसकः कुमार्याश्च निधानस्योप-
गोपकः ॥ सेतुकण्टकभेत्ता च क्षेत्रसञ्चारकस्तथा । आरामच्छेदकश्चैव गरदश्च तथैव च ॥ राज्ञो
द्रोहप्रकर्त्ता च तन्मुद्राभेदकस्तथा । तन्मन्त्रस्य ग्रमेत्ता च बद्धस्यैव च मोचकाः ॥ भोगदण्डो
च दण्डाति दासमुत्तेकनेव (?) मुत्सर्गमेव च । पटहायोवणाच्छादी द्रव्यमस्वामिकं च यद् ॥
राजापलीढं द्रव्यं यद्यच्चैवाङ्गविनाशनम् । द्वाविंशति पदान्याहुर्द्वयपक्षेयानि पण्डिताः ॥
स्तुतिच II. p. 28, परा. ना III. p. 45, स. बि. p. 73, व्य. प्र. p. 37. The passage
is somewhat corrupt ; स. बि. gives a summary in prose and begins with
पिच्छकृतिः, while the rest read उत्कर्त्ता or उत्कृत्ता. व्य. प्र. and दण्डनीतिप्रकरण p. 12
reads दानं विक्रयमेव च (which would mean 'appropriating a gift or property
sold by the king').

(? *utsarga*, dedication to the public), preventing the proclamation (of royal orders) by beat of drum from being heard, receiving property from a person who is not the owner, receiving articles that are enjoyed by the king (without his permission), causing destruction (or loss) of any one of the (seven) elements (of the State). The fifty *chalas* were mostly breaches of etiquette before the eyes or in the presence of the king. According to Pitāmaha they are: obstructing the road, raising the hand threateningly, leaping over a fort-wall (without permission or reason), destroying a cistern, destroying a temple, filling up a ditch (dug round a fort), divulging the weak points of the king (to the enemy), unauthorized entrance into the harem or royal chamber or the treasury or the royal kitchen (these are four), prying when the king is taking his meals, voiding ordure or urinating or blowing the nose or passing wind in the presence of the king (these are four), to sit before the king on haunches (*paryāṅkāśama*), to occupy the foremost seat in the king's presence, to enter royal presence in a dress more resplendent than the king's or supported by another or by the wrong-doer or at an improper time (these are four), to lie down on the bed or seat of the king or to put on his shoes (these are three), to go near the king (uncalled) when the latter is lying down on his bed, to serve the king's enemies, to occupy a seat that is not offered, to use gold in the dress or ornaments (these are two), to take tāmbūla (from the king's betel box) and chewing it (this is one), to speak loudly without being asked (by the king), to run down the king, to wear only one garment, to appear before the king with oil on the hair, to untie the hair (before him), to cover one's face, to have a body painted with figures, to wear a garland, to shake one's garment, to cover the head, to be bent on finding the weak points of the king, to be thick with evil men (or to touch the king), to have dishevelled hair, pointing out the nose, the ears and the eyes (these are three), to pick the teeth, to cleanse the ear or the nose (these are two). As the list of *chalas* is a very long one the verses are not quoted below, but are given in the Appendix (note 342 a). Śūkra (IV. 5. 73-88) quotes all the verses from Nārada and Pitāmaha on the *aparādhas*, *padas* and *chalas* and in III. 6 also gives a list of ten sins, which is different from that of the *aparādhas*.

In modern works on Jurisprudence various classifications of Law are stated. For example, Dr. E. Jenks in 'New Jurisprudence' (1933) furnishes at the end of his work a very

elaborate classification which is set out in the note below.³⁴³ Ancient systems cannot be expected to present such a classification. Ancient Hindu smritis were content, as shown above, to



divide the vyavahārapadas into civil and criminal. They more or less deal with most of the subjects brought out in modern classifications but not in an orderly manner. They also divide laws into substantive and adjective or procedural. The vyavahārapadas correspond to the former and the rules about procedure, the appointment of Judges and the constitution of courts, evidence and limitation are adjective law. Some of these are dealt with in the commentaries and digests under a section called *vyavahāramātrkā* (the elements of judicial procedure) and the rules of evidence are stated in Yāj, Nār. and others under the vyavahārapada *ṛnādāna* once alone. It would be more convenient to deal with adjective law first. That law is now of antiquarian or academic interest only and will therefore be treated somewhat briefly. The smrtis lay down a high level of judicial procedure, but the procedure must have been modified to suit the requirements of different times and the resources and inclinations of different kings. Some of the vyavahārapadas viz *ṛnādāna* (recovery of debt), *striputrasayoga* and *dāyabhāga* (partition of heritage) are of great practical importance even now, as all Hindus are governed in matters of partition, inheritance, debts, marriage and sonship by the rules of Hindu Law gathered from the Smrtis and digests as modified by legislative enactments and judicial decisions. For description of Judicial administration in the Buddhist texts and times, vide Fick pp 107, 111-112 (which show that the administration of justice in Vesālī, the capital of the Licchavis, was a complicated affair, one of the courts being that of the *atthakulakas* i. e. of eight heads of families), Jayaswal's 'Hindu Polity', part II pp. 156-157, Hiouen T'sang's account in Beal's B.R. W. W. Vol. I pp 84-85; and Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 24 pp 266-267 (for the administration of Justice under the Marathas).

Justice was to be primarily dispensed by the king. He was an original court as well as an appellate tribunal. Smrtis and digests insist that the king cannot dispense justice by himself alone, but must do so with the help and guidance of others. Manu VIII 1-2 and Yāj II 1 provide that the king wearing no gaudy dress or ornaments is to enter the *sabhā* (the Hall of Justice) for looking into the causes of litigants, accompanied by learned brāhmanas and ministers proficient in statecraft, is to be free from hot temper and greed and decide according to the law laid down in dharmasāstras. Kāt. (55-56 quoted in V. M. p. 278, Mit. on Yāj. II 2) says the same thing and adds that

a king who examines disputes in the presence of the Judge, the ministers, learned brāhmanas, the purohita and the sabhyas attains heaven. Vide Śukra IV. 5. 5 to the same effect (taking half verses from Yāj. and Kāt.). The king was not to decide by himself but was to follow the advice of his judge, though the responsibility even when he took advice was the king's. Vide Śukra IV. 5. 6 (*naikah paṭyicca kāryān*). Nār. I. 35 says that the king has to abide by the view of the judge (*prāḍuvvā-kamate sthuta*). This sentiment that it is not safe for a single man, however clever he may be, to undertake to decide a dispute was so ingrained among all people that Kalidāsa gives expression to it in the Mālavikāgnimitra (Act I) when he pens the sentence 'sarvajñasyāpyekākino nirṇayābhyupagamo doṣāya'. In Raghuvamśa 17.39, Kalidāsa states that king Atithi always looked into the causes of people himself with the help of judges (*dharmaśtha*)³⁴⁴. Piṭāmaha³⁴⁵ states that a person even if he knows the rules (of dharma) should not give a decision single-handed. Justice was to be dispensed openly in the court and not secretly. Śukra (IV. 5. 6-7) states³⁴⁶ that neither the king nor the judge nor the sabhyas were to hear a cause in secret and that there were five reasons that led to the charge of partiality in judges viz. hot temper, greed, threats, enmity and hearing disputes in private. Judicial action is divisible into two provinces, viz. that of law and that of fact. The latter is a field in which it is impossible to lay down rules for determination. On points of facts there was a vast scope for the king's or judge's discretion. And therefore the texts contented themselves by saying that the king or judge should keep an open or impartial mind, should be free from hot temper or greed, should hear causes under the glare of public view and should not decide at his own will alone but with the help of learned brāhmanas and sabhyas. As regards points of law the king or judge is

344. स धर्मस्थसक्तः शस्त्रद्वयिभ्यस्त्वापि न स्वयम् । दृष्ट्वा संशयच्छेदाम्पबहारान-
सन्निहतः ॥ रघुवंश । 17. 39. The word धर्मस्थ used here for judges may be noted. Kaut uses the same word in III. 1. From a detailed examination of the Raghuvamśa it appears very probable that Kalidāsa had closely studied Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

345. तस्मान्न बाध्यमेकेन विधिज्ञेनापि धर्मतः । इति पितानेहेन एकस्य धर्मकथननिषे-
धात् । स वि p. 67.

346. नैकः पश्येच्च कार्याणि नादिनोः शृणुयाद्वचः । रक्षसि च वृषः प्राज्ञः सम्पाद्यैव
कदाचन । पक्षपाताभिरुपस्य कारणाणि च पञ्च वै । रामलोभमयहेवा नादिनोश्च पदःश्रुतिः ॥
शुक्र. IV. 5. 6-7.

required to decide according to the rules of dharmaśāstra (Manu VIII. 3, Yāj II. 1, Nār. I. 37, Sukra IV. 5. 11) and where there are no texts the king should decide in accordance with the recognized custom of the country. Kāt solemnly warns³⁴⁷ the king against legislating or deciding according to his own will in the face of the texts: 'If a king decides (a case) by his own fiat where there is a text (of the śāstra applicable to it) it leads him away from heaven, it causes ruin to the people, it brings danger (to the king) from the armies of his foes and it strikes down the roots of (long) life; therefore a king should decide the causes of people according to the rules of śāstra; but in the absence of smṛti texts he should carry out (judicial administration) according to the usages (lit the views) of the country'. These are the same as Śukra (V. 5. 10-11). Kāt further prescribes that the usages established in a country by the approval of its people and that are not in direct conflict with Veda and Smṛtis should be recorded in writing under the seal of the king Pitāmaha³⁴⁸ quoted by the Sm. C. (II. p. 26) states that in certain cases it is the king's own mind that is the deciding factor.

How the king directly dispensed justice is illustrated by the rules of Gaut. XII 40-42 and Manu VIII. 314-316 that a thief who has stolen a brāhmana's gold may run with dishevelled hair to the king carrying an iron club or a heavy bludgeon of khadira wood, may declare the sin committed by him and request the king to award punishment, that the king may then strike him with the club and that whether the thief dies or lives after the king so strikes him he becomes free from the guilt. The king was also the highest court of appeal. The Rājatarāṅgini (VI. 14-41) states how king Yaśaskara heard the appeal of a person who had sold his house without the well, who on returning

347. अस्वर्ग्यो लोकनाशाय परानीकभयावहा । आयुर्बाजहस्सी राज्ञा सति वाक्ये स्वयं-
कृतिः ॥ तस्माच्छास्त्रादुत्तरेण राजा कार्यानि कारयेत् । वाक्याभावे तु सर्वेषां देशदृष्टेन तस्म-
येत् ॥ कात्या. q. by अपरार्क p 599, स्मृतिच. II. pp. 25-26, परा ना III. p 41
शुक्र IV. 5 10-11 are the same as कात्या. यस्य देशस्य यो धर्मः प्रवृत्त. सार्वकालिकः ।
श्रुतिस्मृत्यविरोधेन देशदृष्ट. स उच्यते ॥ देशस्यानुमतेनैव व्यवस्था या निरूपिता । लिखिता तु
सदा धार्या शुद्धिता राजमुद्रया ॥ कात्या. q. in स्मृतिच. II. p 26, परा. ना III p 41.
Vide मनु 8 3 for देशदृष्ट.

348. यत्र चैते हेतवो न विद्यन्ते तत्र पार्थिवध्वनानिर्णय इत्याह स एव (पितामह
एव) । लेख्यं यत्र न विद्येत न श्रुतिर्न च साक्षिणः । न च दिग्धावतारोस्ति प्रमाणं तत्र
पार्थिवः । निश्चेतु ये न शक्याः स्तुवादा सन्निधिरूपिणः । तेषां द्रुपः प्रमाणं स्यात् स सर्वस्य
प्रवृत्तः ॥ स्मृतिच. ॥ II. p. 26.

from a long absence abroad found the well usurped by the vendee and was defeated in the lower courts because the vendee had bribed the scribe to write '*kūpasahita*' instead of '*kūpanahita*' and how the king decided in the man's favour by exposing the vendee with a trick; while in VI. 42-69 the same king is said to have reversed another decision about a contract by a man whose 100 coins had fallen into a well. The same work in another place (IV. 82-108) states how a brāhmana wife appealed to the king of Kashmir to find out the culprit who had murdered her husband in his sleep and how the king by superhuman means held a sorcerer to be the murderer.

When owing to pressure of other weighty business the king cannot attend to the work of administering justice, the king should appoint a learned brāhmana together with three sabhyas to decide the disputes of people. Vide Manu VIII. 9-10, Yāj. II. 3, Kāt. 63³⁴⁹ (same as Śukra IV. 5. 12). The qualifications of a judge are set out in many places. Āp.³⁵⁰ Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 5 prescribes that in law-suits judges shall be endowed with learning, good family, and should be old, clever, and careful about dharma. Nār. requires: 'The Judge should be proficient in the texts on the eighteen titles of law, their 8000 sub-heads, in logic (ānviksiki) and should be master of the Veda and Smṛtis. Just as a physician takes out from the body an iron dart by the employment of surgical instruments, so a judge should extricate from a law-suit the deceit (underlying it)'.³⁵¹ Kāt. says that a judge should be restrained, born of a good family, impartial, not repellent (or harsh in his manners), steady, afraid of the next world, highly religious, assiduous and free from hot temper. A fine enumeration of the qualities required in a judge is given in the ancient drama Mṛcchakatika (IX. 4). Vide Mānasollāsa

349. यदा कुर्यान्न ह्यपतिः स्वयं कार्यविनिर्णयम् । तदा तत्र नियुज्यते ब्राह्मणं शास्त्र-
पारगम् ॥ दान्तं कुलीनं मध्यस्थमवहेगकरं स्थिरम् । परत्र भीरुं धर्मिष्ठमुचुकं क्रोधवर्जितम् ॥
काल्या. quoted in स्य. मा. p. 279, स्मृतिच. II p. 16, राज. र. p. 18 (first verse),
नितार. on य. II. 3 (2nd verse), व्यवहारवत्त्व p. 196, शुक्र IV. 5. 12-13. Some
read दुर्लभं कुलीनम्.

350. विवादे विद्याभिजनसम्पन्ना बुद्धा मेधाविनो धर्मेणैव विनिपातिनः । आप. ध.
II. 11. 29. 5.

351. अष्टादशपदानि ज्ञास्तद्भेदादसहस्रवित् । आन्वीक्षिक्यादिकुशलः शुतिस्मृति-
परायणः ॥ यथा शल्यं भिषक्प्रायः पुद्गलैश्च यन्त्रयुक्तिभिः । माद्विवाकस्तथा शल्यमुद्धरेद्दृश्यव-
हारतः ॥ नारद प. in स्मृतिच. II. p. 14. The 2nd is नारद (III. 16). It is
quoted as हारीत's in राज. र. p. 19.

II 2 verses 93-94. A Judge was generally styled *prāḍvivāka* or sometimes *dharmādhyakṣa* (as in Rāj R p. 18),³⁵² or *dharmapraṇavāktṛ* (Manu VIII 20) or *dharmādhyakṣa* (as in Mānasaśāstra II 2. verse 93). *Prāḍvivāka* is an ancient word. It occurs in Gaut XIII 26, 27 and 31, Nār.³⁵³ (I 35), Brhaspati (q. by Aparārka p. 602). The word is a combination of 'prāḍ' (one who puts questions to the suitors, from the root 'pracch') and 'vivāka' (who speaks out or analyses the truth, from the root 'vac' with 'vi'). The derivation is given by Nār, Brhaspati, Kāt, 68 and others. The word 'prāṇnavivāka' (which is quite close to *prāḍvivāka* in sense and etymology) goes very far into antiquity and occurs in Vāj. S. XXX. 10 and Tai. Br III 5 6. The existence of the word *prāḍvivāka* as early as Gautama (about 500 B.C.) and of *prāṇnavivāka* in the Vāj. S and Tai Br. clearly establishes that in ancient India judicial functions became separated very early from executive or political functions.

The chief Judge was preferably to be a learned brāhmana (Manu VIII 9, Yāj. II. 3). Kāt. (67)³⁵⁴ and Śukra IV. 5. 14 prescribe that, if a learned brāhmana cannot be had for the post of the chief judge, then a ksatriya or a vaiśya who knows the

352. स्मृतिः । कुलशिलिखणोपेतः सत्त्वधर्मपरायणः । प्रवीणः पेशलो वृक्षो धर्माध्यक्षो विधीयते । राज. र. p. 18.

353 विवादसंभितं धर्मं पृच्छति प्रकृतं मतम् । विवेचयति यस्तस्मात्प्राह विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ॥ नारद q in स्मृतिच. II. p 14, व्यवहाराभितं धर्मं पृच्छति प्राड्विति स्थितिः । विवेचयति यस्तस्मिन् प्राह विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ॥ कात्या in स्व मा p 274. अपरार्क p 602 quotes this as from बृहस्पति The मितः on वा II 3 derives 'अधिप्रत्ययिनौ पृच्छतीति प्राह तयावचनं विरुद्धमविरुद्धं च सम्यै सह विविनक्ति विवेचयति वेति विवाकः । प्राह तयावचनं विवाकश्च प्राह विवाकः'. पूर्वोत्तरपक्षौ पृच्छतीति प्राह निर्णयं विशेषेण प्रवकीति विवाक इति योगिकी तस्य सज्ञा । प्राह विवाक इति पूर्वोद्गरादित्वात्तापुः । स नि. p 64. Vide अपरार्क p 602 and राज. र. p. 18 for another verse of बृहस्पति 'विवादे पृच्छति' and मितः on वा. II 3. and राज. र. p 19 for a verse of व्यास on the derivation of प्राह विवाक. Vide छुक्र IV. 5. 66 for the derivation of विवाक from the root विच् or वच्. मर्यादायै प्रज्ञविवाकम् । राज सं. XXX. 10

354. ब्राह्मणे यत्र न स्यात्तु क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् । वैश्यं वा धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं यत्नेन बर्जयेत् ॥ कात्या q. by मितः (on वा II 3), अपरार्क p. 601, स्व मा 279, राज र. p. 23, स्मृतिच. II p. 17. The स्मृतिच. II. p 17 cites another verse where the first quarter is यत्र विमो न विद्वान् स्यात् and the other three are the same as above. छुक्र IV. 5 14 (यदा विमो न विद्वान्) is the same as this वेदस्याप्त IV. 44 defines ब्राह्मणमुव (which occurs in मनु VIII 20) 'गर्माधानादिभिर्मन्त्रैर्बद्धोपयनेन च । नाभ्यापयति नाधीते स भवेद् ब्राह्मणमुवः' । कुल्लूक on मनु. VII. 85 explains यो ब्राह्मणः किंवा रक्षित आत्मानं ब्राह्मणं प्रवीति स ब्राह्मणमुवः ।

dharmasāstras may be appointed, but the king should carefully avoid appointing a śūdra as a judge. Manu VIII. 20 says that the king may prefer a brāhmana who is not learned and maintains himself by the mere fact of his caste, but should never have a śūdra as the expounder of dharma and that the country whose king has a śūdra as judge to expound dharma comes to ruin as a cow sinks in mud. Vyāsa (q. in S. V. p. 65) is to the same effect. Manu (VIII. 10-11), Yāj. (II. 3), Nār. (III. 4) and Śukra IV. 5. 17 state that the king should appoint at least three sabhyas (*pursue* judges or members of the court of justice) to associate with the Chief Judge in the disposal of suits (the idea being that three are the least number of sabhyas to be appointed). Kaut. (III. 1) prescribes that the courts called 'dharmaśālīya' should be manned by three judges called *dharmaśālas* who should possess the qualifications and status of amātyas and that such courts should be established on the borders of the provinces, for a group of ten villages (*saṅgrahana*), for a district (*dronamukha*, 400 villages) and provinces (*sthānīya*, 800 villages). Brhaspati says³⁵⁵ that the sabhyas may be seven, five or three. As in the case of the chief judge, the sabhyas should be preferably brāhmanas, but they may be ksatriyas or vaiśyas. Manu (VIII. 11) and Br. say that when in a sabhā three brāhmanas learned in the Vedas sit along with the chief judge appointed by the king that is like the *sabhā* of Brahman or it is like a sacrifice. Yāj II. 2, Vāsnudharmasūtra III. 74, Kāt. 57, Nār. III. 4-5, Śukra IV. 5. 16-17 and others require the following qualifications in the sabhyas: they should be endowed with the study of the Vedas, should know dharmaśāstra, should speak the truth, should be impartial to friend or foe, should be steady, devoted to their work, intelligent, hereditary, proficient³⁵⁶ in arthaśāstra. Impartiality in the king and the judges is insisted on in the texts. Vide Vas. 16 3-5, Nār. (I. 34, III. 5) The king was not to appoint as sabhyas those who were ignorant of the usages of the country, who were atheists and devoid of the study of śāstras, who were either puffed up, hot-tempered, greedy or distressed (Br. q. in Sm. C.

355. लोकवेदाङ्गधर्मज्ञाः सप्त पञ्च त्रयोपि वा । यज्ञोपविष्टा विद्याः स्तुः सा यज्ञस्तद्वशी सभा ॥ बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिचं II. p. 15. It is also छुक्क IV. 5. 26.

356. स तु सम्यक् स्थिरैर्दृक् प्राज्ञैर्मौलैर्हिजोत्तमैः धर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलैर्यशास्त्रविशारदैः ॥ कात्या. q. by मित्रा (on वा. II 2), व्य. ना. p. 278, स्मृतिचं II. p. 15; अतुल्यधनवन्तश्च धर्मज्ञाः सत्यवादिनः । सर्वशास्त्रप्रवीणाश्च सम्याः कार्या हिजोत्तमाः ॥ कात्या. q. by अपरार्क p. 601, राज. १ p. 23. Vide ज्ञान्ति 83.2 for सम्मयुग्मः,

II. p. 15). The chief justice (*prādvivāka*) with the *sabhyas* constituted the Court, being appointed (*anyukta*) by the king. It was stated above that the king was to enter the Hall of Justice with the chief justice, *sabhyas* and *brāhmanas*. The distinction is that *sabhyas* were appointed by the king as judges, while *brāhmanas* were persons who were well-versed in *dharmaśāstra*, who could attend the Court, though not appointed (*anyukta*) and whose opinions on difficult points of law were respectfully received by the judges. They (the learned *brāhmanas*) were in the position of *amici curiae*. All and sundry were not to intermeddle in trials before the court, but only those who were learned in *dharmaśāstra* were allowed to express their opinions on knotty points. Vide³⁵⁷ Mit on Yāj. II. 2. Manu VIII. 12-14 (same as Nār. III. 8-10 in a different order) say that either a person should not enter a *sabhā* or if he enters should say what is proper, that a man remaining silent or declaring what is false becomes a sinner and that, where in spite of the opinion of some or all *sabhyas*, justice is not done by the king, they become participators in the king's guilt. Kāt. (74-78) makes it the duty of the *sabhyas* to bring round a king gradually to the right path when the king is about to start on the path of injustice and to state the true decision.³⁵⁸ In the case of the *brāhmanas* their duty ends with stating the rule according to the *śāstras*; they have not, like the *sabhyas*, to prevent the king from doing the wrong thing or to bring him round to the path of right and justice. Nār. (III. 1) states elsewhere that one who is not appointed by the king should not interfere by his speech in the decision of a case and that if he does so he would be fined. This applies to the people that are present in the court to see the trial or that accompany the litigants. It has no application to learned *brāhmanas*, who though not appointed by the king, can state their view of the law.³⁵⁹ Vide Vyavahārasāra pp. 16-17. Nār. III. 17 requires that all the judges of the Court should give a unanimous decision, and that then only the decision leaves no grievance (in the

357. तत्र ब्राह्मणा अनियुक्ताः सभासदस्तु नियुक्ता इति भेदः । मित. on या. II. 2.

358. अन्यायेनापि तं वान्तं येऽनुयोजन्ति सभासदः । तेऽपि तज्जागिनस्त्वाम् बोधनीयः शनैर्दृष्टः ॥ अथर्थाय यदा राजा नियुजति विवादिनाम् । निष्ठाप्य ह्यपि सत्यसदकार्षं निवर्तयेत् ॥ कात्या. १. in स्मृतिच. II p. 21, राज. र. pp. 24-25

359. नियुक्तो वानियुक्तो वा धर्मज्ञो वक्तुमर्हति । द्वैर्वा वाचं स वदति यः शास्त्रद्वयजि-
वति ॥ नारद III. 2 (= ह्यक IV. 5. 28)

mind of the litigants).³⁶⁰ The V. P. (p. 27) states, following Jaimini XII 2. 22, that the opinion of the majority of *sabhyas* is to prevail.³⁶¹ According to Gaut.³⁶² XI. 25 as interpreted by Aparārka p. 599, if there is a difference of opinion among the judges, the king is to seek the advice of those who are learned in the three Vedas (along with the other *vidyās*) and decide the matter finally. Kāt. (58-59) states that the court of justice should have associated with the task of deciding disputes some merchants who belong to a guild, who are men of good family and character, of mature age, endowed with wealth and decent conduct and free from malice. The Mit. and Sm. C. say that this is done to placate the common people in the country.³⁶³ This also shows the growing importance of the moneyed classes and of traders. In the *Mrcchakatika* a *śreṣṭhin* and a *kāyastha* are associated with the Judge

The chief judge and the *sabhyas*³⁶⁴ were not to hold conversation in private with any one of the litigants while the suit was pending and if they did so they were liable to be fined (Kāt. 70). Kaut IV. 9 prescribes fines and even corporal punishments for judges (*dhamasthas*) and pradeśtr̥s who corruptly give wrong decisions, cause loss or sentence to corporal punishment. If the *sabhyas*³⁶⁵ give a decision, which is opposed to *smṛti* and usage, through friendship, greed or fear, each was liable to be fined twice as much as the fine to be paid by the defeated party (Yāj. II 4, Nār. I 67, Kāt. 79-80). The Visnu Dh. S. V. 180 and Br prescribe banishment and forfeiture of all property for

360. यत्र सम्यो जनः सर्वः साध्वेतदिति मन्यते । स निःशल्को विवादः स्यात् सशल्कः स्यादतोऽन्यथा ॥ नारद (III. 17)

361. संख्यावैषम्ये तु धृषीर्षविरोधे धृयसां स्यात्सधर्मत्वमिति न्यायेन विप्रतिपत्तावधिकसंख्यावचनमादरणीयं शुणसाम्ये । व्य म p. 27. Jaimini's sūtra (XII. 2. 22) is विप्रतिषिद्धधर्माणां समवाये धृयसां स्यात्सधर्मत्वम् ।

362. विप्रतिपत्तौ त्रैविद्यबुद्धेयः प्रत्यबहुल्य निष्ठां गमयेत् । शौ. XI. 25; विचार-काणामन्योन्यविप्रतिपत्तौ त्रैविद्यबुद्धेयः समधिगतचतुर्दशविद्यास्थानेभ्यो न्यारं प्रत्यबहुल्या-वगम्य व्यवहारं निष्ठा समाप्तिं निर्णयं गमयेत् । अपराकं p. 599.

363. कुलशीलवशुचविचवन्निरमत्सरैः । वणिग्भिः स्यात्कातिपयैः कुलभूतैरविदितम् ॥ औलोरो वणिजस्तत्र कर्तव्या न्यायदक्षिणः । कात्या. quoted by मिता. (on वा. p. 2), स्मृतिच II p. 17, परा. मा. III p. 31, व्य. म. p. 31 (which explains कुलभूतैः as बुद्धैः)

364. अनिर्णति तु यद्यर्थे सम्भवेत् रहोधिना । माहविवाकोथ दण्ड्यः स्यात्सम्याश्चैव विशेषतः ॥ कात्या. q. by अपराकं p. 604, व्य. मा. p. 283, परा. मा. III. 35.

365. स्नेहादज्ञानतो वापि लोभाद्वा मोहतोपि वा । तत्र सम्योऽन्यथावादी दण्ड्योऽसम्यः स्मृतो हि सः ॥ कात्या. q. by अपराकं p. 603, स्मृतिच II p. 22.

sabhyas that give an unjust decision or take bribes. Kat 81 prescribes that the loss caused by the fault of sabhyas must be made good by them to the losing party, but the decision given by them will stand³⁶⁶. Śukra (IV. 5 63-64) prescribes the punishment of a thief for a *lekhaḥa* (a scribe) taking down a different deposition from the one actually given or for a sabhya making use of such a deposition knowingly, IV 5 93 prescribes fine and removal from office if a sabhya gives a wrong decision through greed &c. and IV. 5. 282 prescribes a fine of 1000 panas against a judge giving a corrupt decision. There must have been a few cases of judges taking bribes in ancient India as in modern times (even Lord Bacon in the 17th century was found guilty of taking bribes as Lord Chancellor and confessed his guilt). In the *Daśakumāracarita*³⁶⁷ (VIII p 131) the cynical jester Vihārābhadrā says to his king that judges decide matters just as they please after taking bribes and the king thereby incurs infamy and the sin of doing injustice. It was believed that when a just decision was given, the king and the sabhyas became free from sin, the sin reaches him only who is guilty (whether plaintiff or defendant); but where an unjust decision is rendered a quarter of the sin falls on the litigant (plaintiff or defendant) who is guilty of *adharmā*, one quarter each on the witnesses, the sabhyas and the king. The Baud Dh S I.10 30-31, Manu VIII 18-19, Nār (III 12-13) have the same two verses. The Vyavahāratattva (p 200) says that Hārita also had the same verses. In the *Mattavilāsa-pīhasana* (pp. 23-24) reference is made to the giving of bribes to the presiding officers of courts (we should read '*adhikarāṇa-kāraṇikānām*' instead of '*—kāraṇikānām*'). Kaut IV 4 makes it a duty of the *samāhantṛ* to employ spies in various disguises to test the honesty of judges (*dharmaśthas*) and magistrates (*pradeśtr*) and, if they were found to be ready to succumb to bribes, to order their banishment.

As to *sabhā*, vide pp. 92-93 above. The Nirukta (III 5) in explaining Rg. I. 124. 7 (*gātārug-va sanaye dhanānām*) states that *gātā* means a wooden board or stump in a sabhā on which a sonless widow claiming her husband's wealth had to stand when claiming it.

366. सम्यक्षोपायु यस्तत्र देयं सम्येन तत्तदा । कार्यं तु कार्दिगामेव निश्चितं न विचार्येत् ॥ कात्या q. by सूत्रिच. II p. 23, स वि p 69

367. द्वितीयोन्मेषविषयमानानां प्रजानामाकांक्षां दृष्टमानकर्णं कष्टं जीवति । तत्रापि भाद्रविकादयः स्वेच्छया जयपराजयौ विदधानाः पापेनाकीर्त्या च भवतिमानां चार्थैर्योजयन्ति । दशकुमारचरिते VIII. p. 131.

A court of justice was (acc. to Br.³⁶⁸) of four kinds, viz. one established (*pratishtā*) in a fixed place such as a town, *apratisthā* (not fixed in one place, but moving from place to place as on a circuit), *mudrītā* (the court of a judge appointed by the king, who is authorised to use the royal seal), *śāstrī* (or *śāstrī*, acc. to S. V. p. 68 and Par. M. III. p. 24) i. e. the court in which the king himself presides. The Court of justice (in the capital) was to be to the east of the palace as stated by Śankha and Br. (in Sm. C. II. p. 19) and was to face the east. The court-house should be decorated³⁶⁹ with flowers, statues, paintings, idols of gods and should be furnished with incense, throne or seat (for the king or judge), seeds, fire and water (Br. in Sm. C. II. p. 19). The *sabhā* was also called, as stated above, *dharmādhikarāna* or simply *adhikarāna* (in *Mṛcchakatika* IX and the *Kādambarī*, para 85) or *dharmasthāna* or *dharmāsana* or *sadas* (Vas. 16. 2). The *Kādambarī* (para 85) speaks of the royal palace as having a court of justice where the judges (*dharmādhikārins*) sat on high cane seats. The time for holding the court is the morning, acc. to Manu VII. 145, Yāj. I. 327. Kaut. states that the king³⁷⁰ should look into the disputes of people in the 2nd part of the day divided into eight parts. The *Dasakumāracarita* (note 367 above) shows the same thing. Kāt. (61-62) prescribes that the time for holding the court as laid down in the *śāstras* is three parts of the day after the first part (when the day is divided into eight parts) i. e. from 7-30 A. M. to noon. There were holidays on which courts were closed i. e. on 8th and 14th *tithis*, Full Moon day and the *amāvāsya* of every month (Samvarta acc. to Par. M. III. p. 23, *Hārīta*, acc. to S. V. p. 72). The *sabhā* is said to have ten *aṅgas*

368. प्रतिष्ठिता घुरे ग्रामे नानाग्रामेऽप्रतिष्ठिता । सुविताद्यक्षसंयुक्ता राजयुक्ता च शासिता ॥ बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 600, राज. र. p. 20 ascribes it to हारीत.

369. माह्वधूपसन्नेपेतां बीजरत्नसमन्विताम् । प्रतिमालेख्यदेवैश्च युक्तामश्वम्बुना तथा ॥ बृह. in राजधर्मकाण्ड p. 30, स्मृतिच. II. p. 19 and इय. नि. p. 5. It is probably such a hall decorated with statues and pictures that is referred to in the play *Kundamālā* (p. 10), 'सुश्रूषयितव्य प्रतिमागतो महाराजः' (in *Prākṛit*), in which some scholars find a reference to the play called *Pratimā*, one of the *Trivandrum* plays. अधिकरणमण्डपगतैश्चायैवैरस्तुब्धवेत्रासनोपविष्टैर्धर्ममयैरिव धर्माधिकारिभिर्माधुर्यैरधिष्ठितम् (राजकुलम्) । कादम्बरी para 85.

370. नादिकाभिरहरदद्या राज्ञे च विभजेत् । ... द्वितीयो पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत् । अर्थज्ञात्वा I 19; आद्याद्वद्वोदमागाद्यद्वर्षे भागत्रयं भवेत् । स कालो व्यवहारस्य शास्त्रद्वयो मनीषिभिः ॥ कात्या. q. by अपरार्क p. 601, स्मृतिच. II. p. 27, स वि p. 72.

by Br.³⁷¹ viz the king, the chief judge appointed by him, the sabhyas, smṛti, ganaka (accountant), lekha (the scribe), gold, fire, water and *svapurusa* (a bailiff, otherwise called *sādhyapāla*). The chief judge declares (the law), the king awards punishment, the sabhyas examine the dispute, smṛti (dharmaśāstra) lays down the rule of decision, the success (of one party or the other) and the punishment; gold and fire are required for taking oaths, the water is for men when they feel thirsty, the ganaka counts the wealth or subject matter of dispute, the scribe writes down the pleadings, depositions and the decision, the *purusa* summons the sabhyas, the defendant, the witnesses and he guards the complainant and the defendant when they have furnished no surety (for appearance). It is further said that of these ten *angas* (limbs) the king is the head, the judge the mouth &c. Acc to Br. (q. in Par. M III p 30) and Śukra IV 5 43 the accountant and the scribe were to be proficient in grammar, lexicography and counting, were to be pure (in character) and conversant with several alphabets. *Purusa* was called *sādhyapāla*, who was to be hereditary, strongly built, a *śūdra* and obedient to the sabhyas (Vyāsa in Par. M. III p 30, V P p 31). The ten *angas* enumerated above (viz. king &c) are respectively identified with the head, the mouth, the arms, the hands, the thighs (ganaka and lekha), the two eyes (gold and water), the heart, feet (Br. in V. P p 31, Hārta in Rāj R p 20). In the Hall of Justice the king faces the east, the sabhyas, the accountant and the scribe respectively face the north, the west and the south (Br. in Par. M III p. 35, Vyavahārasāra p 25). Omitting the king and the chief judge the *sabhā* is said to have eight *angas* in certain works (e g. S V p 72). The chief justice, the sabhyas and the learned brāhmanas were probably elderly people, as great emphasis is laid on this by Nār. (III. 18) and Udyogaparva 35.58 'that is not a real *sabhā* where there are no elderly men &c' ³⁷².

371. वृषाधिकृतसम्याश्च सृतिर्गणकलेखकौ । हिमाग्न्यम्बुस्वयुधाः साधनाङ्गानि चैव दश ॥ ... वक्ताध्यक्षो वृषः शास्ता सम्याः कार्यपरीक्षकाः । सृतिर्विनिर्णयं ब्रूते जयदानं धर्मं तथा । शपथार्थे हिरण्यग्री अम्बु तृषितजन्तुषु । गणको गणयेदर्थं लिखेन्मार्गं च लेखकः । मृत्युसिन्ध्यामनयनं साक्षिणा च स्वयं वृषः । कुर्याद्वृषको रक्षेदधिमत्यग्निं सदा ॥ इहस्पतिः q in अपराकं p 600, सृतिच. II p 20, परा मा III p 31, राज र (pp 20-21) attributes these to Hārta. Vide शुक्र IV 5 38-42 for the verses up to लेखकः.

372. न सा सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धा वृद्धा न ते ये न वदन्ति धर्मम् । नासौ धर्मो यत्र नो सत्यमस्ति न तस्य वच्छलेनाहुविद्धम् ॥ नारद III 18 = उद्योगपर्व 35 58 (reads वच्छलेनाभ्युपेतम्). Acc to a verse quoted from the राजधर्म by the माण्डू on सत्या. श्री सू. १ सभा is of three kinds सभास्तु तिस्रो विज्ञेया धर्मस्येका च कर्मणः । तथा राजसभेयेता विद्वज्जिः परिकीर्तिता ॥ The first (धर्मसभा) dealt with स्ववहार and प्रायश्चित्त, the 2nd (कर्मसभा) was a hall where sacrifices were performed and the 3rd (राजसभा) was the royal *darbar* attended by brāhmanas, warriors, royal officers and servants.

In the drama *Mrechakatika* (Act IX) we have a graphic, though brief, description of judicial procedure in ancient India. That drama is at least as old as the 4th or 5th century A. D. It is very instructive to compare the procedure described in it with that gathered from *Nār.*, *Br.* and *Kāt.* who constitute the leading triumvirate on law and procedure in the *smṛtis* and who probably flourished a little before and a little after the drama. It will be found on comparison that the procedure in the drama is in essentials the same as that of the three *smṛtis* mentioned above, though there is some difference in minor details. The principal points in the drama bearing on judicial administration may be brought together here at one place. The court house was called '*adhikarāna*'; the chief judge was called *adhikarānika*; he was assisted by the *śreṣṭhin* (a prominent merchant or banker) and a *kāyastha*; all three are referred to as '*adhikarānabhojaka*,' and are addressed as *adhukṛta* or *nyukta* (appointed by the king); when a despot was on the throne, the judge's position was precarious and he could be deprived of the post at the king's sweet will (the *Śākara*, king's brother-in-law, threatens the chief justice with summary dismissal). There was a servant who arranged the seats in the court, inquired whether there was any litigant, summoned *Vasantasenā's* mother and *Cārudatta* (this man corresponds to the *purusa* or '*sādhya*'), inquiry was made by the judges as to whether any one wanted to file a suit or complaint; the *śreṣṭhin* and *kāyastha* are asked by the presiding judge to write down the important parts of the complainant's statement; a private person (who was not a relative) could complain to the court about an alleged murder; the judge allowed an old person like the mother of *Vasantasenā* and a respectable and well-known citizen like *Cārudatta* to occupy a seat when replying to questions from the court, but *Cārudatta* was deprived of this concession when a *prima facie* case was made out against him; the court-house (being probably situated near the palace) had near it mantrins, *dūtas*, spies, an elephant and a horse (and the chief of the city police is asked to ride the horse and find out whether the corpse of a woman lay in the public garden), and *kāyasthas*; *Cārudatta* was called upon to state the truth and the judge tells him that in the court no trick (*chala*) will be allowed to pass;³⁷³ when a strong case was

373. Compare *उलं निरस्य धृतेन व्यवहारकयेन्द्रपः । वाङ्म. II. 19; धृतच्छलायुसा-
स्त्रिवाङ्मृद्भिगतिः सङ्गदाहृतः । नारद I 29. न तु सिद्धं उलं राजा मर्षयेद्धर्मसाधनः । धृतमेव
अप्येत धर्मयूला यतः श्रियः ॥ नारद I. 31.*

made out against Cārudatta by circumstantial evidence he was asked to confess his guilt, otherwise he was told that he would be whipped (i.e. this refers to whipping to extort a confession, vide above note 332); the judge was only to pronounce the judgment and recommend the legal punishment, while the king had the last word about the exact punishment, Manu's work was an authority; a brāhmana offender was not to be sentenced to death, but was to be banished with all his wealth, though some kings did not act up to this rule; impalement was carried out by cāndālas, ordeals of fire, water, poison and balance were known and Śūdraka conveys (*śasahatātulāgniprāthite me ucāre*) that Cārudatta had prayed for trial by ordeal, but that the chief justice, because there were witnesses and circumstantial evidence, refused that request.

The court so far described (i.e. where the king or the chief justice appointed by him presided) was the highest court. But other tribunals were recognized in the smṛtis and digests Yāj. I 30 and Nār. (I. 7) state³⁷⁴ that law-suits may be decided by village councils (*kulāni*), corporations (*śreṇi*), assemblies (*pūga* in Yāj, *gana* in Nār.), the judges appointed by the king and the king himself, each later one being superior to each preceding one. The first three were practically arbitration tribunals like the modern *panchayats*. The several words here require explanation and they have been differently interpreted by different digests. Medhātithi on Manu VIII 2 explains these words at great length. Acc. to him 'kulāni' means 'group of relatives' and also (acc. to some) 'impartial persons' (madhyasthapurusāḥ) and 'ganu' means 'builders of houses and mansions or brāhmanas dwelling in mathas'. Acc. to the Mit and V. P. p. 29 'kulāni' means 'an assembly of the relations, agnatic and cognatic, of the litigants', acc. to the Sm. C. it means 'the agnates of the parties'; acc. to Aparārka it means 'husbandmen'. It appears likely that 'kulāni' means officers who presided over a group of eight or ten villages and who were granted the produce of one *kula* of land as their salary. Vide Manu VII. 119 and Kullūka thereon and Dāmodar-pur plate of Gupta year 124 in which the head of the district (*visayapati*) is said to have been assisted by the *nagarasresthin*, *prathama-kulika* and *prathama-kāyastha* (E. I. 15 p. 130) and

374 कुलानि श्रेणयश्चैव गणश्चाधिकृतो नृपः । प्रतिष्ठा व्यवहाराणां सुर्वेभ्यस्तृतीये-
सरम् ॥ नारद (I. 7).

'grāmāsta-kulādhikaranam' in E. I. vol. 17 p. 345 at p. 348 in the reign of Ku māragupta I. From the Sanchi stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (of the Gupta year 93 i. e. 412-13 A. D.) it appears that *panchayats* were called 'pañcamandali' (Gupta Inscriptions pp. 29, 31). 'Śreni' means, acc. to most commentators, 'the corporation of persons following the same craft or avocation, though they may belong to different castes' such as horse-dealers, betel-leaf sellers, weavers and dealers in hide. Acc. to the V. M. p. 280, 'śreni' is an association of artisans or traders'. 'Pūgas' are assemblies of men of one place (a village or a town) belonging to different castes and following different avocations. Kāt (225 and 682) distinguishes between *gana* and *pūga* which he respectively defines as 'assembly of families' (*kulas*) (Sm. C. II p. 18, Par. M. III. p. 352) and 'assemblies of traders and the like' (V. R. p. 668) V. P. p. 30 says *gana* and *pūga* are synonyms. The king was thus the highest court of appeal and next to him was the court of the judges appointed by him, Brhaspati (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 281 verse 28) ordains³⁷⁵ that the *kulas*, *śrenis* and *ganas* that are well-known to the king may decide the disputes of litigants except those that fall under *sāhasa* and that it was only the king who could carry out the order for fines or corporal punishments, i. e. the arbitration courts could only decide disputes not involving *sāhasa* and they had no power to execute their decrees about fines and corporal punishments, but that their decisions had to be filed with the king, who, if he did not disapprove of them, put them into execution. Pitāmaha³⁷⁶ appears to mention three classes of State courts, while Yāj and Nār. refer only to two (viz. that of the chief justice and that of the king himself): 'a dispute decided in a village may be taken to the city and one examined in the city (court) to the king; a dispute decided by the king whether correctly or incorrectly cannot be reviewed.' It is distinctly

375. वाग्दण्डो विग्रहमथैव विमोक्षसाधनौ स्मृतौ । अथदण्डवधादुक्तौ राजापसाधुमा-
धरि । राजा ये विदितः सम्यक्कुलश्रेणियणादयः । साहसन्धायवर्ज्यानि कुर्युः कार्याणि ते
ह्यणम् ॥ इह in स्मृतिच. II, 20, परा मा III, p 32, स वि p 68, स्पव. सा. p. 22
For the first, vide शुक्र IV 5. 279 and the second is शुक्र IV. 5. 30 which reads
साहसस्तेयवर्ज्यानि.

376. ग्रामे दण्डः दुर्ग यायादुरे दण्डस्तु राजनि । राजा दण्डं कुरुष्वो वा नास्ति तस्य पुन-
र्नदः ॥ पितामह 12 स्मृतिच. II, p 19, परा मा. III, p 42.

the king) and the king himself. The *vargins*³⁷⁹ are the groups of various kinds such as *ganas*, *pūgas*, *vrātas*, *srenis* and others. *Kulikas* may be the elders of the families of the plaintiff and the defendant. In the Dāmodarpur plates (E. I. 15 p 130) we come across one Dhrtimitra who is described as 'prathamakulika'. The word 'pañcakula' was applied to certain high officers in Gujarat and Kathiawad; vide I. A. vol. 11 p. 220 (Abu Ins. of Bhīmadeva dated Vikrama year 1265) and Tawney's translation of the Prabandha-cintāmani pp. 18, 84, 129, 149, 190 for 'pañcakula'. The provisions about the conflict between customs and usages on the one hand and *śruti* and *smṛti* on the other will be dealt with in detail later on in another section. A few words may be said here about conflicts between *smṛtis*. In disputes between residents of the same country, the same city or the same hamlet of cowherds or of the same capital or village, the decision should be according to their own conventional usages, but in disputes between these and others (who are not residents of those respective places) the decision must be in accordance with the sacred texts³⁸⁰ (Kāt. 47 q in S. V p 72, Par. M. III. p. 41). Another rule is that when there is an apparent conflict between two *smṛtis*, reasoning is to decide in ordinary life which should be followed or reasoning based on the actions of the aged and the experienced is to decide what text to follow (Yāj. II 21) and the business of the interpreter consists in holding that one of the *smṛtis* contains a general rule and the other an exception or that the two apply to different sets of circumstances (*visaya-vyavasthā*) or that an option may be intended. Voluminous glosses have been written on this one text of Yāj II. 21 right from Viśvarūpa in the 9th century downwards. Another rule is that in the administration of justice *dharmaśāstra* rules have superior force to those of *arthaśāstra*. This has been already referred to above (p 9) Bhṛgu further provides that foresters may get their disputes settled by foresters, members of caravans by other members, soldiers by (a tribunal of) soldiers and those who stay in a village as well as in a forest may get their disputes settled either by villagers or by foresters by mutual

379 गणाः पादण्डपुगाश्च ज्ञाताश्च भ्रूणयस्तथा । समूहस्याथ ये चान्ये वर्गास्तथास्ते
बृहस्पतिः ॥ कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 18, स. वि p 67, प्रामाण्यमेव ये चेदे न वदन्ति
कुट्टयः । तेषां बौद्धाहितादीनां पादण्डाख्या प्रकीर्त्यते ॥ वद्विज्ञानमत q by व्य नि. p. 13.

380 देशपत्तनगोष्ठेषु ग्रामेषु वादिनाम् । तेषां स्वसमयैर्धर्मशास्त्रतोऽन्येषु तैः सह ॥
कात्या q by परा मा. III p. 41, स वि p. 72 स्मृतिच. II p 26 appears to
a scribe it to वितामह

agreement and that the five tribunals for foresters and others are *kulikas* (high officers or heads of families), *sārthas* (members of caravans), headmen, villagers, citizens. The texts further provide that in certain cases the court was to call in aid outsiders to help in deciding disputes. Vyāsa³⁸¹ says: 'In the case of disputes among traders, artisans, husbandmen and actors it is impossible for others to give a (correct) decision, hence such matters should be got decided by experts in those various matters' Br. states that in disputes among husbandmen, craftsmen (carpenters and the like), artisans (like painters), money-lenders, guilds, dancers, sectarians (like Pāśupatas) and criminal tribes the decision should be made with the help of those who understand the conventions made by them and their usages. In disputes about the boundaries of villages and about fields in a village, four, eight or ten neighbours were to settle the boundaries (vide Manu VIII 258, Kaut. III 9, Yaj. II 150-152). Kaut. I 19 and Br.³⁸² (q in V P. p. 23) say that disputes between those who have performed austerities or between those who are adepts in witchcraft and Yoga should not be decided by the king (unaided), but with the help of those learned in the three Vedas, as otherwise they may feel offended. These quotations show that certain people could claim to be tried by their peers or at least by a jury. This jury system was resorted to for settling complicated questions of fact. It is a very ancient system, being mentioned even by Gautama³⁸³ XI. 21-22 'the king, having received help from the heads of husbandmen, merchants, cowherds, money-lenders and artisans as regards disputes in their own groups, should finally decide what is just'.

It has already been stated above that the king is to decide according to the *smṛtis*. He has also to take into consideration the duties and usages of the several *varnas* and the eighteen low

381. ऋणिकृषिपिप्रभृतिषु कृषिरङ्गोपजीविषु । अश्वयो निर्णयो ह्यन्यैस्तदीयेषु कारयेत् ॥ चास quoted in परा मा III p 42, यज प 23, कीनशाः कारकाः शिल्पिकृषीद्विभेगिनर्तकाः । लिङ्गिनस्तस्कराः क्षुद्रैः स्वेन धर्मेण निर्णयम् ॥ बृहस्पति, quoted in यज प 23 This is श्रुत IV 5 18.

382. तपस्विना तु कार्याणि त्रैविद्यैः सह कारयेत् । मायायोगविदां चैव न स्वयं कोप-कारणात् ॥ कौटिल्य I 19 towards end, बृह in यज प 23, यज मा. p 281 ascribes it to both बृह and कात्या

383. कर्षक-ऋणिक-पशुपाल-कुलीवि-कारवः स्वे स्वे वर्गे । तेषां वधाधिकारमर्थाभ्याम्-नृपः धर्मव्यवस्था । गौ XI. 21-22

castes³⁸⁴ (acc. to Manu VIII. 41 and Hārīta). The eighteen low castes said to be outside the pale of the four varnas and āśramas are enumerated by Pitāmaha, viz. washerman, shoe-maker, nata (dancer caste), bamboo-worker, fisherman, mleccha, bhilla, ābhira, mātanga and nine others (the names of which are not given here as the text is corrupt).

The foregoing gradations of tribunals did not all exist at all times in ancient and medieval India. One thing is, however, quite clear. There was always a court of the Chief Justice appointed by the ruling power and final appeal lay to the ruler himself. But as regards inferior tribunals usage varied. For example, it appears from a decision of 1742 in which a ruling of king Shivaji about a Kulkarni *vatan* is set out that in Shivaji's time disputes could be taken before three different but inferior tribunals, viz. the *got* (i. e. the assembly of castemen) which is somewhat like the *kula* tribunal of the *smritis*, or before arbitrators hailing from a place other than where the dispute took place or before the officers, *balutedars* and chief men of several villages round about.³⁸⁵

Manu (VIII 23) prescribes that the king fully dressed and with an undisturbed mind, after taking his seat in the Hall of Justice; should perform obeisance to the gods, the guardians of the (eight) quarters (Indra and others, as specified in Manu VII 4) and should then commence the work of looking into the legal business. The transaction of legal business has four stages (from the king's or judge's point of view) viz. first receiving information from a person, then finding out under what title of law (*vyavahārapada*) the information falls, then consideration of the pleadings of the parties and the evidence

384 शास्त्राणि वर्णधर्मास्तु प्रकृतीनां च भूपतिः । व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञात्वा तत्सर्वमाचरेत् ॥ हारीतः in स्मृतिचं II p. 29, परा. मा. III. p. 46, स. वि p. 74; प्रकृतयः पितामहेन दर्शिताः । रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो ह्यरुह एव च । कैवर्तकश्च विज्ञेयो म्लेच्छभिन्नौ तथैव च । ... एताः प्रकृतयः प्रोक्ता अष्टादश मनीषिभिः । वर्णानामाश्रमाणां च सर्वदा तु बहिः स्थिताः । स्मृतिचं II p. 29, परा. मा. III. p. 46

385 Vide 'Vatanpatrem, Nivādapatrem' edited by Messrs Mavji an Parasnis (1909 A. D.) in Marathi p. 12 at p. 18 'सदरद्वे दोषांच्या तक्रारिना मनास आयून दोषा वादिपास व्हावले कीं तुम्ही गोतास राजी असाल तर गोतास पाठवू अग्य परस्थळास राजी असाल तर परस्थळास पाठवू अग्य हमझाई गावींच मोकदम व मोफतेसर व मोजे मजकूरचे मोकदम व चारा बलुते यांसी राजी असाल तर रयांचे गोहीवरून मनहुफी कसून जे गोही तुम्हास तानादीं हें सांगणें '

led by them and lastly the decision.³⁸⁶ When a litigant comes before the court at a proper time (i. e. when the court is sitting) and makes his bow, he (the king or judge) should³⁸⁷ address him as follows. —“What is your business? What is the injury done to you? Don't be afraid, speak out, man! By whom, when, where and why (was the injury caused)? When thus asked whatever he replies should be considered by (the judge) with the *sabhyas* and *brāhmanas* and if the matter be legally entertainable he (the judge) should deliver the seal (sealed order) to the plaintiff or order the bailiff to summon (the defendant)”. These observations are made by *Kāt* (86-88) Whatever a man, being excited by one of the emotions of love (or anger or greed), says before the court, should be first written down on a board or the like by the scribe (*Nār* ³⁸⁸ II 18)

Very elaborate rules are laid down about the summoning of the defendant or accused by *Nār*. (I 52-54), *Br, Kāt* (96-100), *Śukra* (IV. 5-102-106) and others. A few of the rules are set out below. The first person to be summoned is the one against whom a complaint based on suspicion or truth is made by the plaintiff or complainant. But other persons may be called as defendants³⁸⁹ either when the person proceeded against by the plaintiff puts forward another as liable to plaintiff's claim or makes another liable along with himself or when another person is accepted by the plaintiff (on behalf of another who is a minor &c.) or (acc. to the *Madanaratna*) another person himself comes forward (as defendant) The king should not require the personal appearance of the following persons the diseased, minors, very old (beyond 70), one in a calamity, one engaged in some

386. आगमः प्रथमं कार्यं व्यवहारपदं ततः । चिकित्सा निर्णयश्चैव दर्शनं स्वाग्रहं विधिम् ॥ नारद (I 36) For explanation, vide *स्मृतिच०* II, p 29, स वि. p 75

387. काले कार्यार्थिनं पृच्छेत्प्रणतं पुरतः स्थितम् । किं कार्यं कां च ते पीडा मा भेषी-
नहि मानव ॥ केन कस्मिन्कदा कस्मात्पृच्छेदेवं सभागतम् । एष पृष्टः स यद्ब्रूयात् तस्मै-
नोद्गम्यैः सह । विमृश्य कार्यं न्याय्यं चेदाह्वानार्थमतः परम् । सुद्रा वा निक्षिपेत्तस्मिन्पुरुषं वा
समादिशेद् ॥ कात्या १ by मिता on या II 5, परा मा III. 52 and 55, *स्मृतिच०*
II, pp 31, 32 The words किं कार्यं refer to a civil dispute and कां च ते पीडा
to a criminal dispute (*हितामूल*)

388. रागादीनां यदेकेन कोपितः कर्णं वदेत् । तदादौ तु लिखेत्सर्वं वाचिनं फल-
कादिषु ॥ नारद (II 18)

389. अधिकारोभियुक्तस्य नेतरस्यास्पसङ्गते । इतरोप्यभियुक्तेन प्रतिरोधीकृतो नत ।
सम्पत्तिोर्थिना योन्यः परो धर्माधिकारिणि । प्रतिवादी स विज्ञेयः प्रतिपक्षश्च यः स्वपम् ॥
कात्या quoted by अपरार्क p. 639 (reads प्रतिवादीकृतो नत), *स्मृतिच०* II, p. 32,
स वि. p. 80.

religious rite, one who would suffer irreparable loss by coming, one in misfortune (such as the death or disappearance of a dear relative), one engaged in the king's business or in a (religious) festival, one intoxicated, a lunatic, one distressed, a servant, a woman³⁹⁰ who is young and whose family is in straitened circumstances or who is of good family or who is recently delivered, a maiden who is of a higher caste than that of the complainant. Nār. (I. 53) prescribes that cowherds when it is the season for taking cows for grazing, agriculturists in the sowing season, artisans actually engaged in work and soldiers engaged^{390a} in war should not be summoned to appear in person, while so engaged. In these cases some one on their behalf should be summoned as a representative. But it is provided that even these persons may be summoned with proper safeguards in important cases or grave charges, such as the killing of human beings, theft, rape, eating forbidden food, counterfeiting coins, high treason &c. But women who by their earnings support their families, unchaste women, prostitutes, women without family and women excommunicated for grave sins may be summoned to appear personally³⁹¹. A person who is summoned and is able to appear but does not appear in person was to be fined according to the value or importance of the subject matter of dispute e. g. in slight causes fifty (copper) panas, two hundred at least in the cases of middling value and 500 panas at least in heavy causes (vide Kāt. 100-101 quoted by Sm. C. II p 34, Aparārka p. 607.) After taking the fine and waiting for 30 days or a month and a half the king may give a judgment in favour of the plaintiff, due to defendant's default. But if the defendant does come after that time, the suit may be restored and proceeded with.³⁹² But when there is an invasion by an enemy or a famine or an epidemic or disease the king should not impose a fine, but send a second summons. In the case of those who are exempted from personal appearance (as above) their relatives (son, father &c.) or some other person

390. Compare sec. 132 of the Indian Civil Pro. Code (Act V of 1908) for exemption of certain women from personal appearance.

390a. Compare the Indian Soldiers (Litigation) Act (IV of 1925).

391. Vide Mit. on Yāj. II. 5 (for quotations about most of these rules), Aparārka p 606, Par. M. III p 51, Vyavahāra-mayūkha pp 9-10.

392. एवं दण्डमादाय त्रिसद्वानादूर्ध्वं त्रिपक्षाद्वाद्वाच्यार्थं (त्रिपक्षाद्वा द्वावर्धं ?) यद्विद्वान् हानिनिमित्तजयपत्रं दद्यात् । एवं कृते यदि प्रतिवाद्यागच्छति पुनरपि व्यवहारदर्शनं कर्तव्यमिति । स्व. नि. p. 29

appointed by them (such as a pupil, servant &c.) or one who can be recognised as their agent may be allowed to appear ^{392a}. But no representative was allowed in serious charges cited above (vide Kāt 93-95 q by Aparārka p. 639, Sm C, II p 34). If a father, brother, a friend, or a relative appears before the court for the real litigant, the law-suit may be proceeded with (Pitāmaha) Whoever carries on anything through another by appointing him to that task should be understood to have done it himself and the business transacted by such a representative or agent cannot be annulled. If a person who is not a brother nor father nor son nor appointed to represent another prosecutes a law-suit for another, he is liable to be fined ³⁹³. As the king was supposed to be the guardian of a minor's wealth, it appears from this that a king could have appointed a guardian for the suit when a minor was concerned. The above provisions show that maintenance and champerty were not encouraged by ancient Hindu lawyers.

An interesting question arises whether lawyers as an institution existed in ancient India. The answer must be that so far as the smrtis are concerned, there is nothing to show that any class of persons whose profession was the same as that of modern counsel, solicitors or legal practitioners and who were regulated by the State existed. This does not preclude the idea that persons well-versed in the law of the smrtis and the procedure of the courts were appointed (*nyukta*) to represent a party and place his case before the court. The procedure prescribed by Nār, Br and Kāt reaches a very high level of technicalities and skilled help must often have been required in litigation. In the com of Asahāya as edited by Kalyāṇabhatta on Nār. (rñādāna 4) there is an instructive story from which it appears that persons who had studied the smrtis helped parties in return for a monetary consideration to raise contentions

392a. कुलबीवालकोन्मत्तजडातानां च बान्धवाः । पूर्ववाद्दोस्तरे कुर्यान्निमुक्तो युवक-
स्तथा ॥ q by विवादचन्द्र p 89, व्यव त p 201, अमगलमजहोन्मत्तपुत्रजीवालरोगिणाम् ।
पूर्वात्तरं वदेद्वन्मुनियुक्तोऽप्यथवा नरः । बृहस्पति q by स्मृतिचं II p. 33, व्यव. म
p 40; दासा. कर्मकराः शिष्या निमुक्ता बान्धवास्तथा । वादिनो न च दण्डया । सुपुत्रस्य-
तोऽप्यः स दण्डभाक् ॥ कात्या quoted by अपरार्क p 639.

393 पितृ भ्राता सुहृद्वापि बन्धु- सम्बन्धिनोपि वा । यदि कुर्यात्परिग्रहं वादं तत्र
प्रवर्तयेद् ॥ य कश्चित्कारयेत्किञ्चिन्नियोगेन केनचित् । तत्तेनैव कृतं ज्ञेयमनिवार्यं हि तत्
स्मृतम् ॥ पितानह् ॥ स्मृतिचं II p 32. these are शुक IV 5 112-113, यो यथाप्य
विवदते तयोर्जयपराजयौ । यो न भ्राता न च पितृ न सुहृदो न नियोगहृद् । परार्थवादी दण्ड्य-
स्याद् श्यवहरेपि विमुक्त्व ॥ नारद (II 22-23) This is शुक IV 5 118.

before the court. But there also the helper comes forward saying that he is a very old friend of the family and has been appointed by the party to represent him. So he corresponded to what is called a recognized agent in the Indian Civil Pro. Code, Order III r 2 (Act V of 1908). In Śukra IV. 5. 114-117 some important rules are given:³⁹⁴ the person who is appointed to represent a party should get as his wages 1/16, 1/20, 1/40, 1/80 or 1/160 part of the amount in dispute, that the wages become less and less as the claim in dispute becomes higher or if several persons employ one representative; one who knows dharmaśāstra and the procedure of law-suits should be appointed as representative and not any one who is deficient in these; if the representative takes wages without knowing these he should be punished by the king. A representative is to be appointed by the party and not by the king at his will; if the representative allows the matter entrusted to him to fail owing to his greed he is liable to be fined³⁹⁵. In the 'Questions of Milinda' (S. B.

394. नियोगि (जि!) तस्यापि भूतिं विवादात् षोडशांशिकीम् । विंशत्यंशं तदर्थं वा तदर्थं च तदधिकम् ॥ यथा द्रव्याधिकं कार्यं हीना भूतिस्तथा । यदि बहुनियोगी स्यादन्वया तस्य योवणम् ॥ धर्मज्ञो व्यवहारज्ञो नियोक्तव्योऽन्वया न हि । अन्यथा भूति गृह्णन् दण्डयेच्च नियोगिनम् ॥ कार्यं नित्यो नियोगी न दृष्टेण स्वमनीषया । लोभेन स्वन्वया कुर्वन् नियोगी दण्डमर्हति ॥ छुक्र IV. 5. 114-117. The words भूति गृह्णन् present a difficulty. Probably there is a compound of भूति with गृह्णन्.

395 The story in the com. on Nār. is as follows: In Pāṭaliputra (modern Pāṭnā) a brāhmaṇa named Śrīdhara acquired with great trouble a fortune and lent to a trader named Devadhara ten thousand *drammas* at the rate of 2 per cent per month. When one month passed Devadhara paid as interest 200 *drammas*. When the 2nd month was running, Devadhara died of high fever, his son died of cholera and only the great-grandson of Devadhara, by name Mahidhara, remained. He was a very young man addicted to gambling and other vices. His property was taken under their protection by his maternal uncles. They were advised by a brāhmaṇa who had a smattering of smṛti lore and was called Smārtadurdhara 'Don't pay even a rupee to the creditor Śrīdhara. I shall save you even in Court by citing appropriate texts'. The uncles replied 'if you save us, we shall give you a thousand *drammas* as a reward'. When the 2nd month passed (from the date of borrowing), Śrīdhara called upon the uncles to pay 200 *drammas* as interest for the 2nd month. They replied 'You cannot claim even the principal (from the great-grandson of the original borrower), much less interest'. Smārtadurdhara, the legal adviser of the uncles, said "Nārada declares (mādhāna 4) 'grandsons should pay the debts of the grandfather; that (debt) ceases from the fourth'. On hearing this Śrīdhara was stunned, but gathering his wits filed a suit in the court and had summonses issued

(Continued on the next page)

E vol 36 p. 238) there is a passage about certain *bhikkhus* in the 'city of Righteousness' (*dharmanaṣaia*) who are styled 'dhammāpanikas' (dealers in dharma) and are described as follows: '(Bhikkhus), who in the spirit and the letter, in its arguments and explanations, its reasons and examples teach and repeat, utter forth and recapitulate the ninefold word of the Buddha; such bhikkhus are called, O king, lawyers in the blessed one's city of Righteousness' and on p 239 there are 'dhammaseththino' (bankers of dharma), which word reminds us of the *sresthin* in the *Mrocchakatika*. The *dhammāpanikas* probably correspond to such lawyers as *Smārtadurdhara* mentioned above. The rules of Śukra make a near approach to the modern institution of the Bar and the fees prescribed by Śukra are similar to those allowed by the Bombay Regulation II of 1827 and by Schedule III to the Bombay Pleaders' Act (Bombay Act XVII of 1920). The first legislative enactment in India to deal with lawyers for representing parties passed by the British Government was the Bengal Regulation VII of 1793 which defined the privileges, the fees (five per cent up to 1000 and then on a sliding scale) and responsibilities of *naheels* (which word originally means 'agent').

The plaintiff may put under restraint till the approach of the summoner (the bailiff) by the king's order the defendant, who does not stand up to meet the claim (i e. is about to abscond or may abscond) that is to be investigated (or when the plaintiff spoke to him about the claim before coming to court) and

(Continued from the last page)

to Mahidhara, great-grandson of Devadhara, and his uncles. Sureties were taken from both sides. The uncles were asked (by the court) 'why don't you pay the interest to Śridhara?' They appointed as their representative *Smārtadurdhara*, who said that he and his ancestors were friends of the family of Mahidhara and so he addressed the court 'I rely on Nārada's words (quoted above), and Mahidhara being the fourth from Devadhara (including the latter) is not liable to pay'. Bhatta *Smārtaśekhara* laughed at this and said 'Smārtadurdhara, you are not deeply learned in the *smṛti* texts nor have you studied glosses thereon. The whole of the debt of 10000 dramma lent by Śridhara is still due from Mahidhara, as he is the great-grandson of the borrower, as three male descendants of the borrower are liable to pay the ancestor's debt and as Nārada means only this that the son of the great-grandson (who is the fourth from the borrower, excluding the latter from computation) is not liable to pay the debt of his great-great-grandfather' and the learned speaker charged him with having been promised a gratification. *Smārtadurdhara* and his proteges lost the case.

who disregards the words of the claimant. This is called *āsedha* which is explained by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 5 as restraint under the king's order. It is of four kinds viz. restraint as to (*sthāna*) place (e. g. you are not to go elsewhere from your house or a temple), as to time (e. g. you must present yourself on the 5th of a certain month), restraint from going on (*pravaśa*) a journey (till the suit is decided) and restraint from doing certain actions (e. g. you are not to sell certain property or to plough a certain field till the disposal of the suit)³⁹⁶. The rules about *āsedha* are laid down by Nār. (I. 47-54), Br. (q. by V. P. p. 42, Sm. C II. pp. 30-31), Kāt 103-110 (all quoted by V. P. pp. 41-42, Sm. C. II. pp. 30-31) Nār. (I. 54) states that those persons whose personal appearance is dispensed with as stated above are not to be subjected to *āsedha* Nārada provides that he who disregards the prohibitory order (*āsedha*) of the court should be punished and that he who obtains a restraint order against a person that should not have been thus proceeded against should also be punished. Acc to Kāt. that man who restrains the defendant so as to prevent him from exercising his limbs or from talking or breathing freely should be punished and not the defendant if he breaks such restraint. A defendant would not be liable to be fined, if he disregards a restraint order which ties him down to a river ford, or to a forest, to a bad place (infested by thieves and tigers) or at the time of an invasion (Nār I 49) There is a provision which looks like one for the appointment of a Receiver in modern times. Kāt. (120) says 'A king should not allow a litigant to proceed if the litigant retains the property or money which he has (been shown to have) seized: it should be delivered over to the opposing litigant (if he be trustworthy)' or it may be kept with a third person (as receiver for the successful party)³⁹⁷ When the defendant comes on being summoned, he and the plaintiff are both to be placed before the judges (Pitāmaha q. in Sm C II p 34) Then a surety is to be taken from both who would be capable of carrying

396. It should be noted that these provisions about *āsedha* are analogous to those about attachment or arrest before judgment (section 94 and Order 38 of the Indian Civil Pro Code of 1908) and temporary injunction (Order 39 of the same).

397. गृहीतग्रहणो न्यायो न प्रवर्त्यो महीक्षुजा । तस्य वा तत्समर्प्य स्वात्प्राप्यं वापि परस्य तत् । कात्या q in स्मृतिच. II. 5 35, विवादचन्द्र p. 94, which explains 'अर्थिना परार्थिसकाशाच्चेद्विवादपदमानीयते तदा यावत्प्रत्यर्थिनि मध्यस्थे वा न समर्प्यते तावद्विवादो न ब्रह्मन् । गृहीतः । गृह्यते इति ग्रहणं विवादपदं तद्गृहीत यच्च स गृहीतग्रहणः । तस्य प्रत्यर्थिनः कृते (हस्ते ?) तत्समर्प्य परस्य मध्यस्थस्य स्थाने वा स्वात्प्राप्यमित्यर्थः'

out the decree made by the court i. e. who would be able to pay the amount of fine to the king if the defendant denied the plaintiff's claim or who would be able to pay double the amount of the claim if the plaintiff's claim be found to be false (Yāj. II 10-11) If any one of the parties cannot offer a surety, then he has to be kept in the custody of the court's bailiff (sādhypāla) and has to pay the daily wages of the bailiff at the end of every³⁹⁸ day (Kāt 117 q. by Mīt on Yāj II 10) The following persons could not be accepted as sureties (Kāt. 114-116 q. by Mīt on Yāj II 57) 'the master (in the case of a party being a servant), an enemy, one authorised by the master, one arrested, one fined, one accused of grave sins or offences, one who is a co-sharer in family property, a friend, one who is a perpetual student, one who is appointed to do the king's business, ascetics, one who would not be able to pay the amount decreed and the fine to the king, one whose father is living, one who incites the party for whom surety is demanded, one whose antecedents are unknown' When a person (of any caste) is kept guarded for want of a surety he is not to be prevented from doing necessary and obligatory acts (bath, *sandhyā* worship &c) and if he runs away from the guard he should be fined eight panas (Kāt 119 q in Par M III 58).

When the defendant comes before the court, the information at first given by the plaintiff is to be written down accurately in his presence together with the year, month, fortnight, day, names (of parties), caste &c (Yāj II 6) When the aggrieved party first comes to the court, all that is taken down is the matter in dispute (i. e. the draft of the plaint), when the defendant comes, the plaint is written down with all details (including the grievance as stated in the beginning).³⁹⁹ The plaint is called by various names in Sanskrit viz. *pakṣa*, *bhāṣā*, *pratyñā* (Mīt on Yāj II 6) Sometimes the word 'pūrvapakṣa' is used for *pakṣa* (as in Kāt 131, Nār II 1) *Vādin* and *prativādin* generally mean the plaintiff and the defendant, though *vādin* sometimes means 'a litigant' (either the plaintiff or defendant) '*Āśīlīn*' (one who seeks the assistance of the court) and *abhyakṣ* (attacker) are synonyms of *vādin*, and *pratyārīh* and *abhyukṣ* (attacked) are synonyms of *prativādin* Kāt.

398. अथ चेत्थतिष्ठन्नास्ति कार्ययोग्यस्तु वादिनः । स रक्षितो दिनद्वयान्ते दद्याद्द्वयपानं वेतनम् ॥ कात्या quoted by मिता. on या II. 10 and V P. p. 44

399. आवेदनसमये कार्यमात्रं लिखितं प्रत्यर्थिनोऽग्रतः समासात्तद्विवेचितं लिख्यते इति विशेषः । भाषा प्रतिज्ञा पक्ष इति नार्थान्तरम् । मिता on या. II 6.

(130-131) says that the judge⁴⁰⁰ should have the plaint written down on a board (or on the ground) with a piece of chalk as narrated naturally by the claimant and then on a leaf (palm leaf or bark or paper) when it is corrected (after the defendant appears) and that the plaintiff may delete some matters from the original (draft of) plaint and may fill in gaps and that such amendments may be made in the draft till the plaint is finally settled.⁴⁰¹ It appears from the *Vyavahāratattva* (p. 205) that the pleadings (the plaint and the reply) could be written down in Sanskrit or in the vernacular of the parties if they were ignorant. The *Mrcchakatika* (Act IX) shows how the presiding judge asks the śreṣṭhin and kāyastha to write down the words 'not by me' as the complaint of the Śākara when the latter averred that Vasantasena was killed by Cārudatta and not by himself. The plaint could be amended till the filing of the reply⁴⁰² (Nār II 7). Elaborate rules are laid down about the contents of the plaint by many writers from Kautilya (III 1) downwards. Kaut⁴⁰³ states that in the plaint should be entered the year, season, month, fortnight, day, the documents (to be relied upon), the court (in which the plaint is lodged), the (amount of) debt (or other money due) and the country, village, caste, family, names and occupations of the plaintiff and defendant together with the relationship in which they stood to each other. Kāt (127-128 q by Mit on Yāj II 6 and Aparārka p 608) requires that in suits about immoveable property, ten details should be recorded in the plaint viz the country, the place (town or village in which the property is situated), situation (boundaries or the figure such as a square &c.), the caste (of both parties), names,

400 अधिकान् शोधयेद्व्याप्त्याश्च प्रतिपूरयेत् । भूमौ निवेशयेत्तावद्यावत् पक्षः प्रतिष्ठितः । पूर्तपक्षं स्वभावोक्तमाह्विवाकोऽभिलेखयेत् । पाण्डुलेखेन फलके ततः पत्रे विशोधितम् ॥ कात्या. q the first by विश्वरूप on या II. 6, the 2nd by मिता on या. II. 6 and both by अपरार्क p 611, परा मा III pp 65-67.

401. शोधयेदपूर्ववाद् तु यावत्सोत्तरदर्शनम् । अवष्टब्धस्योत्तरेण निवृत्तं शोधनं भवेत् ॥ नारद् q by मिता on या II 6, एतच्च संस्कृतदेशभाषान्यतरेण यथाबोधं वक्तव्यं लेख्यम् । मूलार्णामपि बादिप्रतिवादितादर्शनात् । अत एवाध्यापनेपि तथोक्तं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । संस्कृतैः प्राकृतैर्वाक्यैः शिष्यमनुसूतः । देशभाषाद्युपायैश्च बोधयेत्स गुरुः स्मृत. ॥ पृथ्वहारतत्त्व p 205

402 Under the Civil Pro Code, Order VI r 17 (Act V of 1908) the plaint may be allowed to be amended at any stage of the suit. The ancient Indian rule was somewhat stricter

403. सवस्तरमुत मासं पक्षं द्विषसं करणमधिकरणमुष्णं वेदकावेदकयोः कृतसमर्थो-
बन्धयोर्देश्यमजातिगोत्रनामकमाणि चाभिलिख्य बादिप्रतिवादिप्रक्षानयोर्न्यूनपूर्णाभिवेशयेत् ।
अर्थशास्त्र III 1.

the dwelling place (of the parties), the measure (so many *mutakas* &c), the name of the field, (names of) the father, grandfather and great-grand-father, mention of the former kings Kāt. 124-126, Br (q in Sm C. p. 36 and V M p. 294) give further details, which are passed over for want of space. All the details enumerated above need not occur in every plaint, but the necessary ones must be stated according to the facts of each case⁴⁰⁴

These rules about the contents of plaints are very similar to those in the Indian Civil Pro. Code, Order VII rules 1-5

In modern India no suit or appeal can be filed unless the plaintiff or appellant pays substantial court-fees (Rs 7½ per cent upto Rs 1000 and 5 per cent for higher claims up to 5000 and so on at reduced rates as the claim rises) It is interesting to see how the litigants in ancient India fared in this respect It appears that in disputes of a criminal nature no court fees had to be paid in ancient India The person found guilty had to pay to the king the fine declared in the Smrtis for offences or awarded by the Court. As regards civil disputes also nothing had to be paid at the inception of the suit Certain rules are prescribed by Kaut (III 1), Yāj, Visnudharmasūtra, Nār and others about payments to the king after the suit is decided, which payments may be regarded as in the nature of court fees Yāj II 42 and Visnudharmasūtra VI. 20-21 state that in the case of suits for the recovery of debts the debtor who admitted that he was a debtor (but did not pay the creditor) should be made to pay to the king 10 per cent on the amount decreed and the successful creditor should pay five per cent out of the amount decreed (as *bhrta*, compensation or court fee)⁴⁰⁵. When the debtor denies the fact of debt altogether and the creditor succeeds in establishing it, the debtor had to pay the amount decreed to the creditor and an equal amount to the king as fine, but if the plaintiff turns out to be a false claimant (i. e. the relationship and the amount of the debt are not proved) he had to pay to the king as fine twice as much as the amount claimed by him (Yāj II 11) Nār also (IV 132) says⁴⁰⁶ that a debtor, who is able to repay a debt but does not

404. येवा मध्ये यानि साधकबाधकप्रमाणोपन्यासोपयोगिनि यत्र भवन्ति तत्र तान्येव लेख्यानि न सर्वानि प्रयोजनाभावात् । अथर्वक P 608

405 उत्तमर्णश्चेद्वाजानमियात्तद्विभाषितोऽधमर्णो राज्ञे घनदशभागसमित दण्डं दद्यात् प्रातर्धश्चोत्तमर्णो विंशतितमसंशङ्क । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VI 20-21

406. क्षणिकः सधनो यस्तु दोषात्प्राप्तं प्रयच्छति । राज्ञा दापयितव्यं स्याद् गृहीत्वा पञ्चकं शतम् ॥ नारद IV 132. The ३५. मयूख P 182 reads गृहीत्वा तु विंशकम् (i. e. 20 per cent)

do so through wickedness or malice, should be made to pay the debt after recovering five per cent from the debtor. The Sm. C. II. p 121 says that this applies to a case where the debtor admits his liability to the plaintiff. Manu VIII. 139 gives milder rules: 'if a debtor admits before the Court that he is a debtor, then he has to pay a fine equal to five per cent on the amount decreed, but if he denied the fact of debt altogether, then he has to pay as fine ten per cent'. Manu VIII. 59 which prescribes a fine twice of that amount which the debtor falsely denies or which the creditor falsely claims contains a somewhat different rule (which Medhatithi says applies where parties are guilty of downright fraud, while VIII. 139 applies where there is negligence or loss of memory &c.). In suits other than for debts such fines are also prescribed e. g. in Yāj. II. 26 for one who misappropriates a pledge, II. 33, II. 188 (for breach of the rules of guilds and other groups), Yāj. II. 171 (where a person claiming to be the owner of lost goods and failing to prove his ownership of them was fined *pañca-bandha* i. e. a fifth part of the price of the goods). Kaut prescribes⁴⁰⁷ that when a party is guilty of contradictory pleadings, or does not cite witnesses though saying he has witnesses and is defeated for these and similar reasons he has to pay a fine of 20 per cent of the claim and 10 per cent only if he relied on his own deposition (and called no witnesses) and further the defeated party has to pay the costs viz. the wages of the bailiff and of the subsistence allowance of witnesses. Therefore it may be said that in ancient times Indian litigants had an easy time, while in modern times litigation is often ruinous, what with the heavy court fees to be paid in several courts, the fees of legal practitioners and the expenses of witnesses and the delay of years⁴⁰⁸. The remark of Dr. Hart (in 'Way to justice' p. 17) is as applicable to modern India as to England 'the plain truth is that the justice of the courts is unattainable by some citizens through want of the necessary financial resources; while in the case

407. परोक्षदण्डः पञ्चबन्धः स्वयंवादिदण्डो दशबन्धः । पुरुषभूतिरष्टाङ्गः । पथि-
भक्तसर्वविशेषतः । सद्रुभयं नियम्यो दद्यात् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 1.

408 In modern times a plaint or memorandum of appeal is to be rejected if not properly stamped Vide Order VII. r. 11 of the Indian Civil Pro Code The Peshwa's Government appears to have taken one-fourth or one-fifth from the party whose claim for partition or for recovery of debt succeeded Vide 'Peshwa's Diaries' ed by Rao Bahadur Wad, vol 2 pp 132, 146, 163

of many others it is not worth having at the cost which it involves'.

In one of his most famous soliloquies Shakespeare (in Hamlet III. 1 'Oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely, the pangs of despised love, the law's delays') enumerates law's delays among the principal evils of human life. In modern India as in England⁴⁰⁹ before 1873 delay in the decision of causes is a crying evil. In the rough and ready methods of administering justice in ancient India care seems to have been bestowed on disposing of cases as quickly as possible. The story of king Nrga who caused delay has already been referred to (p. 243). Kaut. (III. 1) states that if the plaintiff, after the defendant files his answer, does not on the same day begin to support his case (by evidence) he would be declared to be defeated, since the plaintiff comes to court after determining the strength of his case, but the defendant does not do so (he is dragged to the court); that the defendant may be allowed an adjournment of three or seven days for his defence; if he is not ready with his defence within that time he may be punished with a fine ranging from 3 to 12 panas; if he does not answer even after three fortnights he shall be punished with fine for *parokta* (viz. *pañcabandha* or *daśabandha* as stated above in note 407) and the plaintiff's claim would be recovered from the property of the defendant. A similar rule is laid down in Manu VIII. 58. Yāj. II. 12 prescribes that disputes relating to *sāhasa* (killing by poison or weapon), theft, abuse, assault, cows, charges of grave sins and women (about the chastity of all women and about ownership in the case of female slaves), the defendant has to make his defence at once, and that in other cases time may be granted at the discretion of the court. Nār. I. 45 is to the same effect. Nār. I. 44 holds that adjournments may be granted in suits about debts and the like for finding out the truth as such disputes are complicated and as memory is weak. Pītāmaha (q. in Sm. C. II. p. 42) says that adjournments may be granted in disputes about deposits, sealed deposits, gifts, partnerships, transgression of conventions and partition of heritage. Gautama XIII. 28 speaks in general terms of an adjournment for one year, when the defendant does not remember the transaction, but prescribes immediate trial in

409. For the enormous delay in the disposal of even simple proceedings or Bills in Chancery in England, vide Holdsworth's 'History of English Law' (1926) Vol. IX. pp. 374-375 and 433-435.

disputes about kine, women and children or when the matter is urgent i. e. where loss or abandonment of the thing will be the result of delay (Gaut. XIII. 29-30). Brhaspati allows time even to the plaintiff if he is not able to put forward his case owing to his immaturity or lack of boldness.⁴¹⁰ Kāt. (145-158 quoted by Aparārka p. 619, Sm. C II. p. 42, Par. M. III. pp. 69-72) contains elaborate rules about adjournments. He says that according to the importance or otherwise of the dispute, one, three, five, or seven days may be allowed to the defendant to make his defence in disputes about debts, according as the debt was contracted three months ago or 6, 12, 20 or 30 years ago; that even more than a year may be allowed if the defendant is an idiot or lunatic or is suffering from disease or if the subject of dispute or the witnesses are in a foreign country; that more adjournments than one may be granted in such cases; that according to Brhaspati in disputes about immoveable property also no adjournments should be granted; that if the act of God (*dava*) or the king prevents the defendant from making his defence he should not be declared defeated, but time should be granted to him to prove this. It is clear that with the advance of time adjournments became longer and more frequent in Kāt. compared with the rigid rules of Kauṭ. Kāt. and Śukra (IV. 5. 167, 209) contain the last word on this point. According to them delay in deciding causes is tantamount⁴¹¹ to denial of justice (*dharma-vyāpath*, lit. death of Justice).

The sequence of stages in a law-suit is as follows: first the plaintiff makes his averments, then the defendant makes his reply; when both have finished, the members of the court speak (or deliberate among themselves) and after them (speaks) the judge (Kāt. 121 q by Aparārka p. 611, Par. M. III. p. 58). The four stages (*pādas*) of a law-suit, acc. to Yāj. II. 6-8, and

410 ऋणोपनिधिनिक्षेपदानसंश्रयकर्मणाश्च । समये द्वायभागे च कालः कार्यः प्रयत्नः ॥ पितृमहं q. in स्मृतिचं II. p. 42; अभियोक्ताऽप्रगल्भत्वाद् बर्हत् नोत्सवते यदि । तस्य कालः प्रदातव्यः कार्यक्षम्यद्वयतः ॥ बृहस्पति q. in स्मृतिचं II. p. 40, अपरार्क p. 611.

411 न कालहरणं कार्यं राज्ञा साधनदर्शने । महान् दोषो भवेत्कालाद् धर्मव्यापत्तिः । लक्षणः ॥ द्वायद्वेष्टाद्वयं तु कालं साधनदर्शने । उपाधि वा समीक्ष्यैव दैवराजकुर्वन् सदा ॥ श्रुत IV. 5. 167 and 209. The first is almost the same as Kāt. 339 (q. in स्मृतिचं II. p. 92, य. मा. p. 306, स. वि. p. 148, which read साक्षिमाभाषणे and धर्मव्यापत्तिः)

Br are named ⁴¹² *bhāsāpāda* (the plaint), *utkurāpāda* (the reply), *kriyāpāda* (the adducing of evidence), *sādhyaśiddhi* ⁴¹³ or *nirṇaya* (the decision); while Kāt 31 states them as *pūrvapakṣa*, *uttara*, *pratyākālita* and *kriyā*. *Pratyākālita* means ' discussion or consideration among the *sabhyas* about the burden of proof ' (vide p 260 n 337) If several persons come simultaneously with complaints or plaints, then the order of taking up the cases is regulated by the *varṇa* of the plaintiffs i. e. the suit of a brāhmana is first taken up (Manu VIII 24) Kaut I 19 states ⁴¹⁴ that the causes of temples (or idols), ascetics, heretics, brāhmanas learned in the vedas, about cattle and sacred places, of minors, of the aged, of those afflicted with disease or misfortunes, of the helpless and of women are to be looked into in the order enumerated or according to the importance of the causes or their urgency. Kāt (122 q in Sm C II p 35, Par M III p. 59) says that preference should be given to that litigant whose injury is greater or whose cause is more important than those of the rest. Kaut III 20 went ⁴¹⁵ so far as to say that judges should look into the causes of idols (or temples), brāhmanas, persons performing austerities, women, minors, the old, the diseased, the helpless, even if they did not come forward to complain nor should judges put forward the excuses of time (i. e. the long delay in taking cognisance of their causes), place, or (long) enjoyment (of their opponents)

Lengthy quotations and illustrations are cited in the commentaries and digests about the requirements of a good plaint. They are all passed over. They well illustrate the *penchant* of ancient Indian writers for divisions, sub-divisions and subtle distinctions.

Kāt. (136 quoted by Aparārka p. 609) specifies several reasons which make a plaint unacceptable viz one that lacks

412. पूर्वपक्षः स्तुत पादो द्वितीयस्तत्तस्तथा । क्रियापादस्तथा वाच्यश्चतुर्थो निर्णयस्तथा ॥ बृह० q. by अपरार्क p 616, पूर्वपक्षश्चोत्तरं च प्रत्याकलितमेव च । क्रियापादश्च तेनान्यं चतुष्पात्समुदाहृतः ॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p 616, V P p 44 quotes a verse of Br, where प्रत्याकलित is the 4th पाद

413 अत्र च सिद्धिश्च्येन सम्माननामधिपस्याधिविषयजयपराजयावधारणोपायसूत्रं प्रमाणमस्येवं शास्त्रतः मामोतीति विचारकाणां परामर्शः प्रत्याकलितदिशश्चाप्य उच्यते सिद्धिकलत्वात् । अपरार्क p 616

414. तस्मादेयताभ्रमवाच्यश्चोत्रियपण्डितुण्यस्यामानां बालवृद्धस्यापि तत्प्रसन्नमानां क्रीणां च क्रमेण कार्याणि पश्येत् । कार्यगोस्वादादत्यधिकश्रेयसा । अर्थशास्त्र I 19.

415. देवमाह्वयतवास्थिर्जीवालवृद्धस्याधितानामनायानामभितरतां धर्मतां वायाणि कुर्वुः । न च देशकालभोगजलेनातिहरेषु । अर्थशास्त्र III. 20.

the mention of the time and place (of the cause of action), that omits the statement of the material (*dravya*, which is the subject of dispute) or the amount thereof and that is wanting in (stating) the extent of the relief claimed, that is opposed (to the interests or usages) of the country, that is prohibited by the king's order, that mixes up several *vyavahārapadas*.⁴¹⁶ Certain complaints are declared to be vitiated (*paksūbhāsu*)⁴¹⁷ and not entertainable viz. a plaint that contains an unknown (or imaginary) grievance, that discloses no injury, that contains letters or words making no coherent sense, that states no cause of action, that is incapable of proof or is self-contradictory (Kāt. 140 q. by Mit on Yāj. II 6, Par. M III 61) Nār. II. 8 also points out the faults (*dosas*) of a plaint and explains them (II. 9-14) Brhaspati states that there is to be no law-suit between teacher and pupil, father and son, husband and wife, and master and servant This does not mean that law-suits between these pairs are altogether prohibited but that suits between them are undesirable, that the king or judges should persuade them to desist from proceeding in Court, that if they persist the court has to decide the suits according to the *śāstra*.⁴¹⁸ Manu (VIII 299-300) prescribing the same punishment as for a thief in cases where a wife, son, slave, servant or brother is beaten for correction more severely than is allowed in the *śāstras* by the husband, father, master, or elder brother respectively conveys by implication that a legal proceeding by these is possible The *smṛtis* did not encourage disputes based on

416 If a plaintiff states ' the defendant stole my gold, I deposited a thousand *drāmnas* with him which he does not return, he sold a cow to me without being its owner ', there is a joinder of three *vyavahārapadas* viz *steṇa, nikṣepa, asvāmivikraya* This is not a bad or altogether unacceptable plaint All that is meant is that the trial of all these cannot be carried on simultaneously, but one after another

417 अप्रतिद्धं निरावाध निरर्थं निष्प्रयोजनम् । असाध्यं वा विरुद्धं वा पक्षाभास विवर्जयेत् ॥ कात्यायन quoted by मिता. on या. II 6 (without name), परा. म. III 61 The स्तुतिच. II 37 ascribes the same verse to बृहस्पति (last pāda being पक्षं राजा विवर्जयेत्). Vide my notes to Kāt 140 where it is shown how there is a good deal of divergence about the interpretation of this verse

418. सुवशिष्यो पितापुत्रौ दम्पती स्वामिश्रत्यकौ । एतेषां समवेतानां व्यवहारो न विद्यते । नारद acc to विष्णुरूप on याज्ञ II, 5, and बृह. acc to मदुनरत्न and स्य प्र p 34 The latter remarks ' तस्मादिदं वचनं सुवशिष्यानां शिष्यादिभिः सह व्यवहारकरणे लोकहिते न श्रेय इह विन्दावहत्वाद्सुत्र नरकजनकत्वादित्येतत्परमेव । राजादिभिस्तु नायमुचितो व्यवहारो लोकहित्यहानिकर्त्तृत्वादिति निवार्यमाणा अपि शिष्यादयो न पशुद्वयान्ति चेत्तदा तेषां यथाशास्त्रं निर्णयकरणमदोष एव । ; vide also मिता. on या II. 32 for similar words.

flimsy or trumpery grounds. Brhaspati⁴¹⁹ says that a plaint that is *mraṭhaka* (i. e. the injury in which is very small or the monetary value involved is negligible) should not be entertained by the king. This is on the principle of *de minimis non curat lex* (the law does not take account of trifles) also embodied in sec. 95 of the Indian Penal Code.

When the plaint has been finally settled, the defendant should be called on to reply in writing to the plaint in the presence of the plaintiff (Yāj II. 7, Nār. II. 2). This is called *uttara* (reply) or *pratipaksa* (Nār. II. 2). When time may be given to the defendant for putting in his answer has already been stated above.

The answer of the defendant must possess the following characteristics viz it must completely meet all the points of the plaint, it must not deviate from the truth, must not employ vague words, must not be self-contradictory, it should not be such as to require further explanation (because of containing words in a foreign tongue or unknown or rarely used words or elliptical or badly arranged sentences)⁴²⁰. A reply is of four kinds, (1) *nūthyā* (of denial), *sampratipatti* or *satya* (confession or admission), *kāṇa* or *pratyavaskandana* (of special plea or demurrer), *prānnyāya* or *pūrvanyāya* (of former judgment or *res judicata*). A reply of denial may take four forms (Nār II. 5) viz. (1) this (what is affirmed in the plaint) is false, I do not know anything about it, I was not present (when the transaction alleged in the plaint is said to have taken place), I was then not born⁴²¹. The first is a direct denial, the others are implied or indirect. Very strict rules of pleading were evolved by the

419 स्वल्पापराधः स्वल्पार्थो निरर्थक इति स्मृतः । बृहस्पतिः पृ. 11 स. वि. पृ. 87 and स्मृतिच. II पृ. 37, which explains तत्र निरर्थकस्योदाहरणम् । अहमनेन सस्मित निरीक्षित मामकी लाक्षानेनापहृता इति वा ।

420 पक्षस्य व्यापकं सारमसन्दिग्धमनाकुलम् । अन्वयायाम्यमित्येतदुत्तरं तद्विदो विदुः ॥ quoted by मिता. on या II. 7, अपराकं पृ. 612 (ascribes to नारद), स्मृतिच. II. पृ. 42 (ascribes to प्रजापति), छुक्र IV. 5 139

421. मिथ्या संग्रहितपतिर्वा प्रत्यवस्कन्दनेव वा । प्राङ्मन्यायविधिसाध्य वा उत्तरं स्यात्तुर्विधम् ॥ नारद II 2, कात्यायन has सत्यं मिथ्योत्तरं चैव प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं तथा । पूर्वमन्यायविधिश्चैवमुत्तरं स्यात्तुर्विधम् ॥ पृ. 11 मिता on या II 7. The same is छुक्र IV. 5 144 एतदेवाधर्ममिति कैश्चिदुच्यते । वृद्धकात्यायन-स्वपेता तु क्रिया यत्र ह्यभियुक्तेन कीर्तिता । आधर्म्यं तद्विजानीयात्पूर्वपक्षस्य नान्यथा ॥ च्यव नि पृ. 51 and च्य. मा. पृ. 307 (reads बाधिका तु क्रिया) आधर्म्यं is probably derived from अधर (meaning 'lower', 'weak' or 'inferior'). The च्य. मा. reads आधर्म्य, which appears to be a wrong reading.

time of Kāt., who provides (144) that if a statement asserted by the plaintiff in the hearing of the defendant is not traversed by the latter or if the latter remains silent when he should have given a reply, it (should be held by the court that it) is admitted (by the defendant).⁴²² When the defendant declares the truth of the claim made in the plaint that is a reply of admission. Where the defendant accepting as correct the matters (or facts) set out by the plaintiff raises a plea, that is a reply of special plea.⁴²³ The same is designed by some as *ādharma* or *ādharma* (rendering futile) of the plaint. For example, where plaintiff avers that defendant took one hundred rupees and defendant accepts that fact but adds either that he later on returned them or that they were really donated to him, that is a reply of special plea. Where a person though defeated in a (former) proceeding again causes a plaint to be written and is addressed (answered) with the words 'you were formerly defeated', that is a reply of former judgment. That there was a former judgment between the same parties may be proved by citing the judges or arbitrators or by citing other witnesses or by producing the writing itself i. e. the copy of the judgment (Kāt. 172).⁴²⁴ In a reply of admission there are only two stages of *vijavahāra* viz. the plaint and the reply; there is no need of proof (so there is no *kṛyāpāda*) and the plaintiff succeeds as a matter of course (and so there is no necessity of a regular judgment, *nirṇaya*). Kāt. (173-190) states at great length the faults of a reply and also what are not proper replies. The Mit (on Yāj. II. 7), Aparārka pp 613-614, Sm. C. II. pp. 43-46 and

422. अल्पमाणीधिना यत्र यो ह्यर्थो न विचारितः । दानकालेऽथवा तूर्णं स्थितः सोऽर्थोऽभिहितः ॥ कात्या. q. by कृत्यकल्पतरु. Compare Order VIII rule 5 of the Civil Pro. Code.

423. अधिना लेखितो योर्थः प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं तथा । प्रथम कारणं ब्रूयात्प्रत्यक्षकन्दं स्तुत्य ॥ शुक्र IV. 5 148, नारद q by मिता. on या. II. 7, vide कात्यायन 170, q. by व्य. सा p. 307 (reads योधिनार्थः सखुद्धितः), व्य. प्र. p 59 (which reads आधर्षं सुगुरुवीत् as the last *śloka*).

424. विभावयामि कुलिकैः साक्षिभिलिखितेन वा । जितञ्चैव मयाये प्राकृत्यकल्याय-
स्त्रियकारकः ॥ कात्यायन q. by स्तुतिचं II p. 43 which explains 'कुलिकैरिति प्रकृत्यवहारद्रष्टृणाहपलक्षणार्थम्', व्य. प्र. p 61. The व्य. नि. (p. 53) has the following note on this 'ऐन्द्रस्थाने जितस्य प्राकृत्यवायविविषिद्धौ जयपत्रेणाहं भावयामीत्येकः कुल्यवहारे च जयपत्राभावात्-कुल्या कुलविवादेषु विज्ञेयास्तेपि साक्षिणः-इति वचनात् तैरेव व्यवहारदक्षिणिभावात्मीति द्वितीयः । राज्ञा धर्मासनस्थेन वन्द्युतं तस्मद्दिशि । नान्यः सक्षी भवेत्तत्र हुक्त्वा राजानमीश्वरम् ॥-इति वचनात् सादयमावातेन राज्ञा भावयामीति तृतीयः ॥

other digests quote long passages from Kāt, Br, Hārta, Vyāsa and others on faults of *utkara* and illustrate them at length. These have to be omitted for want of space. One of the faults is 'sankara' (mixture or confusion or misjoinder of pleas in defence). For example, if the plant alleges 'the defendant took gold, a hundred rupees, certain valuable clothes and a quantity of corn and has not returned any of them,' and the defendant's reply is 'I took the gold, I never took any rupees, the plaintiff donated the clothes to me, as to the corn plaintiff had already filed a suit against me and failed' Here the reply contains all four varieties, viz. the first is a reply of admission, the 2nd is one of denial, the third is a special plea and the 4th is a plea of former judgment. This is a *sankara*. But it is not meant that this reply would not be allowed. All that is meant is that, as the burden of proof varies, the adducing of evidence will not be allowed simultaneously, but one after another. Vide Mit. on Yāj II. 7, Par M III pp 77-80. These questions are concerned with cases in which several issues arise, the burden of proving some of which lies on the plaintiff and the burden of proving others lies on the defendant. If a defendant does not come forward to give a reply, the king or judge should make him give one by *sūma* (conciliatory words), *bheda* (threats) and other ways and if he does not give a reply for seven days after that, he may be declared to have been defeated and a decree may be passed against⁴²⁵ him. Kaut (III 1), Yāj II 9, Nār I. 55, Kāt (163) state that a defendant cannot⁴²⁶ raise a counter-claim (*matyabhyoga*) as long as he has not met the attack of the plaintiff, nor should another plaintiff attack a person who is a defendant in a suit already filed, except in the case of abuse and assault, *sāhasa* (death or grievous hurt by a weapon &c.), theft or in a very urgent matter, or in disputes among members of caravans or guilds or in charges of adultery, Yāj II 29, Nār. IV 93, Śukra IV. 5. 120 say that when a litigant dies while a suit is pending, his son (or other representative) who takes his estate should carry on the litigation or be liable for the claim and the son cannot add his own enjoyment (to make up

425 उपपदैश्चोद्यमानस्तु न दद्यादुत्तरं तु यः । अतिक्रान्ते सतरात्रे जितोऽसौ दातुं नर्हति ॥ वसिष्ठ १ in स्मृतिच० II p 46, परा मा III p 81, एव म p 56 (reads उपपदैश्चोद्य० and दण्डमहवि). This is हारीत acc to स वि p 99

426 अभियुक्तो न प्रत्याभियुक्तौ अन्यत्र कलहसाहससार्यसमवायेभ्यः । न चाभियुक्तेऽभियोगोस्ति । अर्थशास्त्र III 1, अभियुक्तोऽभियोगकारमभियुक्तौ कर्हिचित् । अग्न्यद्वन्द्वप्राकृत्यस्तयसंमहणात्ययात् ॥ कात्या. १ by एव मा. p 299, should we not read नाभियुक्तो or नाभियुक्तौ ?

three generations &c. as required for possession ripening into ownership) 427

There were many grounds on account of which a litigant became what is called *hina* (a losing party) and some times either had his plaint dismissed or his defence struck out and a decree passed against him or he was simply fined. For example, Nār. II. 33 speaks of five kinds⁴²⁸ of *hina* viz. one who changes his statements (or pleading), who does not prosecute his pleading by adducing evidence (i. e. avoids investigation), who does not appear when summoned, who gives no reply, who disappears or runs away when summoned. Nār. I. 56-61, II. 24 explain some of these and other *hina* parties. Kāt. 202 (q. by Sm C. II. p. 47) prescribes that the above five should respectively be fined 5, 10, 12, 16 and 20 panas. Nār. II. 25 states that in all civil disputes such as those about women, land or debts the litigant does not lose his cause even if he commits a mistake in his statements, but he is liable to fine. This conveys that in disputes arising out of wrath (*manyukṛta* i. e. in criminal matters) a person loses his cause if he is guilty of the above acts and he is prohibited from pursuing the matter again. Kaut. III. 1, Manu VIII. 53-57 contain in almost the same words, certain similar rules, Kaut. calling the several actions causes of *parokṛta* (defeat). Vide Yāj. II. 16, Śukra IV. 5. 136, Kāt. 191-210 for further details on dismissal for default and cognate matters. In these cases of *hinavādins*, though a fine was imposed, a retrial could be ordered. When defendant filed his reply and parties joined issue in court, Br. and Kāt say that they should not then be allowed to compromise the dispute privately without the permission of the

427. योभिद्युक्तः परितः स्यात्तस्य रिक्थी तद्वद्वरेत् । या II. 29, प्रवर्तयित्वा वार्दं तु वादिनौ तु मुक्तौ यदि । तत्पुनो विवदेत्तज्ज्ञो ह्यन्यथा तु निवर्तयेत् ॥ शुक्र IV. 5. 120.

428. अन्यवादी क्रियाद्विधी नोपस्थाता निरुत्तरः । आहृतप्रणाली च हीनः पञ्चविधः स्मृतः ॥ नारद II. 33.

429. पूर्वोत्तरे संनिविष्टे विचारे संभवति । प्रकृतं ये निधौ यान्ति द्वाभ्यास्ते द्विगुणं दम्य ॥ ... साक्षिसम्पत्तिकल्पस्तु भवेत्तत्रोभयोरपि । दोलायमानौ यौ सर्वं क्षयात्तौ तौ विचक्षणौ ॥ प्रमाणसमता यत्र भेदः साक्ष्यचरित्रयोः । तत्र राजाज्ञया सन्निधुमयोरपि क्षम्यते ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 49, स वि. 104, परा मा. III. pp. 84-85, स्व. म. p. 77; आवेद्य प्रगृहीतार्थं प्रकृतं यान्ति ये निधः । सर्वे द्विगुणदण्ड्याः स्युर्विमलम्भान्त्वपस्य तु ॥ कात्या 210, q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 49, परा मा. III. p. 84, स्व. म. p. 77, त्व. म. says (p. 77) 'द्विगुणो दण्डस्तु पराजयनिमित्तदण्डापेक्षया न तु विवादास्पदीभूतदण्डापेक्षया । अद्वयविवादेऽप्यत्रयतेः । Vide S. B. E. vol. 33 pp. 295-296 verses 10-12 for Br. (Dr. Jolly's tr of verse 10 is not correct) Compare Order 23 r. 3. of the Indian Civil Pro. Code and sec. 345 of the Criminal Pro. Code for compounding offences).

court. if they did so they were both to pay double of the fine imposed on a defeated party, as they deprived the king of his dues (court fees). But a compromise with the court's permission was allowed when the parties were in doubt as to what the witnesses might say or the *sabhyas* might decide (in such cases it would be wisdom for the parties to compromise) and particularly when the evidence on both sides was evenly balanced or where there was a conflict between the different *smṛtis* and usages

When the reply had been given the *sabhyas* had to consider the question about the burden of proof. Br. ⁴³⁰ says ' the *sabhyas* after considering the nature of the reply should call upon one of the parties that are in court to establish his case ' (Sm C. II. p 50). What a party sets out to establish is called *sādhyā* and the means whereby the claim (of the litigant) in its entirety is established is called *sādhana* (Kāt. 213 in V. P. p. 79). Yāj II. 7 and Nār. II. 27 say that the party (on whom the burden of proof lies) should immediately (after the reply is given) write down the means whereby he proposes to prove his averments. This third stage (*pāda*) is called *kṛyā* i. e. proof. *Sādhyā* and *kāryā* are synonyms, *kṛyā* and *sādhana* also are synonyms (Kāt. in Aparārka p 616, Vyāsa in Sm. C. II. p 54). The rules about burden of proof are laid down by Hārīta (q in Mit on Yāj II. 7, Aparārka p 616). In a reply of denial, the burden of proof is on the plaintiff, in a reply of former judgment or of a special plea, it is on the defendant and in a reply of admission no question of burden of proof arises. Compare also Nār II. 31. The Mit on Yāj II. 80 states another rule that an affirmative proposition has to be proved by him who asserts it (*bhāvapratyññāvadina eva kṛyā*) Yāj. II. 22, Nār. II. 28-29 and IV. 69, Br. (in Sm. C. II. p. 54), and others say that means of proof are two-fold, human and divine, and that documents, witnesses and possession are the human means of proof (Vas. 16. 10 also), while the ordeals of balance and others are divine means. Yāj II. 22, Nār. II. 29, Kāt. 217 expressly state that ordeals are to be resorted to only when none of the human means are possible or available. If one party relies on human means alone and the other offers divine means, the king (or judge) has to accept human means and not divine; in disputes among men, if there be human means of proof though reaching

430. ये तु विद्वन्ति कारणे तेषां सम्यैर्विभावना । कलयित्वा चर सम्यग्वातमपेक्षय
भादिन ॥ बृह. ११ स्मृतिच० II. 50.

(or covering) only a portion (of the allegations in the plaint) then human means should be accepted and not divine ones even though the latter may cover the whole ground (Kāt. 218-219 q by Mit. on Yāj. II 22). This latter rule is based on the proposition laid down in Yāj. II. 20 and Visnudharmasūtra VI. 22 that when a party totally denies a claim and the opponent establishes by evidence a substantial portion of it, the judge may pass a decree against the denying party for the whole of the claim. This is practically the same as the maxim 'omnia praesumuntur contra spoliatores'.⁴³¹ Therefore the general rule was that the divine mode of proof was to be resorted to only in the absence of any human means of proof. Kāt. 229 (q. by Mit. on Yāj. II. 22, Aparārka p. 629) allows witnesses or ordeals when the dispute is started with reference to *sāhasa*, assault or abuse and causes that spring from force and Kāt. 230 (q. in Sm. C. II. p. 51) provides that, in the case of a person guilty of *sāhasa* perpetrated in secret, investigation has to be made by divine proof. Kāt. 225-228 (q. by Mit. on Yāj. II. 22, Aparārka p. 629, Sm. C. II. pp. 53-54) lay down certain rules about preference among the several means of proof: whatever are declared as the conventional usages of the associations of traders, of guilds (of artisans) and of groups (of brāhmanas), the means of proving them are documents and not ordeals nor witnesses; enjoyment⁴³² (or possession) alone is weightier in the case of the making and (the use of) doors and ways, as also in the case of water-courses and the like (i. e. in the case of easements) and not writing nor witnesses; in the case of things promised to be given but not given, when a decision is to be given in disputes of servants with masters, in the matter of taking back a thing after it is sold or when a person having purchased a thing does not pay the price, in gambling and prize fighting—when in these matters disputes arise the means

431 Vide H of Dh vol I. p. 204 and n. 357, where a half verse from the drama Vikramorvaśīya (IV. 17) is quoted containing the same proposition and it is shown that Nārada as quoted in V. M. p. 311 and Par M III p. 203 contained the same half verse. The half verse is विभावित्केदेकेन देयं यदभियुज्यते. The maxim cited above is relied upon in *Ardeshr v The Collector of Surat* 3 Bom H. C. R. (A. C. J.) p. 116 and in *Franji v The Commissioner of Customs* 7 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) p. 89.

432a In *Lalubhai v. Bai Amrit* I. L. R. 2 Bom. 299 at p. 312 there is a reference to Kāt. 226 द्वारमार्गकिवाभोगे जलवाहादिके तथा । शुक्तिरेव तु शुर्वी स्वाक्ष दिव्यं न च साक्षिणः ॥. There is a similar verse of Kāt. 314 (q. in स्मृतिच. II. p. 67) 'स्वयानिर्गमनद्वारजलवाहादिसंज्ञाः । शुक्तिरेव तु शुर्वी स्वाक्षमणोन्मिति निश्चयः ॥.'

of proof are witnesses and not documents nor ordeals Marici (q. by Sm. C. II. 60, V. P. p. 141) states that as regards the sale, mortgage, gift or partition of immoveable property a document (should be executed as it) enables the person (in whose favour it is executed) to acquire (clear) title and freedom from doubt⁴³² (even after the lapse of years) It is in consonance with this that the Indian Legislature (in the Transfer of Property Act, IV of 1882) requires writing and registration as regards the sale, mortgage and gift of immoveable property Nārada IV 75 very concisely hits the special characteristics of each *pramāṇa*: 'a document is always strong, witnesses are strong (as evidence) only as long as they are alive, possession becomes strong as time passes'. The comparative strength of the several kinds of evidence is well put by Brhaspati⁴³³: 'Witnesses are superior to inference (circumstantial evidence), a document is superior to witnesses, undisturbed possession for three generations is superior to all these' Kāt. 221 (q. by Mīt on Yāj II 80 and V. P. p. 80) gives the warning that when a litigant abandoning a strong ground or means of proof resorts to a weak one to prove his case, he would not be again entitled to rely on that (strong ground of proof) after the members of the court have decided as to who should succeed This practically propounds the same rule as that of constructive *res judicata* contained in explanation 4 to section 11 of the Indian Civil Pro Code (of 1908)

The means of proof will now be briefly dealt with in order And first come documents 'Those in search of an exhaustive treatment may usefully consult Dr Amareshwar Thakur's 'Hindu Law of Evidence' (Calcutta, 1933).

When writing was first employed in India and how the Indian Brāhmī alphabet was derived have been moot points for many decades among scholars Max Muller's theory ('History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature' p. 507) that the use of writing for literary purposes was unknown to Pāṇini was thoroughly exploded by Goldstücker in 'Pāṇini and his place in Sanskrit Literature' and was later on abandoned by Max Muller himself

432. स्थावरे विक्रयाधाने विभागे दान एव च । लिखितेनामुपासिद्धिनाविसर्वादेनेव च ॥ मरीचि q. by स्मृतिच० II p. 60.

433. अनुमानादृष्टः साक्षी साक्षिभ्यो लिखितं श्रुत्वा । अयाहता त्रिपुरी शक्तिभ्यो गरीयसी ॥ बृह. in श्रु. मा. p. 350, व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 224, the same is कार्यायन (315) acc. to श्रु. मा. p. 313. Probably कार्या took over बृहस्पति's verse or there may be some mistake in quoting.

Then Bühler (in 'the Origin of the Indian Brāhmī alphabet') started the theory that Brāhmī was derived from a foreign Semitic script about 800 B C. and this hypothesis held the field for a long time (vide e. g. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' chapters VII and VIII). Even Western scholars are not now prepared to accept this dating of Bühler; vide Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 141 (1922). The excavations at Mohenjo-daro tend to throw grave doubts on this theory and discredit it. At Harappa and Mohenjo-daro there is writing (not satisfactorily deciphered yet) on burnt clay and pottery. The Piprahva vase shows writing on stone several centuries before the Christian era and the Sahagpur copperplate inscription is the earliest writing on copper plates yet discovered (vide Annals of B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XI, p. 32 ff). This is not the place to discuss the questions about the origin of the art of writing in India and of the Brāhmī script. It cannot be gainsaid that the most ancient dharmaśāstras refer to writing as well-known. Gaut. XIII. 4 appears to refer to a witness signing himself as such on a document. Vas. 16. 10, Visnudharmasūtra VI. 23, Yāj. II. 22 mention *likhita* (document) as the first means of proof. Manu VIII. 51 uses the word *karana* in the sense of document (*arthaparyayamānam tu karanena vibhāritam*), in VIII. 168 refers to documents obtained by coercion and in IX. 232 to fabricated royal edicts (*kūtasāsana*). Kaut. has a special chapter (II. 10) on royal writings (*sāsana*), in which he dilates upon the qualifications of the king's scribe, on the contents of an official document, the good points required in an official missive, on various divisions of writings and on the faults in official writings that are to be avoided. In I. 11 Kaut. prescribes that the king should hold consultations with absent ministers by sending a letter (*patra*, a leaf of palm or a piece of birch bark or similar material) and in I. 19 states that consultation by letter (*patra*) with the council of ministers should be held in the fifth part of the day. In II. 7 Kaut. advises the construction of rooms with shelves for books containing accounts (*akṣapaṭālam nibandhapustakasthānam kārayet*). Vide also Kaut. II. 21, II. 30, IV. 9, IV. 10 for references to writing in various other connections. Kaut. (III. 1) appears⁴³⁴ to use the word *karana* in the sense of document and gives a rule which is the same as Yāj. II. 23. Yāj. I. 319 speaks of land grants being written or

⁴³⁴. एभिर्न त्वेषां करणमादेशाधिक्यं भवेद्यत् । अर्थसाक्षात् III. 1; compare यज. II. 23 सर्वेष्वपि विवादेषु पलवत्युत्तरा क्रिया । आपौ प्रतिग्रहे कीदृ पूर्व द्व चक्षुषचरा ॥

engraved on cloth or copperplate Megasthenes (McCrindle p. 69) no doubt says that Indians have no written laws, but there is no doubt that he is under some misapprehension as to what he was told, since in another place (p. 83) he refers to philosophers committing useful suggestions to writing. Similarly Strabo (XV. 1 53-54) states that the Indians were ignorant of writing, but (67) narrates that Nearchus states that Indians write letters on cloth. One of the oldest copperplate grants is the Taxila plate of Moga (identified with Moa of the Śakas) and is not later than 120 B. C. Vide E. I. Vol IV. p. 54 and Rapson's 'Indian coins' p. 7. It appears that wooden boards were used for writing ephemeral matters and *patra* for more permanent use, as Kāt (p. 293, n. 400 above) states that the first information was to be written on a board with chalk and the formal plaint on a leaf (*patra*). The Lalitavistara (10th chap. p. 143, B. I. ed.) states that the Buddha used a board of sandal-wood for learning the scripts (-candanamayam lipi-phalakam-ādāya).

Yāj. II. 84-94, Nār. IV. 69-75 and 135-146, Br., Kāt. 249-312, Śukra II. 291-318, IV. 172-182 and several digests devote great attention to documents. A few salient points only will be brought out here. Nār. (IV. 70-71) eulogises documents by saying that if the Creator had not created writing which is like an excellent eye, the world would have come to grief and that a document is an indubitable means of apprehending the time, the place, the object, the material, the extent and the duration of a transaction. Br. (q. in V. P. p. 141) says that, since⁴³⁵ people begin to entertain doubts (about a transaction) even in six months (from an occurrence or transaction) the Creator therefore created in the hoary past letters which are recorded on writing material (*patra*). The Lalitavistara (about 2nd or 3rd century A. D.) mentions 64 scripts which were known to the Buddha, among which the first is Brāhmī (10th chap p. 143). Nār., Br., and Śukra probably try to explain why the alphabet current in their days was called Brāhmī (it was created by Brahmā). Śukra II. 297, IV. 5. 172 are similar verses. The texts divide documents in different ways. Viṣṇu⁴³⁶ Dh. 8.

435. वाचसाकिरिति समये ज्ञानिः सजायते सजाय । वाचाकराणि सृष्टानि यन्त्राणां न्यस्तः पुरा ॥ बृह. q by स्व. नि. p 81, स्व. म. p 141; ज्ञानिः पुत्रधर्मत्वाद्भिरुप निर्जायको परम् । ... अतश्चतस्र स्तुत्यर्थं लिखितं निर्मितं पुरा । सजाय सजाय वाचां वर्णं स्वर्णनिर्दिष्टम् ॥ शुक्र II. 291 and 297.

436. राजाधिकरणे तल्लिप्युक्तकायस्थकृतं तद्व्यवसक्तकचिद्विषयं राजसाक्षिकम् । विष्णु-धर्मसूत्र VII. 3.

VII. 2 divides documents into three kinds viz. those written before the king (i.e. by public officers), those bearing the superscription of witnesses and those without witnesses. The first is a document written in a state office by a scribe appointed by the king and bearing the signature of the head or superintendent of the office. This is just like the registration of documents in modern India. Br.⁴³⁷ (q by V. P. p. 141, V. May, p. 24) divides documents into three sorts viz. royal writing, writing made at a fixed place and that written in one's own hand. Nār. IV. 135 speaks of two kinds viz. one written by the executant himself in his own hand and that written by another; (the first of these is valid) without attesting witnesses, while the second requires to be attested. In the former no writer (lekha) nor witnesses are necessary, while in the latter both are necessary. Even now in India no deed concerning even immoveable property is required by law to be attested except mortgages and gifts. The author of the Saṅgraha, the Mit. on Yāj. II. 84 and several others divide documents into *rājakiya* (public) and *jānapada* (private or of the common people). The V. Mayūkha (p. 24) says that *laukika* and *jānapada* are synonyms and *jānapada* document is of two kinds viz. written by the executant himself in his own hand and that written by another, and that the first may be without attestation of witnesses, but the other must be attested. On Yāj. II. 22 the Mit. divides documents into *śāsana* and *ciraka*. The first is the same as *rājakiya* (described in Yāj. I. 318-320) and *ciraka* is practically the same as *jānapada* writing. On Yāj. II. 89 the Mit. remarks that a royal deed must be written in correct and elegant language but a document executed by ordinary people is not required to be in correct Sanskrit, but may be written in the local dialect of the parties. Yāj. II. 89 states that a document written by the executant himself in his own hand is authoritative except when it is brought about by force or fraud. Yāj. II. 84-87 prescribe that a document of debt or the like should be written down by mutual agreement, that the creditor's name should be placed first, that it should

437. राजलेखं स्थानकृतं स्वहस्तालिकितं तथा । लेखं तु त्रिविधं प्रोक्तं जिहं तद्व्यवहारा
 दुः ॥ बृह. in य. प. 141, न. न. p. 24, परा. म. III. 119. स्थानकृत means
 'written in a well-known place by a professional scribe appointed by the
 king or his officers and attested by witnesses' राजकीयं जातपदं त्रिविधं लिखितं
 भवति । शासनं राजद्वारादौ चरितं स्वाह्वयादिषु ॥ मज्झिमं १. by स्वह. नि. p. 82, स्वह.
 नि. p. 83 explains स्थानलेखं तु ब्राम्हणपदादिष्वधिकृतकारपद्यकृतं तद्व्यवहाराचिह्नितं
 चरितमित्युच्यते ।

mention the year, month, half month, *tithi* (day), the names, caste, gotras, the Vedic School, the names of the fathers of the parties, that when the writing is finished the debtor should write at the end that the deed is approved by N. N (the executant) son of so and so, that an even number (i e not less than two) should attest the document, stating their father's names and that they attest as witnesses and the scribe should write at the end that he wrote the document at the request of both parties. If the debtor or any witness cannot write, his signature should be made by another in the presence of all witnesses (Nār. q by Mit on Yāj. II 87 and by Vy. Nir. p. 87 without name). Rājakiya documents are of three kinds (acc. to Br quoted in V P p 141, V May. p. 24) viz *śāsana* (a royal grant of land), *jayapatra* (a judgment deciding a law-suit), *prasāda-patra* (a deed showing the king's pleasure at the devoted service or bravery of a person); acc. to Vasiṣṭha (q in Sm. C. II p. 55 and V May p 28) it is of four kinds viz *śāsana*, *jayapatra*, *ājñāpatra* (a royal command addressed to feudatories, high or low officers like the wardens of the marches), *prajñāpanāpatra* (a writing of request addressed by the king to sacrificial priests, a *purohita*, teacher, learned brāhmanas or other highly honoured persons), it is five-fold acc. to S V pp. 111-113 viz *śāsana*, *jayapatra*, *ājñāpatra*, *prajñāpanāpatra* and *prasādapatra*. Kaut in II. 10 speaks of several kinds of royal orders and names them, such as *prajñāpanā* (request by a messenger about what another prays), *ājñāpatra* (as above), *paridāna* (honour to the deserving or gift in distress), *parihāra* (remission of taxes for certain castes or villages by the king), *msr̥stīlekha* (writing whereby the king accepts the actions or words of some trustworthy person as his own), *pr̥vrtīka* (conveying information about some portentous happening or some news about enemies etc.), *matīlekha* (reply in accordance with discussion held with the king on a message from another), *śarvatraṅga* (order addressed to high functionaries and officers for the welfare of travellers) The contents and form of royal grants have been described in H. of Dh. vol. II pp 860-861. The jānapada writings are divided into various sorts, seven (acc. to Br. q. by Aparārka p 683, Sm C II p. 60) or eight (acc to Vyāsa in Sm C II. p. 59) and the Sm. C. remarks that there is no emphasis on the number and there may be many more varieties. Br. (S B. E vol. 33 p 305), Kāt (254-257) and others mention and define the following jānapada writings ; *bhāga*- or *vibhāgapatra* (deed of partition), *dānapatra* (deed of gift),

krayapatra (sale deed), *ādihānapatra* or *ādhipatra* (deed of pledge or mortgage), *sthūtipatra* or *saṁvṛtpatra* (deed of convention, which is made by the inhabitants of a village or city or the members of a corporation or guild by mutual agreement for settling their conventions), *dāsapatra* (deed of bondage to serve executed by a person devoid of food or clothing), *malekha* or *uddhārpatra* (bond of debt promising return at a future date with interest), *visuddhipatra* (deed of purification given to a person with the attestation of witnesses when a penance for a sin has been performed), *sandhipatra* (deed of peace when a compromise in the presence of leading people after a charge of the commission of a crime has been made), *simāpatra* (deed of boundary when a dispute about it is settled), *upagata* (a receipt passed by the creditor to a debtor on payment of the whole or part of a debt, Yāj II. 93), *anvādhipatra* (a sub-mortgage i. e. where the mortgagee or pledges mortgages or pledges the property or thing to another and hands over the former deed to his own creditor). The two branches of private documents (*jānapada*) are either *ciraka* or not *ciraka*; *ciraka* is defined as a document written by hereditary scribes residing in the capital, who are approached by the parties and bearing the signatures of the parties and witnesses and the names of their fathers (Sangraha q by Sm. C II. p 59, Par M III. p 127). Vide n. 437 above and Śukra II. 299-318 and IV. 5. 172-177 for definitions of these and other kinds of documents. But acc to Vyāsa quoted by Sm. C. II. p 59 private documents are of eight kinds viz *ciraka*, *upagata* (a receipt), *svahasta* (written by the executant himself), *ādhipatra*, *krayapatra*, *sthūtipatra*, *sandhipatra*, *visuddhipatra*. Some works like the *Vyavahārasāra* (p 69) and the *Mit* write the word as *ciraka* and not *cnaka*. It was so called (viz *ciraku*) probably because it was written on the back (of the bark of the birch or some other tree). If the proper word is *ciraka* then it was employed because being executed by scribes appointed by the king, it had validity for all time (*cira*) as compared with purely private documents. 'Ciraka' in this last sense seems to be equal to 'sthānakṛta' of other writers.

Nar. ⁴³⁸ IV. 136, Viṣṇu. Dh. S VII. 11 and Kāt. (252) require that a document is held valid which is not adverse to the custom of the country, the contents of which follow the rules

438. देशाचाराविरुद्धं व्यक्त्याधिविधिलक्षणम् । तत्प्रमाणं स्मृतं लेख्यमविलोक्यमाह्वयम् ॥ नारद IV. 136, देशाचाराविरुद्धं व्यक्त्याधिविधिलक्षणमनुसक्तमाह्वयं प्रमाणम् । विश्वधर्मसूत्र VII. 11.

regarding pledges (and other transactions) and the sequence of the sense and of the words in which is not contradictory or confusing. Sm. C. II. p. 59 applies the word⁴³⁹ *pañcārūḍha* (on which five are recorded) to documents that are signed by the creditor, the debtor, two witnesses and the scribe. The *Sarasvativilāsa* p. 114 holds that *pañcārūḍhatva* consists in having the creditor, debtor, witnesses (as one item), scribe and the matter to be written. *Hārīta* and *Vyāsa* (q in Sm. C. II. p. 59) employ the dual (*sāksinau*), while *Yāj.* II. 87 employs the plural. Therefore ordinarily two witnesses sufficed, but in very important writings there should be more witnesses. *Viśva-rūpa* reads 'asamāh' in *Yāj.* II. 87 and requires three witnesses as the minimum. *Nār.* IV. 137, *Visnu*⁴⁴⁰ Dh. S. VII. 6-10, Br. (S. B. E. vol 33 p. 307 v. 23.), *Kāt.* (271) state that a document is invalid that is executed by a person intoxicated, by one already charged (with an offence), by a woman, a minor, that has been brought about by threats or deceit or coercion, by one dying, by one diseased, by a lunatic, or by those that are dependent. *Visnu* Dh. S. (VII. 8-9) and *Kāt.* 273 (q by V. M. p. 338, *Aparārka* p. 686, *Par. M.* III. p. 131) state that a document may be held invalid owing to defects in the witnesses or in the scribe or to the fraud of the creditor or executant.

Nār. IV. 145, *Kāt.* (306-307), *Samvarta* (both quoted by *Aparārka* pp. 691-692) and Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 309 verse 31) say that no oral evidence should be allowed to contradict the (terms of a) document, that the mode of proving (a matter) by a document is always superior, that a writing can be refuted or superseded only by another document relating to the same matter and not by the oaths of witnesses and that if oral evidence

439 उत्तमर्णाधमर्णौ च साक्षिणौ लेखकस्तथा । समवायेन चैतेषां लेखं कुर्यात् नान्यथा ॥ इति हारीतेन लेख्यमात्रे साक्षिणवित्युक्तत्वात् । एवं चाप्यङ्कुरलेखपक्षोत्तमर्णाधमर्णसाक्षिद्वयलेखकस्यञ्जयुक्तत्वात्कृताप्यङ्कुरं पञ्चमिति लोके व्यवहारः साक्षिसङ्ख्याधिक्ये चार्थं व्यवहारो गौण इति मन्तव्यम् । स्मृतिच० II p. 59.

440. सद्बलात्कारितमप्रमाणम् । उपधिकृताश्च सर्वे एव । इतिवर्कमुद्रसादयङ्गिस्तसाक्षिकमपि । सादृग्भिद्येन लेखकेन लिखितं च । श्रीबालारवतग्ननचोमसमीक्षितावितकृतं च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VII. 6-10. सुसुविज्ञाभीतार्थस्त्रीमत्तस्यसाधुः । निशोपविबला-स्कारकृतं लक्ष्यं न सिध्यति ॥ बृह. 9. by स्मृतिच० II. p. 62. Manu. (VIII. 165 and 168) declares that fraud vitates all transactions Compare with *Visnu* Dh. S. sections 10-12, 15-18 of the Indian Contract Act (of 1872) In I. L. R. 5 Bom. 99 at p. 104 'strimatta' in Br. (S. B. E. vol 33 p. 307 v. 23) is taken as one word and rendered 'under female or aphrodisiac influence', which is not correct as shown by the texts of *Visnu* and *Kāt.*, where the two words are separated by other words.

were allowed to overrule the force of documents there would be confusion and an end to all written transactions⁴⁴¹. If there is a conflict among documents then a *jānapada* document (written by a scribe and attested) is superior to one written in the hand of the executant himself and a public document is superior to a *jānapada* one (Vyāsa q. by Sm. C. II p 66 S. V p 122).

Yāj. II. 91, Nār. IV. 146 and Kāt. 312 (q. by Aparārka p. 687) prescribe that when a document is in another country or when it is illegibly written, when it is lost or its letters have become indistinct (by lapse of time or other causes) or it has been stolen or is crushed or burnt or shattered into pieces, another document may be caused to be written (if both parties agree), but if they do not agree and the contents have to be proved or if the executant denies his signature, then Nār. IV. 142 and Kāt. (282 q. by Sm C II p. 63) say that time may be given to bring it from the foreign country or the contents may be proved by the evidence of the attesting witnesses or of the scribe or of those that have seen it. This shows that the *smṛti* law required the production of the document itself as primary evidence, but allowed secondary evidence only in exceptional cases⁴⁴². If a document belonging to one man is produced by another the latter has to explain his custody of it⁴⁴³ (Vyāsa q. by Aparārka p. 690, Sm. C. II. 66), Kāt. (308 q. by Sm. C. II. p. 65) says⁴⁴⁴ that just as the reflection of a person or thing made in a mirror is seen as if it were real though it is unreal, so clever people can fabricate documents resembling (the genuine writing of a person). Vyāsa (in Aparārka p. 688, Sm C. II. 65) and Br. (S. B. E vol 33 p. 307

441. न द्विव्यैः साक्षिभिर्वापि शीयते लिखितं कचिद् । लेखधर्मः सदा भेदो ह्यतो नान्येन शीयते ॥ तदुक्तिप्रतिलेख्येन तद्विनिर्दिष्टेन वा सदा । लेखक्रिया निरस्येत न साक्षिपयैः कचिद् ॥ कात्या. q. by अपरार्क p. 692; वाचिकैर्यदि सामर्थ्यमक्षराणां विहन्यते । क्रियाणां सर्वनाशः स्फादनवस्था च जायते ॥ संवत् q. by अपरार्क p. 692. Compare sec. 92 of the Indian Evidence Act The poet Māgha gives expression in his own laconic way to the same idea in निर्धारितेर्लेखेन खलुक्त्वा खलु वाचिकम् । शिशुपालवध II. 70.

442. Compare sec 63 and 65 of the Indian Evidence Act about the meaning of secondary evidence and the circumstances under which it can be given.

443. सञ्ज्ञान्यस्य कृतं लेखमन्यहस्ते प्रदूषयते । अवश्यं तेन वक्तव्यं पत्रस्यागमनं ततः ॥ व्यास q. by अपरार्क p. 690.

444. दूषणस्य यथा बिम्बमसत्सद्विधं दूषयते । तथा लेखस्य बिम्बानि कुर्वन्ति कुशला जनाः ॥ कात्या. in स्मृतिच. II. 65, ख. म. p. 148, ख. नि. p 91 (it attributes the verse to मारुद्).

vv. 20-21) say the same thing and add that documents have to be carefully scrutinized and that no certain conclusion can be established by documents alone (in every case), that women, minors and illiterate persons are deceived even by their relatives by the fabrication of documents bearing the names of these (women and others) and that this has to be investigated with skill. When there is a doubt about the genuineness of a document, it can be established by comparison with other documents admitted to be written or signed by the same person, by ratiocination, by the probability of the two parties being together at the time of the transaction, by citing the attesting witnesses,⁴⁴⁵ by the peculiarities or flourishes in writing certain letters or making certain signs (in the writing questioned and in other admitted writings), the previous transactions between the parties (or their subsequent conduct), and the source of the acquisition of the subject matter in dispute (Yaj II 92, Visnu Dh. S. VII 12, Nār. IV. 143-144, Kāt 283 q. in Mit. on Yaj II 92). Visnu Dh. S. (VII 13) and Kāt.⁴⁴⁶ 285-286 (q by Aparāka pp. 689-690) prescribe that if the debtor, creditor, witnesses or the scribe be dead the authenticity of the document has to be ascertained by (a comparison of the signatures on the disputed document) with other specimens of their handwriting or signatures or other documents executed by the debtor. Kāt 287 (q. by Aparāka p. 689, Sm. C. II. p. 64 and Par. M. III. p. 134) states the striking⁴⁴⁷ rule that when a document bears the royal seal, that document is presumed to be authentic, even though all the three (viz. the debtor, the witnesses and the scribe) are dead. This shows that documents bearing the king's seal or that of royal officers were regarded as *prima facie* genuine and this rule is analogous to the provisions in sec 79 of the Indian Evidence Act and sections 59-60 of the Indian Registration Act. That even copperplate grants were sometimes forged is clear from the reference in the Madhuban plate of Emperor

445. Vide sec. 68 of the Indian Evidence Act about the proof of attested documents

446. अथ पञ्चरत्नमाप्नो लेखकः सह साक्षिभिः । तत्स्वहस्तादिभिस्तेषां विद्वद्भ्यस्तु न संशयः ॥ ऋग्विस्वहस्तसन्देहे जीवतो वा मृतस्य वा । तत्स्वहस्तकृतैरन्यैः पत्रैस्तद्विषय-निर्णयः ॥ कात्या. quoted by अय मा p 339, अपराक pp 689-690, परा मा III p. 134; स्मृतिच. II p 63 ascribes the 2nd to हारीत Compare sec 69 and 73 (for proof of handwriting by comparison) of the Indian Evidence Act.

447. मनुदेवि यदा लेख्ये मृतः सर्वेपि ते स्थिताः । लिखितं तत्प्रमाणं तु मृतैर्वपि हि लेख्यं ॥ कात्या. quoted by अपराक p. 689, स्मृतिच. II. p. 64.

Harsa (E. I. VII. p. 155, 158), and from the Tārāchandi Rock Inscription (in Bihar) of Mahānāyaka Pratāpādavaladeva (in E. I. XX. Appendix No. 340) of *sāvat* 1225 which declares that a certain copperplate purporting to be issued by Vijayacandra of Kanoj was forged. Vide Fleet in I. A. vol. 30 pp. 201-223 for many forged grants. Verses (variously attributed to Kāt. or Brhaspati by the digests) state that when a loan (recorded in a document) has not been expressly claimed by the creditor able to claim from a debtor who is able to pay off and who is at hand, the document loses its validity because a suspicion arises that the debt has been paid off and that a document executed more than thirty years before which has never been seen (by any body) nor read out (by the creditor to any body) does not attain validity even though the witnesses on it are living. Nār. IV. 141 is very similar to this last. Kāt. 298-299, 301 (q by Par. M. III. 136, Mit. on Yāj. II. 24, Aparārka p. 690-691) prescribe that if no objection is raised for twenty years as regards a patent fault in a document of debt or pledge or of the settlement of boundaries, then the document ceases to be voidable Kāt. 275 and Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 302 v. 25) both quoted by Aparārka p. 671 and V. P. p. 122 require that the latent defects in documents or witnesses must be declared (pointed out) by the disputant at the (proper) time (i. e. when they are produced), while patent defects may be considered by the *sabhyas* at the time (of the consideration of the evidence) by reference to the rules of the *sāstra*. Yāj. II. 93-94, Visnu Dh. S. VI. 25-26⁴⁴⁸ prescribe that when a debtor pays part of a debt, the debtor should write on the back of the document how much he paid or the creditor may hand over to the debtor a writing of receipt signed or written by himself, particularly when the original document is not at hand, and when the whole debt is paid or the contract is fully performed the creditor should tear off the document or should execute another document in order to make clear the fact of satisfaction

The fabrication of royal edicts and private documents was so much condemned by the sentiments of society that Manu IX. 232 and Visnu Dh. S. V. 9-10 prescribe the extreme penalty of death for such offences as in the case of the murder of women, minors and brāhmanas. Yāj. II. 295 (= Matsya 227. 202)

448. लिखितार्थे मन्दिरे लिखितं पादयेत् । असमग्रदाने लेख्यासन्निधाने ऋषिसमर्थः
स्वलिखितं दद्यात् । निष्पुधर्मश्च VI 25-26

prescribes the highest fine for him who adds to or writes less than what was intended to be declared in a royal grant or edict, Śaṅkha also prescribes death or the excision of a limb for fabrication of documents (q. by V R. pp. 298, 369).

For detailed treatment about documents in ancient and medieval India two papers in the Annals of B. O. R. Institute, vol. IX, pp 49-81 and in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Society, vol. 18 pp 203-232 may be consulted

CHAPTER XII

BHUKTI OR BHOGA (possession).

According to Gaut. X. 39 a man becomes an owner by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure (appropriation of forest trees and other things which have no owner) and finding (i.e. appropriation of lost property the owner of which is unknown). Gaut. (X. 40-41) adds that in the case of brāhmanas acceptance (of a thing donated) is an additional mode (of becoming an owner), that conquest in the case of a ksatriya and gain (by trade or labour) in the case of a vaiśya or sūdra are also additional modes. Vas. 16. 16 mentions eight modes. Br. (quoted in V. P. p. 153, Aparārka p. 635, S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 309 v. 2) mentions seven modes of acquiring immovable property viz. by learning, purchase, mortgage, valour (i.e. conquest), through the wife (as dowry), inheritance (from an ancestor) and succession to an issueless kinsman. Nārada (q. in Sm. C. II p. 70) mentions the same except mortgage. None of these expressly says that long possession is by itself a source of ownership. Great divergence⁴⁴⁹ has prevailed throughout the centuries among the sages and digests about the relation of title and possession and about the length of possession necessary for making a person secure in his right to property by reason of possession. Possession (*bhukti*) may be with title (*sāgamā*) or without title (*anāgamā*). Āgama means 'origin' or 'source of title' such as purchase or simply 'title'.⁴⁵⁰ Manu VIII. 200, Yāj. II. 27, Nār. IV. 84 employ that word in that sense. Vide Kat. 317 (q. in Sm. C. II p. 73 and Par. M. III. p. 141). If property is held in one of the modes of acquiring ownership stated above and there is also possession, one's right to that property is indefeasible (Nār. IV. 85, Br. q. by Sm. C. II. p. 70, S. B. E. 33 pp. 309 and 312 v. 3 and 22), but possession without a clear title

449. Vide *Lalubhai v. Bai Amrit* I. L. R. 2 Bom. 299, 304 ff., where Mr. Justice West enters on an elaborate analysis of the doctrines of the Mft. and the Vyavahāramayūkha on title and possession.

450. स्वस्य हेतुः प्रतिग्रहकृपादिः आगमः । मिता. on या II. 27, आसव्यभ्याम्यते प्राप्यते स्वीकियते येन स. आगमः कृपादिरिति व्यवहारमातृका । आगमः साक्षिपत्रादिकमिति दीपकालिका । आगमो धनार्थनोपायः कृपादिरिति मैथिलः । व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 225.

does not lead to (or ripen into) ownership⁴⁵¹ (with certain exceptions to be noted later on) Vyāsa and Pītāmaha⁴⁵² declare that possession in order to be valid must have five characteristics viz it must have title behind it, must be of long standing, unbroken, free from protest (by another person) and in the presence (i. e. before the very eyes) of the opponent (q in Mit on Yāj II 27 and Aparārka p 635) Even title, if not accompanied by some slight possession, has no strength, while title is stronger than possession not handed down hereditarily (Yāj II. 27) Nār. IV. 85 states that possession becomes strong when backed by clear title. These passages present some difficulty and make title and possession depend on each other. Nār. IV. 77 states that even if there be a document or witnesses to support a man's title, when there is no enjoyment, particularly in the case of immovable property, there is no validity All that is meant is that a transfer without possession though under a deed or before witnesses is risky and that title and possession lend support to each other as stated by Nār IV. 84-86, Br, Hārīta and Pītāmaha⁴⁵³ Nār (IV. 86-87) declares that one who pleads mere possession and no title at all should be considered a thief on account of his putting forward the deceptive plea of possession (which even a thief can assert) and that the king should punish as a thief one who enjoys a property even for hundreds of years without title. All that this last verse means is that the person in possession must prove legal origin or such a long possession that there is no possibility of an inference that the possession

451. युक्त्या केवलया नैव भूमिः सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् । आगमेनापि ह्युद्धेन द्रव्या सिध्यति नान्यथा ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II p 70

452. सागमो दीर्घकालश्चाविच्छेदोऽपरवोज्झितः । प्रत्यर्थिसंनिधानश्च पञ्चाङ्गो भोग इष्यते ॥ व्यास q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 71 This is also cited by the mita, on ya II. 27 (without name). पितामह has almost the same words सागमा दीर्घकाला च विच्छिन्नापरवोज्झिता । प्रत्यर्थिसंनिधाना च युक्तिः पञ्चविधा स्मृता ॥ स्मृतिच II. p 70.

453. पित्र्यलब्धक्रयाधानरिक्त्यशौर्यप्रवेदनात् । प्राप्ते सप्तविधे भोगः सागमः सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् ॥ बृह. in व्यव नि. p 126, व्यव. प्र p. 153, न सूत्रेण विना शाखा अन्तरिक्षे प्ररोहति । आगमस्तु भवेन्मूलं युक्तिः शाखा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ हारीतः । नागमेन विना युक्तिर्नागमो युक्तिवर्जितः । तयोरन्योन्यसम्बन्धात्प्रमाणत्वं व्यवस्थितम् ॥ पितामहः both q by स्मृतिच II p 70, स वि p 131. The व्यव. नि which regarded *tripurusa-bhoga* as equal to 60 years (p. 128) briefly explains the strength of title and possession as follows : आद्यविंशतावागममात्रत्वं भोगस्य तद्वाह्यगुण्यात् । द्वितीये भोगागमयोः साम्यम् । तृतीये युक्तेः प्राबल्यम् । चतुर्थे पञ्चाङ्गभोग एव प्रमाण नागमापेक्षेति सिद्धम् । p. 132

of his ancestor originated is wrong. Delivery of possession was the principal mode of transferring ownership in ancient times in almost all systems of jurisprudence and so possession was given great weight as evidence of ownership.⁴⁵¹ The Mit. on Yāj. II. 27 makes the position clear. In the case of a gift or sale there must be the cessation of the ownership of the transferor and the arising of the ownership of the transferee. This last occurs only when the transferee accepts the property and not otherwise. Acceptance is mental, vocal and physical (i. e. the acceptor makes a resolve to accept, says that he accepts and takes physical possession). These three may exist in the case of such movable articles as gold, clothes &c. But in the case of a field physical acceptance is not possible except by enjoying the fruits or profits thereof. Therefore in order to make a gift or sale perfect there must be some slight possession at least. In the absence of such possession mere title is weak. Title may succeed against the man in possession who has no title and who has not been in possession for the prescribed period (such as three generations). If the possessor proves possession for that period he will succeed against one who has bare title and no possession whatever. If it is known or proved that a man purchased from A but got no possession and that another purchased from A subsequently and got possession (but was not in continuous possession for the prescribed period) the prior title though without possession will prevail over the later one, acc. to Yāj. II. 23. But when it is doubtful as to which title is prior and which posterior the one with possession will prevail. Where the possession has been uninterruptedly with a man's ancestors for three generations he will succeed against one who has bare title. Therefore possession was not absolutely indispensable for transfer even acc. to the Mit. and other works, but title without possession was risky and so possession was insisted upon as it was 'nine points of law'. It follows, acc. to the Mit., that (1) when possession was comparatively of short duration and not supported by any title much weight was not attached to possession and title by itself would prevail against it, that (2) continuous possession for three generations (though there is

454. In English Law until the year 1845 (8 and 9 Vic. chap. 106, sec. 2) land could in theory be conveyed in no other method than by delivery of possession and no deed or conveyance was in itself of any effect. Vide Salmond's Jurisprudence, 9th ed. 1937, p. 620.

nothing to show there was title to begin with) will prevail over a mere documentary title and that (3) a prior title with less than the possession for three generations (but with some possession) succeeds over a later title accompanied by possession. Long possession was assumed to have originated in legal title, although owing to lapse of time it was not possible to prove the origin.⁴⁵⁵ The main controversy has raged round the question of what is long possession. Yāj II. 24 literally translated means 'loss of land results in twenty years when it is enjoyed by a stranger before the owner's very eyes and without any protest from him and loss of chattels (results under similar circumstances) in ten years'. Manu VIII 147-148 and Nārada IV. 79-80 have two verses in common which mean 'If the owner of anything silently looks on (i.e. raises no protest) when it is being enjoyed in his presence for ten years by strangers he does not deserve to recover it (i.e. he loses the thing). When the owner is not an idiot nor a minor and his property is enjoyed within his sight then the property being lost by his conduct (*vyavahāra*) comes to belong to the enjoyer'. Gaut. XII. 34 has almost⁴⁵⁶ the same words as Manu VIII 148. Śankha (in V. R. p 208) also refers to ten years. These passages apparently mean that at the end of 20 or 10 years' adverse possession by the wrongful possessor the ownership of the original owner is lost and the wrongful possessor becomes the owner. But there are several other smṛti passages where it is said that possession even for a hundred years originating in wrong cannot confer title and much longer periods are required for the loss of ownership and the acquisition of ownership by prescription. Vide Nār IV. 86-87 cited. (on p 318 above) Nār. (IV 89) himself says elsewhere that possession requires

455 Under the Law of England 'Time immemorial or time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary' was considered to include the whole period of time from the reign of Richard I. This was a very inconvenient and absurd rule which was abrogated by sec 1 of the Prescription Act of 1832 (2 and 3 William IV, chap 71) whereby the rights to any land became absolute and indefeasible by sixty years' uninterrupted enjoyment before that Act (except when the enjoyment was by some consent or agreement made under a deed). By French Law the time of memory was held to extend for one hundred years as done by the Mit and other Sanskrit digests. Vide Salmond's Jurisprudence (9th ed of 1937) p 265-note 7.

456. अजडापोणण्डधनं दशवर्षयुक्तं परैः सजिधौ मोक्तुः ॥ शौ. XII. 34. ब्राम्हण
इह भोजिविरोधे दशवर्षयुक्तमन्यत्र राजविमत्वात् । शङ्ख प. in वि. र. p. 208.

to be supported by title only during *smṛtakāla* (during human memory), but in cases beyond human memory possession continued successively for three generations (or ancestors) is proof of ownership even in the absence of a document (or other title). Visnu Dh. S. V. 187 is in similar⁴⁵⁷ terms. The Mit. on Yāj. (II. 27) says that *smṛtakāla* is a period of 100 years, as the Veda declares that the span of a man's life is 100 years. For a hundred years it is possible for witnesses to depose to the origin of possession. So if there is possession for less than one hundred years, oral evidence can be adduced for establishing its origin, and title will have to be proved by the possessor and if no oral evidence is adduced to prove title, it is a case in which it may be held as certain that there was no title to begin with. Mere possession is not enumerated by sages like Gautama among the means of acquiring ownership. As the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* (p. 124) puts it, long uninterrupted possession only leads to an inference that it originated in title acquired by sale, gift or the like i. e. there arises a presumption of lawful origin⁴⁵⁸. Therefore in order to enable a man to rely on possession alone as proof of ownership it must extend uninterruptedly over 100 years (acc. to the Mit.). The *Smṛticandrikā*⁴⁵⁹ (II. p. 72) accepts this meaning, only requiring 105 years' possession instead of 100 years'. Acc. to a *smṛti* quoted by it each generation means 35 years and so when Nārada requires possession for three generations 105 years are meant (acc. to Sm. C.) Visnu Dh. S. V. 187, Kāt (327) also hold that continuous enjoyment for three generations makes the fourth generation owner of the land. Kāt. (321 q. by Mit. on Yāj. II. 27, *Apārarka* p. 636) states 'in cases falling within the memory of man it is desirable that possession must be accompanied with title

457 निमिरेव तु या शुक्ता पुत्रैर्दूर्ययाविधि । लेख्याभावेपि तां तत्र चतुर्थः सन-
नाष्टयात् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 187. The same is ascribed to both विष्णु and
कात्यायन by व्य मा p. 341 The व्यव. नि p. 130 ascribes it to अग्निमित्र.

458. युक्तिरपि कैश्चिद्विशेषैर्मुक्ता स्वत्वहेतुभूतकयदानादिकमन्यभिस्वारादनुभाष-
यति । अन्यथाह्यपद्यमाना कल्पयतीत्यनुमानेऽर्थापत्तौ वास्तव्यमिति प्रमाणमेव । सरस्वती-
विलास p. 124, these words are apparently taken from the व्यव. नि p. 73.

459. एतदुक्तं भवति । स्मरणयोग्ये पञ्चाधिकशतवर्षपर्यन्तातीतकालमध्ये प्रारब्धा
युक्तिः स्वतःप्रमाणावगतागममूलैव स्वत्वे प्रमाप्यमिष्यते । स्वतः स्वमूलावगतेर्योग्यानुपलब्ध्या
वाध्यमानत्वात् । स्मरणयोग्ये पुनः पञ्चाधिकशतवर्षपर्यन्तातीतकालाध्याचीनकाले प्रारब्धा
स्वदाह्यावगतागममूलिका विनापि मानान्तरावगतागममूलतां स्वत्वे प्रमाप्यमिति । स्मृतिच
II. p. 71.

(in order to be proof of ownership as to land); but in cases beyond the memory of man possession extending over three generations in succession (is independent proof of ownership), since there is no certainty that there was no title (to begin with)'. Vide also Br. (in S. B. E. vol. 33 p 313 verses 26-28). 'Three generations' is a vague expression. The great-grandfather, the grandfather and the father of a man may die in the space of ten years and if the great-grandfather took possession wrongfully and all died within ten years of the time of taking possession one after another, the fourth in descent might urge that there was possession for three generations and that he had become owner. Therefore Kāt. in another verse (318, q by Aparārka p 636 and V. P. p. 155) laid down that unbroken possession for three generations extending over sixty years becomes firm (independent means of proof of ownership) Thus *tripurusa-bhoga* or *pūrvakramāgata-bhoga* (in Yāj II 27) means the same thing as possession continuing from a time beyond human memory (*asmānta-kāla*) and is equal to 60 years acc. to Kāt., Vyāsa and a few other smṛti writers⁴⁶⁰. Nārada (q. by Aparārka p 636) says that as regards possession one generation means twenty years, while Br. (q by Sm. C. II p 72) says it means thirty years. It will be noticed from the above that early authors like Gaut., Manu., Yāj. appear to lay down 20 years' adverse enjoyment of land as sufficient to create ownership, while other and comparatively later authors like Nār. and Kāt. require sixty years. In order to remove this conflict and following the maxim that apparently conflicting texts should be reconciled as far as possible, the writers of commentaries and digests from Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi (on Manu VIII-148) downwards proposed various interpretations of Yāj. II 24 and similar texts. Some lay emphasis on possession and others on title. There are at least three explanations Aparārka (pp. 631-632), Kullūka and Raghunandana take the literal sense and say that on 20 years' adverse possession there is loss of ownership (1 a. there

460 मुख्यपैतामही शुक्तिः पैतृकी चापि संनता । त्रिभिरेतैरविच्छिन्ना स्थिरा वदया-
विद्वकी मता ऽ कात्या० ; वर्षाणि विकर्ति शुक्ता स्वामिनाऽप्याहता सती । शुक्तिः सा पौरोषी
शुक्तिविच्छिन्ना च द्विपौरोषी । त्रिपौरोषी च त्रिच्छिन्ना न तत्रान्वेष्ट्य आत्मः ॥ नारदः both quot-
ed by अपरार्क p. 636, and च म. p. 155 which ascribes the verses वर्षाणि &c to
व्यासः ; परा III, p 142 also ascribes it to व्यास. प्रपितामहेन षड्शुक्लः तत्पुत्रेण विना
च तम् । तौ विना वस्य पित्रा च तस्य भोगस्त्रिपौरोषः ॥ व्यास १ in स्वबहारात्मदृक्ता
p. 341.

is *svatahām*)⁴⁶¹. The 2nd explanation is that the meaning of Yāj. II 24 is that after 20 years' enjoyment by a stranger, if the owner brings a suit and relies on a document in his favour, he runs the risk of being unable to prove his ownership barely on the strength of the document, since it is possible to argue that, even though he had a document, by his silence he acquiesced in the stranger taking possession and tacitly consented to it. Therefore all that Yāj II. 24 means or recommends is that an owner should not be negligent (*upeksā*) or should not remain silent when a stranger takes wrongful possession. This view was first started by Visvarūpa among extant writers and it approaches the modern idea of requiring vigilance in the assertion of ones' rights⁴⁶², that is there is only loss of the suit (*vyavahārahāni*). This view lays emphasis on a verse attributed to Nār. and the word *vyavahāra* in it and in Manu VIII 148 and Nārada IV. 80, where the word means lawsuit also, the idea being that the sages declare only what would happen or be decided by the judges in a law court and do not intend to say that the decision would be just or righteous from the higher or the moralist's point. The third view is that of the Mīt. (followed by the Vyavahāramayūkha, Mītramīśra and several others) which⁴⁶³ explains that the loss is not that of the ownership of the thing itself but of the produce of it (there is only '*phalahām*') i.e. if without protest the owner allows a stranger to remain in possession before his very eyes for twenty years and then he brings a suit, he may succeed in getting back his land but he would lose his claim to the profits of the land. The Mīt., the Vyavahāramātrkā and V. P (pp 157-165) contain very

461 तस्माद्याज्ञवल्क्यादिवचनाद्विशतिवर्षदशवर्षादिकालेभ्य एष स्वत्वं जनयति तथा कालप्राप्तियत्नेन बीजमङ्कुरं जनयति तरुश्च कुसुममिति स्वामिना चापरित्यक्तेषु शास्त्रोक्तकालीनभोगात्स्वाभ्युपगम्यस्य भवति यथा जयेन राज्ञः परराष्ट्रधने इति । एवमेव श्रीकृष्णालकयोगोक्तं भवदेवमहं शूलपाणिः कुलकमहच्छण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिर्वर्षमानोपाध्यायप्रभृतयः । गृध्रहारोपि तादृगेव । एतद्विरुद्धवचनाभ्युपगम्यथा व्याख्येयानि । व्यवहारतत्त्व p 223, तस्मादाध्यायव्यतिरिक्तस्य यथोक्तता भुक्त्या स्वत्वसिद्धिः । अपराक्तं p 632.

462 हानिश्चात्र लिखितवलेनात्मनोयत्नमसाधनमात्रस्याभिप्रेतम् । न पुनर्भुक्त्वाद्यौ तत्फलं वा स्वत्वस्य । नोपेक्षामात्रेण स्वत्वमपेक्षास्तु क्त्वात् । स्मृतिच- II p 68, परैर्भुज्यमानं भोगेक्षणीयमित्यभिप्रायः । ... उपेक्षानियेधमात्रं चैतत् । हानिवचनं तु निष्कामात्रत्वेनोपेक्षकस्य अपराधपरिहृत्ययोग्यतामात्रज्ञातिफलं तदेव चात्र युक्तम् । विश्वरूप on या II 26, उपेक्षां कुर्यात्तत्त्वस्य तूष्णींभूतस्य तिष्ठतः । कालेति यत्ने पूर्वोक्तो व्यवहारो न सिध्यति ॥ नारद p by अपराक्तं (p. 632), स्मृतिच- II, 68.

463 तस्मात्स्वाभ्युपेक्षाालक्षणस्यापराधादस्माच्च वचनाद्विशतेकस्य फलं नष्टं न लभ्य इति स्थितम् । निता.

elaborate discussions on Yāj. II. 24; but considerations of space forbid any further reference to them. The V M ⁴⁶⁴ connects Yāj. II. 24 with the preceding verse (viz that in mortgages, gifts and sales a prior transaction prevails over a later one) and remarks that this verse (Yāj. II. 24) says that if a person after a gift, sale, or mortgage to him allows the property to remain with the seller, donor or mortgagor, who subsequently transfers it to another with possession and the latter holds it for twenty years, then the first dealing though prior is of no avail (as it is not accompanied with possession for 20 years). Śrīkara (as stated in the Vyavahāramātrkā) tried to reconcile the conflicting smṛti texts by holding that in twenty years the real owner lost ownership if he was present and did not protest while a stranger was in possession, but passages speaking about possession for three generations (or sixty years) applied only where the owner was absent. The Mī. and others point out that Yāj. II. 24 (who employs the words 'paśyatah' and 'abruvatah') conveys that if a stranger takes possession while the owner is absent or if the owner protests, then even 20 years' possession does not lead to the loss of anything. The text of Nār. IV. 87 quoted above (p. 318) shows that the sage held that possession for several hundred years even would not avail the possessor if it is certain or established that the possessor had no title at all to begin with or that his possession started wrongfully. This text is emphasized by those who favour title and want to discourage persons benefiting by their own wrongdoing. But there are other smṛti texts of a contrary tenor. For example, Nār. IV. 91 himself says 'whatever has been enjoyed even' unlawfully for three generations (i.e. by three ancestors) including the father cannot be recovered by the owner from the person (who is the 4th in succession) because it has gone through three lives in succession'; a text of Hārita states 'what has been enjoyed by three prior ancestors without any title whatever cannot be recovered back (from the present holder, who is 4th), since it has descended successively through three generations'. These two are relied upon by those who hold long possession as leading

464. अथ तत्त्वार्थः। क्रीतादित्यतिग्रहीताद्विधनश्रमिणः परस्य दक्षविंशतिवार्षिको भोगः क्षमाकारणजहपोगण्डत्वाद्यभावेऽप्युपेक्षितत्वाद्भानि कुरुते। स्वोपभोगार्थं तेन कयासस्य च तेनोपेक्षितत्वादिति मुनीनामभिप्रायः। तस्मात् 'पश्यतोऽब्रुवत' इति वचनं 'आप्यो प्रतिग्रहे क्रीते' इत्यस्यापवादकम्। आधिग्रहणक्रमयतिग्रहकर्तृणांमादितक्रीतमतिग्रहीतेषु गवाभ्यां द्विषु योग्येषु दक्षवर्षाणि परभोगोपेक्षया स्वत्वहानिः। भूमौ तु विंशतिवार्षिकी। तेन वचनात् कारणत्वेनावधारिता उपेक्षा कार्यभूता स्वत्वहानि ज्ञापयति। व्यवहारमातृका p 348-49

to an inference of title (*tripurusa-bhuktuvādmah*, as Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 148 calls them). These like the Vyavahāratattva and Vivādaoandra⁴⁶⁵ who rely solely on possession holdly say that long possession even originating in wrong leads to ownership. Medhātithi says 'there can be no memory of the origin of title when there has been possession for hundreds of years and (if title had to be proved for the origin of such possession) a king may resume villages enjoyed by ancient temples, brāhmanas and mathas; therefore ancient possession is evidence of ownership because it makes it extremely probable that the ancient possession originated in gift or the like'. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 27 (which is *svatavādī*) refers to all the three views, refutes the first two and accepts the view of loss of profits. It does not literally interpret the texts of Hārīta and Nārada quoted above, takes them to be over-statements and intended to convey that continuous possession for over three generations cannot be interfered with even if there is no clear proof of the origin of title. In modern India under the Indian Limitation Act (IX of 1908) the tendency is to prescribe the very short period of twelve years for adverse possession in order to defeat a title, following the English Real Property Limitation Act of 1833 (3 and 4 William IV chap. 27), sec. 2 of which insisting on vigilance by every one about one's rights however prescribes the period of 20 years within which to bring an action for recovery of land. Modern case law has rather gone too far and sets a premium on wrongful possession by holding that it is not necessary that adverse possession should have been brought to the knowledge of the real owner⁴⁶⁶. Ancient Hindu lawyers put down the tendency to usurp another's property and placed many obstacles in the way of the wrongful possessor.

It may be noted that there were a few rare texts that referred to very short periods for possession causing loss of

465 अन्यायेनापि पित्राद्विप्रयुक्तो भोगः प्रमाणमेव—अन्यायेनापि यद्व्युक्तं पित्रा पूर्वतरैस्त्रिभिः । न तच्छ्रवणमपाकर्तुं कर्मास्त्रिपुरयागतम् ॥ (नारद ५ ११)—इति वचनात् । पित्रेति पित्रा सहैतत्पर्यं । अन्यायेनापि अन्यायानिश्चयेनापीत्यर्थः । तेन वस्तुतो भोग इत्यापातीति नान्यायभोगः प्रमाणमिति केचित् । अन्ये तु वचनबलादेर्विधोऽन्यायभोगोऽपि प्रमाणमेवेत्याहुः । चरमः यक्षोत्र समीचीनः । त्रिभिरेव यदा युक्ता उपरैर्भूययाविधिः । लेख्याभावेपि तां तत्र चतुर्थं समवाप्नुयात् ॥ इति वचनात् । विवादचन्द्र p. 134. Vide note 457 above for the verse त्रिभिरेव.

466 Vide *The Secretary of State for India v. Debendra Lat Khan* 61 I A p 78 at p 82 (=36 Bom. L R 249) and *Srischandra Nandy v. Baijnath*, 62 I A 40 at p. 44 (=37 Bom. L R 323).

title, viz. 3 years for immovable property (provided there was no permissive origin, *ksamāṅga*) or one year for corn, cattle and other movables⁴⁶⁷. This idea being opposed to innumerable texts was explained away as merely conveying the great importance of possession. Marici states⁴⁶⁸ that cows, beasts of burden, ornaments that are borrowed through friendship should be returned within four or five years, otherwise the owner would lose them. This is opposed to Manu VIII. 146 and other texts and so is explained as being applicable only if there is no sufficient cause for allowing them to remain with the borrower. The ancient Roman Law was very like this. Before Justinian the Roman Law gave the ownership of a thing by quiet possession *bona fide* and founded on good title if maintained during one year over movables and during two years over immovable property⁴⁶⁹. Justinian altered this and provided that possession during three years gave ownership of movables and possession during ten years (if parties resided in the same province) or during twenty years (if they did not) gave the ownership of immovable property.

Br (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 314 verse 31) lays down the proposition that if a person has title and is already in possession and is dispossessed by another then he may succeed in a lawsuit on the strength of his prior possession provided the dispossessor does not establish continuous possession for three generations⁴⁷⁰. This is similar to a suit in ejectment contemplated by Art 142 of the Indian Limitation Act.

Br (S. B. E. vol 33 p. 310 v. 11) and Kāt. 335 (both quoted by Aparārka p 637, V. P. p. 166) state that what is enjoyed by a man's agnates and cognates and his own people does not pass to their ownership by their mere possession; one should regard

467 अत्र बृहस्पतिर्विशेषमाह । त्रिषर्वै भुज्यते येन समग्रा ब्रूवति । तस्य सा तप-
हर्तव्या क्षमालिङ्गं न चेद्देव ॥ चतुष्पाद्भयनधान्यादेः षषड्भिर्निमवाप्तुयात् ॥ एतद्वचनं
भुक्तेराद्वार्यं यथाश्रुतं (न ?) व्याख्येयं बहुप्रतिपक्षत्वादेति बरद्वाराजः । स वि p 135
Vide व्यव. नि. p 132 from which this is taken, which introduces these verses
with the words 'अत्र पञ्चाध्याय्या बृहस्पतिः.' It is probable that the work of
Br on vyavahāra had five adhyāyas

468 हेतुवाह्यालङ्कणं याचितं प्रीतिकर्मणा । चतुष्पाद्विक्रयं न्यया हानिमाप्नु-
यात् । मरीचिः in स्मृतिच. II 69, परा मा III p 148 (reads घनवाह्याः)

469 Vide Sandar's Introduction to the Institutes of Justinian, sec 72

470 सत्यपि विच्छेदे सायना भुक्तिः प्रमाणमिदं बृहस्पतिः । भुक्तिर्नल्लभती शान्ते
आविच्छिन्ना विरन्तनी । विच्छिन्नापि हि सा ज्ञेया या तु पूर्वप्रसाधिता ॥ इति । परा मा
III. p 144-145, स्मृतिच. II p. 74.

possession (as leading to ownership) in cases other than these. Pitāmaha states that possession by a stranger is powerful, but possession by members of one's own family has certainly not the same force⁴⁷¹. This appears to adumbrate the principle of modern law that possession by one co-owner or one tenant-in-common is ordinarily the possession of all co-owners and the mere fact that the profits of a property have been enjoyed by only one co-heir or tenant-in-common for many years does not by itself amount to the ouster of the other tenants-in-common⁴⁷². It is stated in Gaut. XII. 35 that property which is enjoyed for a long time by a śrotriya, an ascetic or a king's officer is not lost to the owner by that enjoyment, since the owner may have thought that he would reap long-enduring spiritual merit by the first two enjoying this property (such as a vacant house) or that he might be prevented from asserting his right from fear (of the royal official). Compare Br. (S. B. E. vol 33 p. 311 v. 12),⁴⁷³ Manu VIII. 149 (= Nār. IV. 81 and Vas. 16. 18), Yāj II. 25, Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 312 v. 21), Kāt. (330) state the following exceptions to the rule of loss by long possession; a mortgaged or pledged property, boundary, minor's property, an open deposit, a sealed deposit, women (female slaves), the property of the king i. e. (of the State) and the property of a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda are not lost by the possession of another (for twenty or ten years referred to in Manu VIII. 147 and Yāj II. 24). Manu VIII. 145 provides that neither a pledge nor a deposit can be lost by lapse of time and that both are recoverable even if they have remained long (with the pledgee or depositor). Yāj II. 25 adds to the above list the properties of idiots and of women. Nār. IV. 83 emphatically states that women's property (strī-dhana) and state property (land) is not lost even after hundreds of years, when it is enjoyed without title. Kāt. (330) adds to the above list temple property and what is inherited

471. सनातिभिर्बान्धवैश्च यद्भुक्तं स्वजनैस्तथा । भोगाच्च न सिद्धिः स्याद्भोगमन्यश्च कल्पयेत् ॥ कात्या०, अस्मानिना ह यद्भुक्तं गृहक्षेत्राणादिकम् । सुदृढंभुक्तं कल्पयेत् न तद्भोगेन ह्रीयते ॥ बृह ; both quoted by अपरार्क p. 637, स्वय. नि. pp. 128-129, स्व. म. p. 166, विवादचन्द्र p. 135 (2nd verse), the first is ascribed to both बृह and कात्या by स्वय. नि.; भुक्तिर्बलवती तत्र भोक्ता यत्र परो भवेत् । स्वर्गोत्रे भोगिनां भुक्तिर्न शक्ता शाश्वती दृष्टात् । पितृमह in स्मृतिच० II p. 69

472. Vide I L. R. 46 Bom. 213, 31 Bom. L. R. 199 and 1030 (P. C.), 47 Cal 274 for this proposition.

473. धर्मादेशः भोजिणे स्याद् भयं स्याद् राजपुरुषे । स्नेहः सुदृढबान्धवेषु भुक्तमेतैर्न ह्रीयते । बृह. in स्मृतिच० II. p. 69, परा मा. III. p. 149,

from the father or mother⁴⁷¹. All systems of jurisprudence throw protection round the interests of minors, persons of unsound mind and others similarly situated and provide longer periods of possession for loss of their right. The Mit. on Yāj (I. 25 gives reasons why the several exceptions are made. in the case of a pledge or mortgage the property is enjoyed by the pledgor or mortgagee under an agreement and so there is no fault on the part of the owner if he remains quiet while the property is being enjoyed by the creditor, boundaries between villages can be easily established by such signs as trees (growing on the border), streaks of chaff and coal (buried underground), deposits are entrusted to a person out of confidence for being preserved and not for enjoyment; idiots and minors are ignorant or incapable of understanding their rights, the king being engrossed in numerous state affairs may not be able in time to look into the question about possession of state properties; women on account of their ignorance and timidity may not assert their rights and a learned brāhmana being devoted to learning, teaching and performance of rites and duties may have no time to go to law. In modern times also the law favours minors and other persons as indicated in the note below⁴⁷⁵. Kāt (331-334 q. by Par. M III. p 148, Sm C II p. 69

474. न भोगं कल्पयेत्स्त्रीषु देवराजघनेषु च । बालश्रोत्रियचित्ते च मातुः । गितुः क्रमात् ॥ कात्या quoted in ह्य मा p 351 (reads श्रोत्रियवृद्धे च प्रायेऽपि गितुः &c.), स्मृतिच. II 69 उपनिधि and निक्षेप are defined by नारद as 'असंख्यतमविज्ञातं समुद्रं पश्चिधीयते । तज्जानीयादुपनिधिं निक्षेपं गणितं विदुः ॥' (q by मिता on वा. II 65)

475 Under the Indian Limitation Act, a mortgagor can sue for redemption and possession within 60 years from the time when the right to redeem accrues (Art 148), though for ordinary suits for possession the period is 12 years, while a pawnor of moveable property has 30 years (Art 145) from the date of the pawn, if a thing is entrusted to a man for a specific purpose as a trustee then sec 10 of the Limitation Act provides that no length of time will bar a suit for recovering from him or his legal representatives or voluntary assigns the trust property or its proceeds (*upaniḍhi* and *niḥsepa* may be examples of trust), a suit on behalf of the Secretary of State for India can be brought within 60 years (Art. 149), sections 6-8 provide longer periods for persons who were minors, idiots or lunatics at the time when their rights were invaded. Under the Real Property Limitation Act of 1833 (3 and 4 William IV chap 27 sections 16 and 17) a suit could be brought within ten years of the time when the disability ceased in the case of minors, lunatics, idiots, those absent beyond the seas, but no suit can be

(Continued on the next page)

which ascribes them to Nārada) prescribes that in the case of a *brahmacārī*, engaged in his vow of veda study extending over 36 years, and in the case of a man who remains in a foreign country in pursuit of wealth, enjoyment extending over 50 years will alone make him lose his property by the possession of another; that when a person has been a student for a shorter period than 36 years he may get longer additional periods proportionately and that when a person is in jail time does not run against him

(Continued from the last page)

brought beyond forty years from the starting point Section 13 of the Indian Limitation Act provides that when the defendant is absent from British India the plaintiff can add the period of defendant's absence to the period prescribed for bringing a suit but does not provide for the rule of Kāt which allows a longer period for loss of right when a person (who may have to sue) is absent in a foreign country. Under the Civil Law of Rome the rule was '*nullum tempus occurrit regi*' (lapse of time does not bar the right of the crown) Vide *Vyakunta v Government of Bombay* 12 Bom H C R, (O. C J.) 1 at p 217 for this rule and its limitation under modern Indian Law

CHAPTER XIII

WITNESSES (*sākṣiṇaḥ*).

The word *sākṣiṇ* occurs in the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad⁴⁷⁶ (VI. 11) where it is applied to the one immanent Spirit of the universe as All-seeing. Pāṇini⁴⁷⁷ V. 2. 91 explains the word *sākṣiṇ* as meaning 'one who has directly seen' Gaut⁴⁷⁸ XIII. 1, Kauṭ III. 11, Nār IV. 147 state that when two persons litigate and there is a doubt or discrepancy between the two the determination of the truth in the dispute is due to witnesses. Manu VIII. 74, Sabhāparva⁴⁷⁹ 68 84, Nār. IV. 148, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 8 13, Kāt 346 (q in V M p 317 and V. P p 106) provide that a (proper) witness is one who has himself either seen or heard or experienced the matter in dispute. This means that the evidence of a witness must be direct and should not be what is called hearsay. Medhātithi (on Manu VIII. 74) says⁴⁸⁰ that hearsay evidence occurs when a person who hears from another that has himself heard something from another comes forward as a witness and that hearsay is no legal evidence. Manu VIII. 76 prescribes that even though a man may not have been expressly asked or appointed by the parties (in the words 'you are the witness to this transaction'), he is a proper witness when asked as to any matter in dispute that he has himself seen or heard. The only exception to hearsay evidence allowed by

476 एको देवः सर्वभूतेषु गृह. साक्षी चेत्ता केवलो निर्गुणश्च ॥ श्वेताश्वतरोप-
निषद् VI 11

477 साक्षाद्दृष्टि संज्ञायाम् । पा V. 2. 91.

478 विप्रतिपत्तौ साक्षिनिमित्ता सत्यव्यवस्था । गो XIII. 1, असंप्रतिपत्तौ तु साक्षिण
प्रमाणम् । कौटिल्य III 11

479 श्रुतदृष्टानुभूतार्थात् साक्षिण्योऽपेक्षितदर्शनम् । नारद IV. 147, अधिप्राप्तयिज्ञा-
निध्यादुद्धृतं तु यद्भवेत् । तद्ग्राह्यं साक्षिणो वाक्यमन्यथा न ब्रूह्यसि. ॥ कात्या 10 १५ प्र
p. 106, समक्षदर्शनात्साक्षी अवगच्छेति धारणात् । सभापर्व 68 84, समक्षदर्शनात्साक्षी
अवगणाद्वा । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 8 13

480 समक्षदर्शनात्साक्षाद्बुभुक्षुवणाच्च समक्षदर्शाद्बुद्धः कर्तव्यः । यत् कुतश्चि-
देकेन श्रूयते ततोऽन्येन तत्परंपराश्रुतं तेन परंपराश्राव्यं न साक्षी । से on मनु 8 74, यस्तु या
ओत्रेण वा येन विवाद्बिषयः पूर्वं प्रमितः स तत्र साक्षीत्यर्थः । .. तेन यो विवाद्बिषयो येन
प्रमितः स तत्र साक्षित्वेनाकृतोपि साक्षी भवतीति सिध्यति ह्यवरथा वेतनादानादिषु विवादेषु
लिखितादीनामसम्भवेन साक्ष्यभाषमसङ्गः । मदनरत्न (ms) Compare १५. प्र p. 109
for almost the same words.

the Visnu Dh S. VIII. 12 is that⁴⁸¹ when a person that is appointed as a witness is dead or gone abroad, those who have heard what he said may give evidence. It has already been stated (p 297) that a king was not to delay the examination of witnesses. Kāt. (340-341 q by Aparārka pp 675, 677, Sm C. II. p 92, V. M p. 331) prescribes that the king (or the chief judge) should himself examine the witnesses that are present (in court) and should consider along with the *sabhyas* the statements made by witnesses and that, where it is doubtful who the witnesses on a disputed matter are, time should be given for producing the witnesses in order to ascertain the proper means of proof but that where it is clear who the witnesses may be he should make the hearing of the case proceed at once. Kāt (352) further prescribes⁴⁸² that when it is impossible to bring witnesses because they reside in a foreign country, evidence taken in writing before a man learned in the three Vedas and sent by him should be read in deciding the cause⁴⁸³. Gant. 13. 2, Manu VIII. 60, Yaj. II 69, Nār. IV. 153 and others require that ordinarily there should be at least three witnesses in a cause. Br. (S. B E 33 p 301 v. 16) says that there may be nine, seven, five, four or three witnesses, or two only if they are learned brāhmanas⁴⁸⁴. Visnu Dh S VIII 5 and Br. (S. B. E vol. 33 p 301 v 16) emphasize that a single witness alone cannot be examined for deciding a matter⁴⁸⁵.

481 उदिष्टसाक्षिणि सुते देशान्तरगते वा तदभिहितश्रोतारः प्रमाणम् । विष्णुधर्म-
सूत्र VIII 12

482, अज्ञक्य आगमो यत्र विदेशं यतिवादिनाम् (विदेशमतिवादिनाम् ?) । वैविध्यमहितं
लेख्यसदर्थं तत्र प्रदायेत् ॥ कार्या q. by अपरार्क p 567.

483. This corresponds to the modern rule of taking evidence on com-
mission as provided for in Order 26 rules 4 and 5 of the Indian Civil Pro-
cedure Code (of 1908)

484 नव सप्त पञ्च वा स्तुश्रुत्वारक्षय एव वा । उभौ वा ओत्रियौ क्पातौ नैकं पृच्छे-
त्कदाचन ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II 76 (adds उभौविति लिखितगृहसाक्षिविषयम्),
नर. म. III 95, च्य प्र p 112.

485 Vide Best on 'Evidence' (12th ed of 1922) p 515 The
Mosaic law in some cases and the Civilian and Canonists in all exacted the
evidence of more than one witness, a doctrine adopted by most nations in
Europe and by the ecclesiastical and some other tribunals among us' Accord-
ing to the Common Law of England and the Indian Evidence Act (I of 1872)
sec 134, no particular number of witnesses shall in any case be required for
the proof of any fact Best (*ibid* p 520) notices that in prosecutions for
perjury the testimony of at least two witnesses is required by the Common
Law of England (now confirmed by Statute) and that by Statute two witnesses
at least are required in trials for treason Vide *Emperor v Bal Gang-
adhar Tilak* 5 Bom. L R 324 where the rule about two witnesses in convic-
tions for perjury according to the Common Law of England was relied on

But Yāj II 72, Viṣṇu Dh S VIII, 9, Nār IV 192 state that one man alone may be a witness in a cause if he is endowed with the regular performance of his religious duties (is possessed of the qualities stated in Viṣṇu Dh S VIII 8) and is accepted as a witness by both sides. Vide Manu VIII 77 also Br (S B E vol 33 p 301 v 18) allows a single witness to furnish valid proof if he is a *dūtaka*⁴⁸⁶ (messenger), an accountant, one who has accidentally witnessed the transaction or if he is the king or the chief justice. Vyāsa says⁴⁸⁷ that even a single person may be enough in a cause, especially in heinous offences called *āhava*, if he be one whose actions are pure, who knows the *dharma* and whose truthfulness has been well attested before Kaut (III 11) says that a single witness (whether a man or a woman) may be enough in cases where the transaction in question was effected in secret (except the king and one performing austerities)⁴⁸⁸ Kāt (353-355 q by V M pp 319-320, Sm. C II 76, V. P. pp. 112-113) states that even a single person may be allowed to depose as a witness if he was taken in confidence at the time of making a deposit; so also a messenger sent by a litigant for borrowing an article (such as an ornament) or the manufacturer of an article may alone be sufficient to prove the identity of the article or when a matter has been decided by the king or chief judge, the scribe, the chief justice or any one of the *sabhyas* may alone prove the plea of *res judicata* or the point as to what was said by the plaintiff or the defendant in a suit⁴⁸⁹. Vide Br (S B E. 33 p 300 verses 13-14).

The qualifications of witnesses to be examined in a suit are stated in numerous places such as Gaut XIII. 2, Kaut III 11, Manu VIII 62-63, Vas 16-28, Śankha-Likhita (q in S. V. p 138), Yāj II 68, Nār IV 153-154, Viṣṇu Dh S VIII 8, Br (S. B E vol 33 p 302 v 28), Kāt 347 (in Sm C II p 76 and

486 Br (S B E vol 33 p 300 v 8) defines a *dūtaka* as one who is a respectable man esteemed and appointed by both parties and had come near to listen to the speeches of the parties

487. शुचिक्रियश्च धर्मज्ञ साक्षी यन्नाह्वयवत्वात् । प्रमाणमन्योपि भवेत्साक्षेण गिम्पत. ॥ व्यास in स्मृतिच II p 76, स्व म p. 112

488 रहस्यव्यवहारेवेका स्त्री युवप उपश्रोता उपट्टया वा साक्षी श्यादाजतामनन्दा । कौटिल्य III 11

489 अयिमत्यर्थिनोर्वच यच्छ्रुतं भूभृता स्वयम् । स एव तत्र साक्षी स्याद्विमतो द्वयोरपि ॥ निर्णीते व्यवहारे तु पुनर्यापी यदा भवेत् । अध्यक्ष सभ्यमति साक्षी स्यात् तत्र नान्यथा ॥ बृह ५. by अपरार्क p 667, स्व म p 108

V P p 111) The principal qualifications are;⁴⁸⁹ they should be born of a good family, should have lived hereditarily in the country, should be householders having a son or sons, should be well-to-do and men of character, should be trustworthy, should know dharma and act up to it, should not be covetous, and should have been cited by the parties as witnesses. Some Smṛiti texts such as Kaut III 11, Manu VIII 68 (= Kāt. 351 and Vas. 16.30), Kāt 348 provide⁴⁹⁰ that ordinarily witnesses should be of the same *varṇa* or caste as the parties, that women should be witnesses in disputes between women, that men of the lowest castes (*andhyas*) should be witnesses for litigants of those castes and that a litigant of a lower caste should not try to prove his case by citing witnesses of a higher caste or a brāhmana (unless the latter is an attesting witness on a deed). But most (even including Gaut and Manu) give an option and say that persons of all castes (even *sūdras*) may be witnesses for all. Vide Gaut. XIII 3, Manu VIII 69, Yāj. II. 69, Nār. IV. 154, Vas. 16.29 (*śaresu sūtra eva vā*) Nār. IV 155 and Kāt (349-50 q by Aparārka p 666 and V. P. pp 111-112) provide⁴⁹¹ that in disputes between members of groups such as those who wear peculiar symbols (indicative of their sect), *śrenis* (guilds), *pūgas* (associations), companies of traders and all others who work in groups and who are therefore called *varṇas* and in the case of slaves, hards, wrestlers, elephant riders, horse-trainers, and soldiers the heads (called *varṇa*) of these groups are the proper witnesses. Gaut. XI. 21 says that in disputes among members of classes of agriculturists, traders, cowherds, money-

489 a. बहवः स्वरनिन्दिताः स्वकर्मसु प्रात्ययिका राज्ञां निष्पीत्यनभितापाश्चान्यतर-
स्मिन् । गौ. XIII 2, प्रात्ययिकाः शुचयोऽनुमता वा त्रयोवराध्याः पञ्चाहमती वा द्वौ कृण
यनि न स्वेवैकः । कौ. III 11, कुलजा वृत्तवित्तसंपन्ना यजमानस्तपस्विनः पुत्रिणो धर्मज्ञा
अधीयानाः सत्यवन्तः वैविध्यवृद्धाः । विष्णु VIII 8; मौलाः प्रतिष्ठिताः साक्ष्यं निश्चितवन्तः
कुलीनाः कजजो जन्मतः कर्मतीर्थतः शुद्धाः पुत्रिणः सत्यवादिनः श्रौतस्मार्त्तक्रियाशुक्ला विगत-
द्वेषमत्सरा अपवासिनो युवानो लोभमोहविद्विषितास्त्यवरा नवसंख्याका न जातु कूटता
प्रतिपद्यन्ते । शङ्खलिलितौ 10 स. वि. p 138

490 ब्राह्मणस्त्वब्राह्मणवचनान्नवरोधोऽनिवर्द्धयेत् । गौ. XIII 4, विभाष्यो
वादिना यादृक् सहचैरेव भावयेत् । नोत्कृष्टैश्चावकृष्टस्तु साक्षिभिर्भावयेत्तदा ॥ कात्या q by
य. p 111, मदनरत्न (which reads नोत्कृष्टं वावकृष्टेस्तु, which seems to mean
'a litigant of a higher caste should not be proved to be what he is alleged
to be by the evidence of witnesses of lower castes').

491. लिङ्गिनः श्रेणिपूगाश्च वर्णिगन्तास्तथापरे । समूहस्याश्च ये चान्ये वर्गस्तान-
वयीदृशुकः । दासचारणमह्वानां हस्त्यश्वायुधजीविनाम् । प्रत्येकैकं समूहानां नायका वर्णिग-
न्ता । तेषां वाद स्ववर्गेषु वर्णिगन्तेषु साक्षिणः । कात्या q. by अपराकं p 666 For
श्रेणि, पूग, vide p. 280 and note 383 above and H. of Dh vol. II. pp. 67-68

lenders and craftsmen (such as carpenters and washermen), the help of other members of the same calling may be taken as witnesses and arbitrators.

Long lists of persons who are generally to be regarded as incompetent to be witnesses are given in Kaut. III 11, Manu VIII 64-67, Udyogaparva 35, 44-47, Yāj II 70-71, Nār. IV. 177-187, Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 1-4, Br (S B E vol. 33 p. 303 vv. 29-30), Kāt 360-364 (q by Aparārka pp. 669-670, Sm C II pp 77-78, V. P. p. 119) Manu VIII 118 states the general grounds why oral evidence tends to be false viz covetousness, infatuation, fear, desire of pleasures, anger, friendship, ignorance, minority. As the list of incompetent witnesses in Nār. is the longest,⁴⁹² that alone is set out here. one who has monetary⁴⁹³ interest in the parties or the subject matter of the suit (such as a co-sharer, creditor and debtor of the parties), a

492 Vide appendix for the verses of Nārada The commentaries and digests give various interpretations of some of the words A few such are stated in the next note

493 The Mrt explains 'arthasambandhin' as 'vipratipadyamānārtha sambandhin' while V P. p 117 explains as 'creditor or debtor' of a party. 'Āptāh' is defined by Kāt 361 (quoted by Aparārka p 669) as 'those who depend for livelihood on the subsistence given by a party to the suit or those who serve him or cause benefit to him or those who are his relatives, friends or servants' Sm C explains 'cākrīka' as a bard, while V P. (p 118) as oil-presser. The printed text of Nār reads 'asrāddha' (who is not invited at a śrāddha), while V P and others read 'asraddha', for vrātya (one whose upanayana has not been performed) vide H of Dh vol II p 376. 'prāg-drstadosa' is explained by Asabāya as 'one who suffers from a disease which is the effect of evil actions done in past lives' Kāt 362 (q by Aparārka p 669) explains 'sanābhayah' as sons of one's mother's sister or one's full sister or one's maternal uncle The printed text reads 'śrānta', while Sm C II p 78 reads 'asānta' (restless) and V P 117 reads 'asrānta' (one constantly engaged in work) Kulika is explained as 'one appointed by the king to decide causes' (by Kalpataru), while the Madanaratna says 'he is the person in authority over a kula i e a group of brāhmanas or the like'. Vide V P p 119 Sm C II p 78 and V P p 118 read 'sūcaka' (one appointed by the king to find out crime among the people) for 'stāvaka' of the printed Nār

friend (or relative such as an uncle); associate (in undertakings); enemy; one who has already been held to have given false evidence; one charged with (or addicted to) sins; a slave; one who is in the habit of finding the weak points of others (or harming others); one who has no faith in religion; a very old man (above 80 years); a minor; a woman; an oil-presser; one intoxicated; a lunatic; one who is extremely inattentive; one distressed; a gambler; a village priest; one who undertakes long journeys (on the great roads); one who is a merchant engaged in sea voyages; an ascetic (who has renounced the world); one sick; one bereft of a limb; one who is the only witness; a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda; one who does not perform the customary religious rites; an impotent person; an actor; an atheist; a *vṛātya*; one who has abandoned his wife; one who has given up *agnihotra* (daily offerings into *śrauta* or *smārta* fire); one that officiates as priest for persons who are not entitled to perform vedic sacrifices; one who is an associate in eating food from the same vessel in which food is cooked (i. e. who is in commensality with a party); a former enemy (*aricāra* as one word); a spy; an agnate, a cognate (or born of the same womb); one whose evil doings in former lives are seen clearly; a public dancer (*śailūsa*, or one who makes his women actresses); one who lives by (i. e. buys or sells) poison; a snake-catcher; one who is a poisoner, an incendiary, a mean person (*kīnāśa*, or parsimonious person); the son of a śūdra woman (from one of a higher caste); one guilty of a minor sin (*upapātaka*); one fatigued; a desperado; one who has relinquished all attachments; a person who is penniless (through gambling or other extravagance); a member of the lowest (untouchable) caste; one leading a bad life; a brahmacārin who has not yet returned from his teacher's house: an idiot; an oil-seller, a seller of roots; one possessed (by a ghost or demon); one hated by the king; a weather-prophet; an astrologer; one who proclaims to the public the sins of others; one who has sold himself (for money): one who has a limb too little (e. g. having four fingers to the hand); one who lives on the immorality of his wife, one who has bad nails: one with black teeth; one who has betrayed his friend; a rogue; a seller of liquor; a juggler, an avaricious man; a ferocious man; an opponent of a *śreni* (guild) or *gana* (association); a butcher; a hide-worker; a cripple; one excommunicated for a grave sin (like brāhmaṇa-murder); a forger (of documents or coins or weights &c.); one who employs incantations and drugs for influencing

others: one who is an apostate⁴⁹⁴ from the order of ascetics (*pratyavasta*); a robber; a servant of the king, a brāhmana who sells human beings, cattle, meat, bones, honey, milk, water or clarified butter; a member of the three higher castes who engages in usury; one who has given up the peculiar duties of his caste (or station); a *kuhka*; a bard; one who is the servant of a low person; one who has quarrelled with his father, one who causes dissensions Kant III 11, Manu VIII 65, Viṣṇu Dh S. VIII. 1 and several others say that the king cannot be cited as a witness⁴⁹⁵ (except possibly to prove the plea of *res judicata* or to prove what transpired before him when a litigation was going on)

The above is a formidable list of incompetent witnesses, therefore, most Smṛtis such as Gaut XIII 9, Kant III 11, Manu VIII 72, Yāj II 72, Nār IV 188-189, Viṣṇu Dh S III 6, Usanas (q. in Sm. C II p 79), Kāt 365-366 (q. in Sm C II p 79) expressly point out that strict examination of the character of witnesses should be entered upon in disputes about debts and

494. In *Omichund v Barker* (Willes 1737-1860 p 538) where Willes (Lord Chief Justice) says (at p 551) that in Popish times and for some little time afterwards till the Reformation was fully established there was a notion that 'even an alien friend especially if he were an infidel could not sue in a court of justice here' That shows how non-Christians found it difficult to sue in England for their just rights a few centuries back. In the case cited above Lord Chief Justice Willes had to deliver an elaborate judgment in 1745 for holding that evidence taken in India according to the oaths administered to non-Christian witnesses could be read in a trial held in England. So one need not laugh at Nār who flourished at least about 1200 years before that date if he held an atheist or an apostate to be an incompetent witness. It should be noted that 'By the canon Law a Jew is not admitted to give evidence against a Christian, especially if he be a clergyman,' vide Taylor on Evidence (ed of 1848, p 655 note C.)

495. Vide Taylor's 'Law of Evidence' (12th ed) vol II p 872 para 1381 about the sovereign giving evidence on oath, his considered opinion being (after referring to the case of *R v Mylius* in which the defendant was prosecuted for a libel upon King George V) 'that the sovereign if so pleased may be examined as a witness in any case, civil or criminal, but not without being sworn' The *स्यद्ध. नि* p 100 says मनु न साक्षी वृषति. कार्यं इति राज्ञः साक्षित्वनिषेधात् । तस्य कार्यं साक्षित्वमिति चेत्, उच्यते । व्यवहारदर्शनकालेऽवगतेष्वर्थेषु तस्यैव साक्षित्वमुच्यते, कालान्तरापेक्षया निषेधः । तथा च व्यासः । राज्ञा धर्मासनस्थेन यच्छ्रुतं तत्तन्निश्चयत । नान्यः साक्षी भवेत्तत्र श्रुत्वा राजानमीश्वरम् । इति । बृहस्पतिः । निर्णीते व्यवहारे तु पुनर्वाच्यो यदा भवेत् । अभ्यक्ष सम्यक्कथितः साक्षी स्यात्तत्र नान्यथा ॥ The *स्मृतिच* II, p 80 and परा मं III, p. 103 have the verse of बृहस्पति न साक्षी वृषति कार्यं is मनु, VIII. 65.

the like which are of a fixed nature (of a civil nature), but that in complaints about all kinds of *sāhasa* (heinous crime), in robbery, adultery or the two kinds of *pāruṣya* (viz. defamation and assault) there should be no (strict) inquiry into the character of witnesses (that is, all can be witnesses in such cases) and that even those like slaves and fault-finders who have been enumerated among incompetent witnesses can become witnesses in grave matters⁴⁹⁶. The idea is that in such cases the witnesses need not be strictly examined as to their possessing the good qualities ordinarily required in witnesses. But this does not authorize the examination of such persons as lunatics or idiots as witnesses, because they have not the power to understand things. *Manu* VIII 77 emphatically states that even a single male, if he is free from greed, may be (sufficient as) a witness, but not women of good character, even though they be many, since the feminine intellect is apt to be unsteady. But even *Manu* had to concede (VIII 70) that a woman or a minor or a very old person or a pupil, relative, slave or a hired servant may be a (competent) witness, if it is impossible to find another witness (in matters that occurred inside a house or in a forest or in crimes where life is lost). *Kāt* 367 (q by *Aparārka* p. 671) says the same thing. *Uśanas*⁴⁹⁷ (quoted in the *Sm. C* II p 79, V. P. p. 120) provides that even a slave, a blind man, a deaf person, a leper, a woman, a minor, a very old man may be (competent) witnesses in *sāhasa*, provided they are not interested in the matter of dispute (or are not related or partial to the parties). *Nār.* (IV. 190-191) gives it as his view that even when there is to be no strict inquiry into the character of witnesses in *sāhasa*, still a minor, a woman, a single person, one who forges deeds (or who is a

496 ऋणादिषु परीक्षेत साक्षिणः स्थिरकर्मसु । साहसात्ययिके चैव परीक्षा कुर्वन्ति स्मृताः ॥ व्याघातेषु दृष्टान्तायाः संग्रहे साहसेषु च । स्तेयपारुष्ययोश्चैव न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ॥ अन्तर्देशमनि राज्ञो च बहिर्ग्रामाच्च यद्भवेत् । एतेष्वेवामिषोऽप्येव परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ॥ कात्या. in अपराक p. 670-71, स्मृतिच II. p. 79, पारुष्यस्तेयसंग्रहेषु तु वैरिस्थालसाहाय-वर्जाः । को III 11

497. दासोऽन्धो बधिरः कुट्टी स्त्रीबालरूपविरादयः । एतेऽप्यनिसम्बन्धाः साहसे साक्षिणो मताः ॥ उक्तामस्मृ. q by स्मृतिच. II p. 79 साहस is of four kinds 'मनुष्यमारणं चौर्यं परदारभिमर्शनम् । पारुष्यसुभयं चैव साहसं तु चतुर्विधम् ॥' q by अपराक p 670 (as from मनु), परा मा III p. 450 (as from बृह.), व्य. म. p 120. यत्र पुमासा-बधिप्रत्ययिणौ तत्र स्त्रीणां साक्ष्यं नास्ति यत्र तु स्त्रिया सह पुंस कार्यं स्त्रीणां चेतेतरं स्वरूपं तत्र भवत्येव स्त्रियः साक्षिण्यः । न चायं नियमः स्त्रीणां स्त्रिय एव साक्ष्यं कुर्यात् पुमासः । केवलं युक्तित्विवये व्यवहारे कचिदेव स्त्रीणां साक्ष्यं यतोऽस्थिरत्वादिनि हेतुरुपात्तः । भवन्ति काश्चन स्त्रियो बह्वचिद्वान्य इव सत्यवादिन्यः स्थिरबुद्धयश्च । मेधा० on मनु VIII 68

cheat), a relative and an enemy cannot be witnesses in *sāhasa*, since a child through ignorance, a woman from her habit of untruthfulness, a forger (or cheat) because he is accustomed to doing evil deeds, a relative from affection and an enemy from the idea of taking revenge may speak falsely. There was no total disqualification of women as witnesses, since Manu quoted above allows them to be witnesses in disputes between women and in cases where it is not possible to have other witnesses. Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 68 holds that women are disqualified as witnesses only where the plaintiff and defendant are both males but that where there is a litigation between a man and a woman or between women alone, a woman may be a competent witness. Ancient Hindu Law is not singular in its partial rejection of the testimony of women. Vide Best on Evidence (12th ed. of 1922) pp 53-56 where it is shown how ancient Roman Law and the Medieval laws of several countries of Europe more or less excluded the testimony of women, how some States in the U.S.A. excluded the testimony of negroes and persons of coloured blood. By the Canon Law more credit was given to male than female witnesses (Taylor on Evidence, ed. of 1848 p. 655, note d).

Nār. (IV. 157-172) states that incompetent witnesses fall into five classes: (1) some⁴⁹⁸ like learned brāhmanas, very old men, ascetics, persons practising austerities are incompetent because ancient texts (*vacana*) say so and there is no other (special) reason for their exclusion. The Vyavahāratattva

498. असाक्ष्यपि हि शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् दृष्टं पञ्चविधो दुषैः । वचनाद्विषयी भेदात्स्वय-
मुक्तिर्मुतान्तरः ॥ श्रोत्रिया, वापसा दृष्टा ये च मज्जिता नराः । असाक्षिणस्ते वचनाकात्र
हेतुपदादतः ॥ स्तेनाः साहसिकाश्चण्डाः कित्वा वधकाश्च ये । असाक्षिणस्ते दृढत्वात्तेषु सार्यं
न विद्यते ॥ राज्ञा परिगृहीतेषु साक्षिण्वकार्यनिश्चये । वचनं यत्र भिद्येत ते स्युर्मेधावसाक्षिणः ॥
अनिर्दिष्टस्तु साक्षित्वे स्वयमेवैव यो वदेत् । सूचीत्युक्तः स शास्त्रे न स साक्षित्वमर्हति ॥
योयः आवयितव्यः स्यात्तस्मिन्कसति चार्थिनि । क तद्वद्वत् साक्षित्वमित्यसाक्षी मुतान्तरः ॥
नारद् IV 157-162, compare नारद् IV. 94 'सन्तोपि न प्रमाणं स्युर्मेधा भतिनि
साक्षिण । अन्यच्च आविताद्यस्मात्स्वयमासक्षमुत्पुना ॥ शास्त्रं q. by मिता on धा. II 69
says 'पित्रा विषयमात्रमुक्तकुलवात्सिपरिवाजकवानप्रस्था निग्रन्थाश्चासाक्षिणः'. This
may be one of the texts to which Nār. refers in the words असाक्षिणस्ते वचनात्.
The व. य. p 115 explains मुतान्तर as सामान्यतो य आवयोः कश्चिद् व्यवहारसम्ब-
न्धोस्ति तत्र स्वया साक्षिणा भाव्यमित्येतावन्मात्रमुक्त विज्ञिष्य च व्यवहारविषयो न तस्मै
आवितः आवयिता च नास्ति स पृष्टोऽपि विज्ञिष्य विषयाज्ञानादसाक्षीति यावत्'. The
स्थितिच II p 81 and व्यय नि p. 106 explain मुतान्तर differently. यानि प्रेते
अनावेदिते च व्यवहारे अनाहृतः सन् स्वयमेवैव मुतमुक्तं निर्दिष्टाशुष्यासौ चारयति अर्हं
साक्षीति यो ब्रवीति असौ मुतान्तरनामा असाक्षी । ह्युत्पुना पुत्र प्रति आविते तस्मिन्धर्मोऽसौ
साक्षीत्येव आवितः पुत्र प्रति साक्षी भवत्येव । व्यय नि. p 106.

(p. 214) points out that śrotriyas and others cannot be appointed as witnesses, but they may be what is called *akṛta* witnesses explained below (i.e. they may if they choose appear as witnesses in a cause). They are not competent like the king, not because they are untrustworthy but because it is not advisable to call them. They were privileged persons; (2) thieves, robbers, dangerous characters, gamblers, assassins are declared to be incompetent because there is the defect (*dosa*) of untruthfulness in them; (3) witnesses are rendered incompetent on the ground of contradiction (*bheda*), when the statement of witnesses who have been accepted by the king for determination of the same matter do not agree; (4) he who without having been appointed (by the parties to a transaction) as a witness (to it) comes of his own accord to depose is termed a *sūci* (i.e. a spy) in the *śūtras* (and so was styled *śayanukṛta* by Nār. IV. 157) and is unworthy to be a witness; (5) a person is incompetent as a witness by reason of intervening death (i.e. he is *mṛtāntara*); when can any person bear testimony if the creditor (or claimant) is no longer alive, whose claim should have been heard by him specifically (but was not heard in that way)? *Mṛtāntara* is a witness whom one or other of the parties informed in a general way that there was some dealing between the parties and who was asked to be a witness (but was not told the details of the dealing) and then subsequently the party died. In such a case the person told is not a good witness, as he cannot give the details. But Nār. (IV. 94) mentions an exception to this last rule viz when a father while on the point of death tells his sons and the like 'these are the witnesses on such and such a matter,' there even after the father's death those witnesses would be competent though death intervenes.

Witnesses are divided by Nār. IV. 149 into two sorts; (1) those appointed (*kṛta*) by the parties and (2) those not appointed (*akṛta*); the first being of five kinds and the last of six kinds. The first five (acc to Nār IV 150) are a subscribing witness (*likhita*), one who has been reminded (*smṛta*) i.e. one who is called as a witness without there being a document and who is present at a transaction and is again and again reminded of it by a party to it in order that the transaction may be effectively proved thereafter (Kāt. 371 and 372 q. in Mit on Yāj. II 68), a casual witness i.e. one, who, while a transaction is being entered into, comes there by mere chance and is then asked to be a witness (*yadrccābhijñā* or *yadrccika*,

acc. to Br.), a secret witness i. e. one who is made to listen the speech of the debtor while concealed behind a wall screen, an indirect (*utara*)⁴⁹⁹ witness (i. e. one who learn from a witness who has seen or heard of a transaction when the latter is going to a distant country or is on the point of death. The six *akṛta* witnesses (acc. to Nār IV, 151-152) are co-villager (in disputes about boundaries), the chief judge, the king (before whom a suit was tried), one who is closely acquainted with the transaction of the parties (i. e. *kāryamadhyaḡala*, acc. to Br.), one who is deputed by a party (for borrowing an ornament or for settling a transaction, called *dūtaka* by Br.), members of the family (*kulya*) in disputes among other members of the family (as regards partition &c) Br. mentions twelve kinds of witnesses that are practically the same as the eleven of Nār except one which he adds viz *lekṣita*⁵⁰⁰ (one whose name is caused to be written by a party in the presence of the witness when that party enters into some transaction in writing such as a loan with another) The only difference between 'lekṣita' and 'lekṣita' seems to be that the first himself writes his own name as a witness on a document while the latter's name is written as a witness by one party in the presence of the other and of the witness Br (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 299 verses 4-15 q. by Aparārka pp 666-667) defines at great length all the twelve and Kāt also defines most of them, but these definitions are passed over as not very important. Visvarūpa remarks that these nice distinctions among eleven kinds of witnesses are made only for the sake of exposition and for the benefit of simple people⁵⁰¹.

499. यत्र साक्षी दिक्षि गच्छेन्मूर्ध्नि यथाक्रमम् । अन्य संभावयेत्तु विवादतर-
साक्षिणम् ॥ बृह. in अपराकं p 666, साक्षिणामपि यः साक्ष्यं दृष्टुं गच्छति भावते । अत्रान-
व्यावर्ण्यद्वयं स साक्ष्युत्तरसंज्ञितः ॥ कार्या q by मित्त, on य. II 68 Dr. Jolly's
rendering of Kāt in S B E. 33 p 80 n is not correct Vide my notes
to व्यवहारमयूख pp. 66-67 The व्यवहारतत्त्व reads 'यत्साक्ष्यं स्वयं परिभाषताम् ।
अथः' vide the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VIII 12 quoted in n 481 which refers to a
witness that is the same as उत्तर. Compare sec 32 of the Indian Evidence
Act about verbal or written statements of a person who is dead or whose
attendance cannot be procured except after unreasonable delay or expense.

500 अथिना च क्रियाभेदेऽस्तस्य कृत्वा कृपादिकम् । मत्यक्ष लिखते यस्तु लेखित
स उदाहृतः ॥ बृह q by य p 108. अपराकं p 667 reads सवितिक्रिया क्रियाभेदे-
कार्यं कृत्वा

501. यत्तु नारदेनैकादशविध साक्ष्य कृताकृतत्वभेदेनोक्त तत्साक्षिदानुसंधयजनस्युत्पाद-
नं . . . on य. II 71.

Before a witness for a party begins to depose, it is the duty of the opposite party to point out the ground or grounds, if any, of the incompetence of the witness put forward for examination. Kāt. adds⁵⁰² that the latent defects of the witnesses of a party must be pointed out by the opposite party, but the patent defects will be considered by the members of the court at the time of giving their decision. Vyāsa⁵⁰³ states 'the defects of the witnesses of a party should be pointed out by the opponent in open court by putting them down in writing and the witnesses should be called upon (by the judge) to refute them; if the witnesses admit (the faults pointed out) they do not deserve to be witnesses; if otherwise (if the faults are not admitted) they should be established by the opponent with evidence (other than those of other witnesses); for if the defects of the witnesses of a party were allowed to be established by other witnesses to be cited by the opponent, there would result the fault of a never-ending series (*anavasthā*), since the first party would then try to show defects in the latter set of witnesses and this may have to be carried on *ad infinitum*.' Br. laid down that an opponent should not be allowed to point out the grounds of incompetency in witnesses after they have begun to depose and Kāt. adds⁵⁰⁴ that he (that party), who points out, after the witnesses have deposed to a matter, faults in them in whom he found none at first and who can not set out a proper reason (for his not proclaiming the faults at first) should be fined in

502. प्रमाणस्य हि ये दोषा वक्तव्यास्ते विवादिना । गृह्णास्तु प्रकटा सम्यैः काले शास्त्र-
मदर्शनात् ॥ कात्यायनः q by अपराक p. 671, स्मृतिच II. p. 83 which adds काले निर्णय-
काले. The स म p. 39 says 'गृह्णाः शास्त्रमदर्शनेन साक्षिवादात्पूर्वकाले वक्तव्या'.

503. साक्षिदोषाः मयोक्तव्याः संसदि प्रतिवादिना । पत्रेऽभिलेख्य तान् सर्वान् वाचयाः
प्रत्युचरं तु ते ॥ प्रतिपत्तौ न साक्षित्वमर्हन्ति तु वदाम्भन । अतोऽन्यथा भावनीयाः क्रियया
प्रतिवादिना ॥ अन्येस्तु साक्षिभिः साध्ये दूषणे पूर्वसाक्षिणाम् । अनवरथा भवेद्दोषस्तेषाम्
पत्यसम्भवात् ॥ व्यास q by स्मृतिच II. p. 83, स म. p. 38 (first two) The
first two are ascribed to कात्यायन by परा. मा III. p. 106 and स्य नि. pp
112-113 The निता on वा. II 73 has the following lucid note 'प्रतिवादिना
साक्षिदूषणे दत्ते प्रत्यक्षयोग्यदूषणेषु चाल्यादिषु तथैव निर्णयः । अयोग्येषु तु वदाम्भना-
कतश्च निर्णयो न साध्यन्तरेणेति नानवस्था । यदि साक्षिदोषद्वयस्य साधयितुं न शक्नोति
प्रतिवादी तदासौ साराद्वसारेण दण्ड्यः । अथ साधयति तदा न साक्षिणः ।' Compare
sections 148 and 153 of the Indian Evidence Act about cross examination
to shake the credit of a witness.

504. लेख्यदोषास्तु ये केचित्साक्षिणा चैव ये स्मृताः । वादकाले तु वक्तव्याः पश्चाद्-
काक्ष दूषयेत् ॥ उक्तोर्थे साक्षिणो यस्तु दूषयेत्यागृह्णितान् । न च तत्कारणं व्याख्यातुं वाद-
साक्षिणम् । कात्यायनः in स्मृतिच p. 83, स वि. pp. 143-144 The first is ascribed
to बृहस्पति by अपराक p. 672.

the first amercement. Br. further states⁵⁰⁵ that the defendant may point out the defects, if they exist, in the witnesses cited by the plaintiff; but if he finds faults which do not exist in the witnesses, he should be punished with a fine equal to the amount claimed (in monetary disputes) or equal to that which is levied from a false witness. If the witness of a party is not able to refute the defect pointed out by the opponent, the party calling him should try to clear his witness of the fault; otherwise he should not succeed in his suit

When a witness is about⁵⁰⁶ to depose, he was, acc. to Br. (S B. E 33 p 302 v. 23), to put off his shoes and turban, raise his right hand (in order to draw the attention of the Court) and after touching gold, cowdung or *darbha* grass was to depose to the truth. Āp Dh S. II. 11 29. 7 says⁵⁰⁷ that a witness should depose to the truth on an auspicious day in the morning in the presence of the kindled fire and near (a jar of) water in the hall presided over by the king (or chief justice) and after being exhorted as regards both (viz. the results of truthfulness and falsehood) and when accepted by all (the court and parties) as a competent witness. Kaut also (in III. 11) says that witnesses should be examined in the presence of brāhmanas, water-jar and fire. Manu (VIII 79-80) provides that the judge should in a conciliatory manner exhort all witnesses assembled inside the court in the presence of the plaintiff and defendant as follows: 'whatever acts of these two (litigants) between themselves you know as regards this matter (in dispute), narrate them all truthfully, since you are the witnesses in this case'. Yāj II. 73 also states that witnesses should be made to depose in the presence of the parties and Gaut. XIII. 13 and Kāt (q by Mit on Yāj II. 73) prescribe that witnesses⁵⁰⁸

505 साक्षिणोऽपि सप्तद्विधा सत्त्वं दोषेषु ब्रूयेत् । अदुष्टान्द्रव्यन्वादी तत्तत्तं ब्रूहं ।
मर्हति ॥ बृह० q by स्मृतिच० II p 83, स वि p 143

506 विद्वान्पानदुष्णीयं वृक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरेत् । हिरण्यगोशकुटुर्मान् समादाय कृतं
बदेत् ॥ बृह०. माहूस्तुल्यवस्थितः साक्षी शपथैः शापितः स्वकैः । हिरण्य०. दुर्मात्रपश्यत्य
बदेद्ब्रूतम् ॥ वसिष्ठः both q by स वि p 157, परा मा III p 112 The first is
ascribed to कारत्यायन by प्यद नि p 116 (reads हिरण्यगोशीजवर्मान् समा-
लम्ब्य मतं बदेत्)

507 सुण्याहे प्रातरग्राविद्धेऽपामन्ते राजवत्सुभयतः समाख्याप्य सर्वाङ्गान्ते सुख्यः सत्यं
प्रश्नं ब्रूयात् । आप घ. II 11 29. 7

508. देवनाग्नयज्ञानिभ्ये साक्ष्यं पृच्छेदन्तं हिजात्रं । उद्वृक्षस्तुल्यमाहूस्तुल्यान् प्रापि
वै श्रुतिः श्रुचीन् ॥ आहूय साक्षिणं पृच्छेत्किमप्य शपथैर्भूतम् । समस्तान् विद्वानाचारान्
विज्ञाताथान् प्रथक्प्रथक् ॥ कारत्या. 344-45 q. by मिता on या II 73. The first is
मह VIII. 87 and the 2nd is नारद IV 198.

should face the east or north, are to be examined in the presence of the images of gods and brāhmanas in the first half of the day and should be exhorted to tell the truth by being bound with oaths. This examination in the public and after an oath went a long way in checking the tendency to depose falsely. The oath consisted of two parts, viz. (1) the requirement to tell the truth and (2) the exhortatory and imprecatory part. Both were administered by the presiding judge. Gaut. (XIII. 12-13) appears to prescribe that an oath (*śapatha*) was not to be administered to brāhmana witness, but Manu VIII. 113 (= Nār. IV. 199) does not make this distinction. Gaut. (XIII. 14-23), Manu VIII. 81-86, 89-101, Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 24-37, Nār. IV. 201-228 contain very long exhortations addressed by the judge to the witnesses relating to the importance and high worth of truth, stating how the conscience of a man pricks him, what rewards await the truthful witness here and in the next world and what sin and terrible torments in Hell are the lot of an untruthful witness, what evil befalls even the deceased ancestors of an untruthful witness and how he is liable to be punished by the king. They are too long to be cited here⁵⁰⁹. Shorter exhortations are found in Yāj. II. 73-75, Vas 16. 32-34, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 19. 9-12 (S. B. E. vol. XIV p. 203), Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 301 verses 19-22), Kat. 343. Nār. IV. 200 provides 'let him (the judge) inspire them (the witnesses) with awe by (quoting) ancient texts, extolling the greatness of truth and denouncing falsehood'. Kaut. (III. 11), Manu VIII. 88 and 113 (=Nār. IV. 199), Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 20-23 add further modes of speech and exhortations according to the *varṇa* of the witness: A brāhmana witness is to be addressed by the judge as 'speak' and to be exhorted to swear by his veracity, a ksatriya one was to be addressed as 'speak the truth' and to be sworn by the animal he rides and his weapons (which he is to touch), a vaiśya is to be sworn by his kine, grain and gold and a śūdra is to be sworn by (imprecating on his head) all grave sins. Manu VIII. 88 provides that a brāhmana should be asked to depose

509. Vide Appendix for Nārada's verses

510. The exhortation in the अर्थशास्त्र (III. 11) is somewhat different from Manu's 'तत्र ब्राह्मणं ब्रूयात्सर्वं ब्रूहीति राजस्य वैश्यं वा मा दूषेदापूर्तकले, कपाल-
हस्तं शत्रुबलं भित्तार्यो मच्छेदिति शुद्धं जन्ममरणान्तरे यद्वाः पुण्यफलं तद्वाजानं मच्छेद,
राक्षस्य शिलिबं बुभ्भानस्यधावादे । दण्डव्यालुबन्धः पश्चादपि ज्ञायेत यथाबुद्धस्तुतम् । एक-
मन्त्राः सारथमवहरतेति ।'. The text in Dr Sham Shastri's edition is rather corrupt
and not properly arranged.

with the word 'speak', while VIII. 113 states that a brāhmana is to be made to swear by his truth. Some explain that the first rule applies to excellent brāhmanas and the second to inferior ones and rely on Gaut (XIII 12-13) who prescribes that an oath to speak the truth is not to be administered to brāhmanas but only to others. Vide Haradatta on Gaut and Vivādacandra p 127 Manu VIII 102 (=Baud Dh. S I. 5 95) is careful to point out that the exhortation is not to depend purely on the caste but that brāhmanas (and others) who tend kine, who engage in trade, who are craftsmen or actors, who are menial servants and usurers should be treated (by the judge) as śūdras⁵¹¹ (in the matter of taking oaths). Witnesses after they are assembled before the Court are to be ordinarily examined separately (vide Kāt quoted in n. 508 above). But Gaut XIII 5 and Kāt 394 provide⁵¹² that if a certain matter is seen by the witnesses as a body then they may be examined together. Manu VIII 78 and Kāt 392 prescribe that what the witnesses declare quite naturally (without hesitation and fear) should be taken down and that when the witnesses have declared (what they know) they should not be questioned again and again by the king (or judge). From the Smrtis and the 9th Act of the Mrcchakatika it appears that

511. The Mit on Yāj. II 73 explains Manu VIII 113 as follows a brāhmana witness is to be sworn by being told that if he spoke untruth his truth will perish, a ksatriya that his vehicle and arms will be fruitless, a vaiśya that his cattle, grain and gold will be lost and a śūdra that all sins will be his lot. Others explain differently. The Vyavahāratattva p 215 says 'गोबीजकाञ्चनापहारे यत्पार्यं तत्तवावृत्ताभिधाने स्यादिति वैश्यम्'. The दीपिकलिका oo या. II 74 says the same. Medhātithi on Manu VIII 113 appears to hold that the exhortatory part is repeated by the witness यद्यहमेव कुर्यात्तद्विद्वमनिष्टमाप्नुयामिति संकीर्तनक्रिया शपथः । तत्र यः श्लाघ्यते स एवं वाच्यते सत्येन शपे सत्यादिनिबन्धनोयं धर्मो वा मे निष्फलः स्यादिति । ... गोबीजकाञ्चनानि वैश्ये हस्तेन स्पर्शयित्वाभिज्ञपेदेतानि वा मे निष्फलानीति पूर्ववत् ।' The Madanaraina says that brāhmanas following such avocations as rearing cattle should be made to take an oath like śūdras, गोरक्षणादिभिरपकुट्टा ब्राह्मणस्तु शूद्रवच्छपयं कार्यम् ये शपेताः स्वकर्मस्य परिणहोपजीविनः । द्विजत्वमभिकाङ्क्षन्ति तान् शूद्रवदाचरेत् ॥ Vas. III. 1 and Manu II 168 provide that brāhmanas who have not studied the Veda, who do not expound it or do not keep the sacred fires become equal to śūdras. The Indian Oaths Act (X of 1873) sec 6 allows a witness who has an objection to taking an oath to make an affirmation.

512. समवेतैस्तु यद् दृष्टं चकर्म्यं तत्तथैव तु । विभिन्नैकैकार्यं यद्दृश्यं तत्पृथक् पृथक् ॥ कात्या. q in अपराक p 675 Vide च प p 126 for two different readings and interpretations of गौ XIII 5 स्वभावोक्तं वचस्तेषां ग्राह्यं यद्योपवर्जितम् । उक्ते तु साक्षिणो राज्ञ न प्रष्टव्यः पुनः पुनः ॥ कात्या q in अपराक p 675, नित्ता oo या II 79 (without name)

it was the chief judge or the judges who put questions and that there was no elaborate cross-examination and re-examination of witnesses as in England (which practice is followed in modern India). The only cross examination that appears to have been allowed was about the faults or grounds that made a person an incompetent witness. In this respect ancient Indian practice resembled modern judicial practice in some European⁵¹³ countries other than England. Witnesses were compelled to attend. Kaut III. 11 states that witnesses who are not far removed by time or space should be produced by the parties themselves, but those who are far away or who are unwilling to stir shall be got summoned by order of the king⁵¹⁴. Manu VIII. 107, Yāj. II. 77, Br., Kāt and Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 37 say that if a witness knowing all facts and not prevented from coming by disease or similar causes refuses to come as a witness he incurs the sin of false witness, has to pay the amount in dispute and ten per cent thereof as fine to the king. This is in accordance with the principle enforced in modern times that it is the duty of a citizen to appear before a court of justice when summoned. Kaut (III 1) provides for subsistence allowance to witnesses. It is not quite clear whether parties could be regarded under ancient Hindu Law as competent witnesses on their own behalf. Yāj (II 13-15) appears to suggest that parties could be regarded as witnesses in their own cause and held to be false from their demeanour as in the case of witnesses. Kaut. IV.⁵¹⁵ 8 and the 9th Act of the Mrechakatika show that the accused was questioned by the Court as to his movements about the time of the alleged offence and till his arrest. Śukra⁵¹⁶

513. Vide Stephens' 'History of the Criminal Law of England' (1883), vol. I. chap XII, where on p 431 he remarks 'cross examination is a highly characteristic part of an English trial, whether civil or criminal, and hardly any of the contrasts between the English and continental systems strikes an English lawyer so forcibly as its absence in the continental system'

514. देशकालाविद्विषयात् साक्षिणः प्रतिपादयेत् । द्विष्यान्मसतारान्वा स्वानिवाक्येन साधयेत् ॥ को. III. 11 last verse, आहूतो यस्तु नापच्छेत्साक्षी रोषविवर्जितः । कर्णं दमे च दाप्य स्वास्त्रिपसात्परस्तु सः ॥ बृह १ by स्मृतिच II p 91, परा. मा III p. 115; compare Order 16 rules 10-15 (of the Indian Civil Procedure Code) about the compellability of witnesses and the remedies against such as disobey a summons

515. ततः पूर्वस्याह्नः मचारं रात्रौ निवास चाग्रहणादिति अत्रयुञ्जीत । को. दिल्य IV. 8.

516. स्वतः कार्यविज्ञानी यः स साक्षी स्वमेकधा । द्वयार्थश्च श्रुतार्थश्च कृतश्चेकाकृतो द्विधा ॥ छुक्र IV. 5, 184,

IV. 5. 184 defines *sāksi* in such a way as to exclude the litigant himself. Ordinarily witnesses were examined in the open court in the presence of the parties and never behind their back, but *Kāt* (387-389) prescribes that in the case of immovable property oral evidence may be taken on the property itself and in some cases even elsewhere than these two (*viz* the Court and immovable property), that is, in the case of the death of living beings witnesses may be made to depose before the corpse (of the animal killed) or, in the absence of the body, before ⁵¹⁷ some mark (such as the horn of an animal) *Br.* and *Manu* VIII 25 state that the truth of the statements of witnesses should be examined by marking their tone, their change of colour, their eyes, their gestures, and their demeanour ⁵¹⁸ Texts like *Śaṅkha-Lakṣṇa* (q by V. P. p 124), *Nar* IV 193-196, *Viṣṇu Dh* S VIII. 18, *Yaj.* II 13-15 and *Kāt* 386 point out the actions and appearances of a party or witness that deposes falsely, *viz* he appears restless, changes his place (i.e. moves from one spot to another), licks the corners of his lips, his forehead perspires, his face loses colour, he frequently coughs and heaves frequent sighs, he scratches the ground with his feet (toes), waves his hands and garment, his mouth becomes dry and his voice falters, he speaks incoherently, talks too much though not asked and does not reply straight to the questions asked and avoids meeting the eyes of the questioner. Such a witness may be looked upon as untrue and the king or judge should bring him under discipline (so that he will be afraid to lie). Merely on seeing these signs a witness was not to be punished or entirely disbelieved, since these signs raise only a probability of untruthfulness (as remarked by *Mit.* on *Yāj* II 15 and V P p 124)

517. सभास्त स्यैस्तु वक्तव्यं साक्ष्यं नान्यत्र साक्षिभिः । सर्वसाक्ष्येष्वपि धर्मो ह्यन्यत्र
स्थावरेषु तु ॥ अर्थस्योपरि वक्तव्यं तयोपरि विना कश्चित् । चतुर्वर्ण्येष्वपि धर्मो हि पदस्थावरेषु
च । यद्य चेत्यपि साक्ष्यं वाक्ष्येच्छिवसन्निधौ । तद्भावे तु चिह्नस्य नान्यथैव प्रवादयेत् ॥
कात्या q by स्मृतिच II p 89, परा ना III. pp 112-113, स्प न p 41, स्प.
म. p. 125 The reading शपसन्निधौ for शिव is better स्प म p. 124 quotes a
long prose passage from *शङ्खलित* about the demeanour of witnesses. The
mita on *या.* II 15 remarks 'एतच्च दोषसम्भावनामात्रमुच्यते न दोषनिश्चयाय ।
स्थाभाविकनैमित्तिकविकारयोर्विवेकस्य दुर्ज्ञेयत्वात्.'

518. उपस्थिताः परीक्षया स्युः स्वरवर्णेक्षितादिभिः । इह q by स्मृतिच II p 85,
स्प. म p 124 On कूटसाक्षी स विज्ञेयस्त पापं विनयेद् श्लाघ (*Nar* IV 196), स्प. म.
remarks विनयेत् शिक्षयेद्यथा कूटसाक्ष्याद् विमतीत्यर्थः । .. प्राकृतिक-वैकारिक-विकार-
विवेकस्य तु शक्यत्वात् संभावनामात्रेण च दण्डनस्यान्यादपरवादिति शुकम् । (p 124),
Vide also *mita* on *या.* II 15 cited above

When there are many witnesses but they differ in their statements certain rules are laid down by Manu VIII. 73 (=Visnu Dh S. VIII. 39), Yāj II. 78, Nār. IV. 229, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p 303 v. 35), Kāt. (408) They are briefly these:⁵¹⁹ The statement of the majority of witnesses should be accepted, but if they are equally divided then the statement of those who are more pure (in character or more disinterested) should be accepted and if the meritorious are divided equally then those who are the best among them should be accepted as true. The Mit on Yāj. II. 78 adds that if there is a conflict of testimony between the statements of a few but eminently qualified witnesses on the one hand and those of a larger number of ordinary witnesses, then the former should be accepted as Yāj II. 72 requires i. e. it prefers quality to mere numbers. Kaut. III. 11 prescribes that when there is conflict in the oral evidence the decision should be according to the evidence of the majority of witnesses or of those who are pure in character or of those who are approved of by both sides as good witnesses or a mean should be drawn from their statements. Nār. IV 160 and Kāt. 359 state⁵²⁰ that if one out of the (three) witnesses attesting a document or out of (three) witnesses that are cited by a party deposes in a way contradictory to what is deposed to by the other two, then all the three become incompetent witnesses on account of contradiction. This has been interpreted by the Vyavahāra mātṛkā (p. 326) to mean that where all witnesses are of equal status and there is a majority of only one favouring one side, then all the witnesses are incompetent and oral evidence is in that case futile for decision.

The important question is how much has to be proved by the party calling witnesses Yāj. II. 79 (=Visnu Dh S VIII. 38), Nār II 27 and Br (q by Sm C. II 91) state the general rule that that party whose averments are supported in their entirety as true by the witnesses becomes successful, while that litigant.

519 साक्षिद्वये प्रभूतास्ते ग्राह्याः साम्ये गुणान्विताः। गुणद्वये क्रियायुक्तास्तस्मात्वे
छास्मिन्नन्तरा. * बृह. १ by १५ मा p 325, परा. मा III p 116 The नितान् on या
II 76 explains 'यदा गुणगुणिनां विप्रतिपत्तिस्तदा ये गुणवत्तमाः श्रुताश्च यनतद्वर्थाशुद्धान-
धनगुणादिगुणसंपन्नास्तेषां वचनं ग्राह्यम् । यत्र तु गुणिनः कतिपये द्वतरे च बहुवस्तत्रापि
गुणिनमेव वचनं ग्राह्यम् । उभयानुमत. साक्षी भवत्येकोपि धर्मविदिति गुणातिशयस्य
शुच्यत्वात् ।'

520. साक्षिणां लिखितानां तु निर्दिष्टानां च यादिना । तेषामेकोन्यथावादी भेदात्तत्र
न साक्षिणः. * कारवा. १ by अपरार्क p. 670, १५ मा. p. 325, परा. मा. III. 116.

whose claim is declared by them to be false certainly loses⁵²¹. Nār. IV. 232 and 234, Kāt. 396, 398 lay down⁵²² the rule that in civil disputes that are of a non-urgent nature (like recovery of debts), if witnesses depose to more or less (than what is averred in the plaint), then the claim is not established in its entirety, where the witnesses depose to more or less (than the claim affirmed by the party) the deposition of the witnesses should be considered as not taken down or it should be omitted (from consideration)⁵²³, the witnesses in such a case are not liable to fine; they may deserve to be fined if they do not depose (to what they know). Similarly Nār. IV 233 and Kāt.⁵²⁴ 399 say that where the depositions of witnesses are in conflict as to the place, the time, the property, the amount, the colour, the species (or caste), the form (or shape), the age (as stated in the pleading of a party), the depositions are to be regarded as good as not given at all. The rule amounts to this that any discrepancy between the essential details or particulars of a claim

521. यत्रालोचयतिज्ञार्थः साक्षिभिः प्रतिवर्णितः । स जयी स्यादन्यथा तु साक्ष्याय न सनाच्छ्रयात् ॥ बृह. ५ by अपराकं p. 678, स्मृतिच. II. p. 91, परा ना III. 114.

522. ऋणादिषु विवादिषु स्थिरमापेक्षु निश्चितम् । ऊने वाच्यधिके वार्ये शोके साक्ष्यं न सिध्यति । ऊनाधिके तु यत्र स्यात् तत्साक्ष्यं तत्र वर्जयेत् । साक्षी तत्र न दण्ड्यः स्यादनुवच दण्डमर्हति ॥ कात्या 396, 398 ५ by च. ना p. 312 and 318, अपराकं p. 678, स्मृतिच. II. p. 90, च्य. नि. p. 68

523. The maxim (in Yāj. II 20) that on proof a part of a claim the whole may be held to be proved (vide above n 431) applies only where the opponent totally denies every item of the claim of the plaintiff. This is a presumption and the king or judge is not to be blamed for acting upon it in case of total denial, as said by Gant. XI 23 and 32 'स्यादाधिकमे तर्कोऽन्यथायः । ... तस्माद्वाजा-चार्यावाभिन्वौ' This text of Yāj. is apparently in conflict with Kāt 473 (q. by Mit. on Yāj II 20) 'in claims containing several items, the creditor (or plaintiff) secures a decree for as much out of them as he is able to establish by means of witnesses'. These two verses are sought to be reconciled in various ways by the Mit. (on Yāj II, 20), the Sm. C II pp. 120-121 Vyavahāra-mātrikā pp. 310-312 (where it criticizes the views of Yogloka), V P. pp. 98-102. It is impossible for want of space to go into these interpretations. The Mit. says that Kāt 473 applies to a case where the son or the like being ignorant of the debts contracted by his father or the like says 'I do not know' i. e. pleads ignorance. In that case he does not deny (he is not 'mūḍha-vādin' but only 'ayīkṣan'. The Vyavahāranūya p. 68 explains Kāt. 473 in the same way and about 396 it adds that when he cites witnesses as supporting his entire claim and the witnesses depose only to a part of it or to more than he avers then his claim fails in its entirety but in sāhasa, theft and adultery it is otherwise.

524. वेदं कार्त्तं धनं संख्यां कर्त्तुं जात्याकृती वयः । विसंवेद्यत्र साधये वदतुर्कं विदु-
र्द्वयः ॥ कात्या. in अपराकं p. 678 (reads दिनं for धनं), स्मृतिच. II. p. 90.

made in the plaint (such as the time, place, number &c.) and the case made out in the depositions as to any of these essential particulars will have the same consequence as tendering no oral evidence. This rule was not followed to the letter and besides other means of proof could be resorted to, as stated by the Mit., the Vivādacandra and others⁵²⁵. Kaut. III. 11⁵²⁶ states that when the witnesses depose to less than what is averred in the plaint, the plaintiff has to pay a fine (of a fifth part) on the excess and when they depose to more than the claim, the excess (held proved on the depositions) may be taken by the king.

In charges of adultery, heinous crimes (*sāhasa*) and theft the whole of the matter that is alleged may be held proved, when witnesses depose to only a part of the matter⁵²⁷ (says Kat. 397).

Nārada IV. 165 prescribes that a litigant⁵²⁸ should not secretly approach a witness cited by his opponent, nor should he try to win him over (by bribes or threats) through another; if he does so, he would suffer the consequences of a losing party (*hina*).

There were rules about the late production of evidence. It has been already shown how if a litigant adduces weak evidence, though strong evidence is available, he would not be allowed to rely on the latter after judgment is pronounced. It is said by Nār. I. 62 that when a law-suit has proceeded far enough (lit. has been cleansed or thrashed out), evidence such as a

525. यत्र तु प्रतिज्ञातार्थस्य विस्मरणादिना भावाभावौ साक्षिणो न प्रतिपादयन्ति तत्र समान्तरेण निर्णयः कार्यः । निहा० on या. II. 79, एतावता सन्वेहे दुष्णीभावे वा न जानामि इति भावणे वा किञ्चिदभिधाने वा यावत्पर्यं संशयस्तत्र क्रियान्तरेण निर्णय इत्या-
याति । प्रकृतविरोधपरिकाभिधाने जय एव । प्रकृतविरोधपरिकाभिधाने भद्र एवेति । विवा-
हचन्द्र pp. 131-132.

526 साक्षिणश्चेदभियोगादूनं ब्रूयदतिरिक्तस्याभियोका बन्धं दद्यात् । अतिरिक्तं वा ब्रूयत्तदतिरिक्तं राजा हरेत् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 11.

527. साक्ष्यार्थज्ञेयि यद्विदे साक्षिभिः सकलं भवेत् । अक्षिज्ञे साहसे चार्थे यत्साध्यं परिकल्पितम् ॥ कात्या. १ by निहा. on या II. 20, अपरार्क p. 678, स्मृतिच II. p. 90.

528. The fact that a party requested a witness to give false evidence is, admissible evidence against such a party, it being an admission by conduct that the party has a bad case Vide Cockburn C. J. in *Moriarty v. London Chatham and Dover Ry Co.* L. R. 5 Q. B. p. 314 at p. 319 'if you can show that a plaintiff has been suborning false testimony and has endeavoured to have recourse to perjury, it is strong evidence that he knew perfectly well his cause was an unrighteous one'. Vide illustration e to section 8 of the Indian Evidence Act.

document or witnesses, would then become useless, if that evidence had not been announced before⁵²⁹ After a reply is filed by the defendant, the plaintiff has to give a list of his evidence i.e. documents or witnesses (Yāj II 7) The meaning briefly is as follows: If he does not do so, proceeds with the trial and does not call all necessary witnesses or produce all documents and the case is almost finished, but judgment is not pronounced, even then he would not be allowed to produce fresh evidence at that late stage For if fresh evidence not previously disclosed were allowed to be given at that late stage, it would cause surprise to the defendant, who would then demand time for adducing evidence in rebuttal and then the plaintiff may again cite further evidence and this process is in danger of being carried on *ad infinitum*. If however witnesses were already cited but all were not examined (e.g. if ten witnesses were mentioned and only three examined) and the plaintiff found that the evidence of the few witnesses examined for him is contradictory or hostile, then he may be allowed to produce even at a late stage the remaining witnesses (who may be seven i.e. double the number of those already examined or who may be more respectable or purer in character). This proposition is contained in Yāj II 80 on which the Mitākṣarā remarks that even if witnesses are not mentioned in a list, but before judgment is pronounced other more reliable or respectable witnesses or double in number (and of the same status as) of those examined are available, they should be examined by the court even at a late stage The rule is that as long as witnesses are available resort to ordeals should not be had Yāj. II 80 also has given rise to various interpretations Vide Mit and Aparārka on Yāj II 80, Sm C II. p 94, V. P. p. 130-134 The Mit thinks that the verse applies where the plaintiff or the party on whom lies the burden of proving a positive proposition finds that the witnesses produced by him are hostile or contradictory and that in such a case he may be allowed to cite other more respectable or more numerous witnesses to prove his proposition and to show that the first set of witnesses is false, while Aparārka holds that the verse says that when the party who has to prove his

529 निर्णिकृष्यवहारेषु प्रमाणमफल भवेत् । लिखित साक्षिणो वापि पुर्यमावेदित न चेत् ॥ नारद I. 62, निर्णिकृ does not mean निर्णित, but शोधित (as एव म p 8 says) lit washed out, cleansed (carried far) For detailed explanation of this verse vide my notes to एव म, pp 78-80. The Madaparvatā introduces Nār. I. 62 with the words 'अथ च विपरीतसाक्ष्यपन्थासौ एववहारसमाप्त. माध्वप्र. ४. १'.

case cites witnesses which the opponent feels are false, the opponent may produce more respectable or more numerous witnesses to depose to the contrary and he would thus prove the first set to be false. Aparārka relies on Kāt. (408) for this proposition⁵³⁰. It may be said that Aparārka's interpretation appears more natural. V. P. (p 134) accepts Katyāyana, but says that the interpretation of the Mit. (of Yaj. II. 80) is correct. Whatever view is accepted it leads to this that one set of witnesses not only may prove the truth of a party's case but also establish that another set of that party's witnesses are guilty of perjury.

Yaj. II. 82 provides that if a witness, having promised with other witnesses to depose to a state of things, denies at the time of his examination that he saw the matter in dispute, he should be fined eight times the amount that a defeated litigant would have to pay and a brāhmana witness similarly guilty if unable to pay may be banished (or his house should be razed to the ground). Nār. IV. 197 says that such a person is worse than a false witness. Manu VIII. 107, Yaj II. 76, and Kāt. (405) prescribe that if a person who has witnessed a transaction does not depose (i. e. remains silent) about it, though not suffering from disease or some other calamity, he should be made (after waiting for three fortnights) to pay the amount of the debt or other matter in dispute and also one-tenth thereof as fine to the king.

After the witnesses have deposed the chief justice and sabhyas have to consider the depositions of witnesses (as Kāt. 340 provides)⁵³¹. The Court has to find out which set of witnesses are to be believed and what witnesses are perjured. Perjury entailed, according to dharmaśāstra works, both secular and other-worldly consequences. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 11. 29. 8-9) states: 'When a witness deposes falsely the king should fine him and, in addition, the witness incurs hell after death' and Gaut. provides (XIII. 7 and 23), 'a witness telling the truth goes to heaven, but falls into hell if he does the reverse and when he deposes falsely he is to be censured and fined'. Manu VIII. 118 states that witnesses depose falsely through covetousness,

530. यत्र वै भाविनं कार्यं साक्षिभिर्वादिना भवेत् । प्रतिवादी यदा तत्र भावयेत्कार्य-
मप्यथा । बहुभिश्च कुलीनैर्वा पूर्वोः स्युः कृदसाक्षिणः । कात्या 408 q. by अपराक्षं p. 679,
१२. सा. p. 335, स्मृतिच. II 94, २५. प्र. p. 134.

531. साक्षिभिर्वादिनं वाक्यं सम्यैः सह परीक्षयेत् । कात्या 340 q. by निवा. or
वा. II. 80, अपराक्षं p. 675, २५. सा. p. 331.

wrong ideas, fear, friendship, sexual passion, wrath, ignorance and minority and prescribes (VIII 120-122) varying fines for perjury arising from these several causes. Br. (S. B. E. vol 33 p. 301 v. 21) regards⁵³² a corrupt judge, a perjured witness and the murderer of a brāhmana as equally sinful. Yāj. II. 81 and Kāt. (407) prescribe⁵³³ that the litigant who procures perjured evidence and the witnesses guilty of perjury should each be separately fined double the amount of the fine prescribed for defeat in various disputes and a brāhmana (guilty of doing the same) should be banished from the country⁵³⁴ (but not fined). But when a person (of any of the three castes other than brāhmana) is frequently guilty of perjury he should be fined and given physical punishment (as cutting the tongue or death) and a similarly guilty brāhmana should be fined and banished (or degraded by being carried naked through the streets or deprived of his house) The Mit. on Yāj. II. 81 says that when Manu prescribes (VIII 380) that a brāhmana guilty of a sin is not to be awarded death or corporal punishment and that he is to be banished with all his wealth, he refers to the brāhmana being a first offender and not a confirmed one. Manu VIII 108 says 'where within seven days from deposing in a cause a (serious or painful) disease or fire or the death of a relative befalls a witness, he should be (being held as a false witness owing to these portentous happenings) made to pay the debt in dispute to the opposite side and a fine to the king' The Sm. C. (II p 94) explains that this applies to a witness who is the only one on a disputed matter such as a messenger and the king or judge should wait for seven days to see whether any of these calamities befalls that witness and then hold him to be perjured. Kāt. (410) contains⁵³⁵ a similar rule, but he states that the king should wait one, two or three weeks or up to 45 days according to the value of the matter in dispute and the caste of the deponent Manu VIII 117 (=Visnu Dh S VIII 40) prescribes that in

532. कृतसम्पत् कृतसाक्षी नङ्गदा च सना स्मृता । इह. प by ख प. p. 135.

533 येन कार्यस्य लोभेन निर्दिष्टाः कृतसाक्षिणः । गृहीत्वा वरप सर्वत्र कुयन्ति किं वयं ततः ॥ कार्या. 407 q by अपराक p 672, स्मृतिच II p. 93

534 The मिता explains विवासन in या. II 82 as follows 'विवासनं च नश्वरिणश्च भङ्गवेदशमिर्वासनलक्षणं विषयाद्युत्तरेण द्रष्टव्यम् । इतरेषां स्वधुन्यद्रव्यविक्रानासम्भवे स्वजात्युचितकर्मकरणनिगडधनकाराद्युद्भवेषां च द्रष्टव्यम् ।' Vide मिता on या. II 81 for three meanings of विवासनेत्.

535 सप्ताहात् प्रतिपेत् यत्र साक्ष्यमूलं बवेद् । रोगोऽग्निज्वालिमरणं हिंससाहिनसत या । बद्धत्वारिषिके वापि द्रव्यजाल्यादिभेदतः ॥ कार्या. 410 q by स. वि. p. 149.

whatever lawsuit it is established that witnesses perjured themselves, the judge should hear it again (from the beginning) or if the suit has ended he should set aside the decision and examine it again.

Gaut 13 24-25, Vas 16. 36, Manu VIII. 104, Yaj. II. 83, Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 15 prescribe that a witness may depose falsely in a cause when, if he were to speak the truth, a person of the four varnas is liable to suffer the sentence of death. Manu VIII. 105-106, Yaj. II. 83, Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 16 prescribe that as a penance for the falsehood a witness of the three higher castes may offer three oblations of boiled rice to the goddess of speech (Śarasvatī) or he may offer into fire clarified butter with the mantras called Kūsmāṇḍa (Vaj. S. XX. 14-16 or Tai. Ā. X. 3-5), or with the three verses beginning with 'yaddevā devahedanam' or with the verse sacred to Varuna (viz Rg. I. 24 15, 'uduttamam varuna') or with three verses of which waters are the deity (Rg. X. 9. 1-3 'āpo hi sthā'). Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 17 adds that a śūdra guilty of perjury in the above case may by way of expiation feed ten cows for one day. It is strange that the dharmaśāstra works should permit perjury to save a culprit from being sentenced to death. Probably popular sentiment of old standing allowing the speaking of falsehood in certain cases was responsible for this. In the Mahābhārata frequent reference is made to the permission to speak untruth in ordinary life when one's own life or another's life is in imminent danger. Vide Śānti⁵³⁶ 45. 35, 109. 19. It is stated in Śānti 165. 30 that speaking falsely is not a sin in five cases viz in jest, to women, at the time of (i. e. in bringing about) a marriage, for the preservation of great wealth and for one's life. Vas. 16. 36 mentions those five occasions somewhat differently. Vide Manu VIII. 112 also for a similar rule. But so old a sage as Gaut (23 29) implies that he disapproves of this sentiment⁵³⁷, when he states, 'according to some falsehood entails no fault (i. e. no expiation need be performed) in (bringing about or breaking promises made at)

536. प्राणत्राणेऽद्वयं वाच्यमात्मनो वा परस्य च । दुर्वर्थे खीणु खेव स्वादिवाहकरणेषु च ॥ श्रान्ति 34 25, न नर्मयुक्तमद्वयं हिनास्ति न खीणु राजस्य विवाहकाले । न दुर्वर्थे नात्मनो जीविताथे पञ्चाद्वयान्वाहुरपातकानि ॥ श्रान्ति 165 30, उद्वाहकाले रतिसंयोगे प्राणत्रये सर्वधनापहारे । विप्रस्य चार्थे ह्यद्वयं वदेयुः पञ्चाद्वयान्वाहुरपातकानि ॥ वमिष्ट 16 36. In आदि 82 16 we have the verse न नर्म etc. as 'प्राणत्रये सर्वधनापहारे पञ्चा'.

537. विवाहनेयुननर्मवसयोगेऽप्यद्वयमेकेऽद्वयम् । श्रान्ति 23. 29,

marriage, in sexual intercourse, in jest and in giving relief to one distressed'. Vide Gr. R. pp. 507-508 quoting Hārta Dharmasūtra on the same subject and mentioning four kinds of falsehood such as that by a witness, that in transactions of sale &c.

Nār. (IV. 235-236) states that when through⁵³⁸ the carelessness of the creditor (who dies) there is no document nor witness to prove a debt and the defendant denies it, then one of three methods (of proof) may be resorted to, viz. *codanā prakālam* (dunning the debtor each time to repay), *yuktileka* (putting forth arguments) and *śapatha* (special oaths and ordeals)^{538a}. Kāt. (233 q. by Sm C. II p 52 and Par M. III 91) has a similar verse *Yukti* according to Nārada IV. 238 means⁵³⁹ 'the creditor should follow (the debtor) by arguments and by himself remembering and by reminding the debtor of the time, the place, the relation (subsisting between the two)' Others interpret *yukti* differently, that is, it means 'logical reasoning' Kāt (214) defines⁵⁴⁰ 'yukti' as 'the ascertainment or knowledge of a *linga*' (i e. a sign that leads on to an inference).

538 प्रमादाद्धनिनो यत्र न स्याल्लेखं न साक्षिणः । अर्थं चापह्नुते वादी तत्रोक्तविधौ विधिः ॥ चोदना प्रतिकालं च युक्तिलेखस्तथैव च । तुलायः शपथः प्रोक्तस्तेन साधयेत् क्रमात् ॥ अर्थाद्यं चोद्यमानो यः प्रतिहन्त्याह तद्वचः । त्रिचतुः पञ्चकृत्यो वा परतोर्यं सदापयेत् ॥ नारद IV 235-237. अर्थनाऽन्यथिषी यस्तु विधात न प्रयोजयेत् । त्रिचतुःपञ्चकृत्यो वा परतस्तदणीभवेत् । कात्या. 386 q by sm p 168, which explains नारद as 'चोदनाया धनदानादिविषयकमेरणाया अप्रतिकालोऽप्रतिविधेः । सोपि यद्ययमस्य कृणादिसम्बन्धि न स्यात्ताच्यमान एन निराकुर्याद्विनिराकरणादस्त्यस्यानेन सम्बन्ध इत्यर्थापत्तिविधयाऽऽमानविधया वा कृणादिसम्बन्ध साधयन् भवति प्रमाणम् ॥'.

538a. The printed text of Nār. IV 236 reads चोदना प्रतिकालं च as separate words The Sm C. II, p. 52 explains that as meaning 'pressing or urging the debtor three, four or five times in the presence of third persons without the debtor protesting against the demand' The Madanaratna and V. P p 168 appear to 'read' 'चोदनाप्रतिकालश्च (equal to चोदना+अप्रतिकाल) and interpret 'if there is no denial or protest (by the debtor) when the creditor frequently demands the debt, then the court may presume that he is a debtor' The Madanaratna explains 'चोदनाप्रतिकाल. बहुकृत्यो धन मे दृष्टिं मेरणाया अप्रतिकालः अनिराकरणम्'.

539 चोदनाप्रतिपाते तु युक्तिलेखैस्तमन्विषाद् । देशकालार्थसम्बन्धपरिसाक्षायाः द्विभिः ॥ नारद IV 238. स्मृतिच II, p 52 explains युक्तिलेख as 'अनुदिन-क्षेत्रे अनुदिन काले अनुनार्थसम्बन्धेन यत्परिणमेत् हस्तकर्माप्युपयुक्तं त्वयेत्यादि द्वितीयोपायः ।'.

540. लिङ्गोद्देशस्तु युक्तिः स्याद्विधानीह विवादय । कात्या (214) quoted by परा. मा. III 91, व्यवहारसार p. 43, sm p. 167 which explains लिङ्गरूप अग्निद्वाराग्निचरिण उत्काहुरहत्वादेः उद्देशो निश्चयः तेन चाग्निद्वत्वाद्यह्नमानम्.

It is stated by Brhaspati that *anumāna* (inference⁵⁴¹ or presumption), as a means of deciding a law suit, is of three kinds, but it is inferior to witnesses (vide note 433 above). Vyāsa (q. by Sm. C. II. p. 95) states that *anumāna* is the same as *hetu* and *tarika*. V. P. (p. 167) remarks that (long continued) possession and the frequent urging by the creditor both lead to the inference of title and the taking of a loan respectively and are therefore to be comprehended under *yukti* according to the definition of Kātyāyana. Yet by popular usage *yukti* is restricted to presumptions arising from certain circumstances on the analogy of the maxim of 'gobalivarda' explained below under 'steaya'. *Yukti* therefore means circumstantial evidence from which an inference may be drawn about a fact in issue in a judicial proceeding. Āp. Dh.⁵⁴² S. II. 11. 29 6 says that in case of doubt (judges) should decide from signs (i. e. by inference) or divine proof (ordeals). Vas. 19. 39 mentions the view of some sages that one who is found armed or wounded or in possession of the booty (stolen) may be declared to be (the thief or offender). Manu IX. 270 (= Matsya 227. 166) requires the just king not to condemn to death one accused of theft unless his guilt is proved as certain by proof that the accused had in his possession the articles stolen and tools for theft (for house-breaking). 'An adulterer is proved⁵⁴³ to be so by being caught in such acts as playing with the hair of another's wife, an incendiary by being caught with a firebrand in his hand (near the house set on fire), a murderer by being found (near the murdered man) armed and a thief when caught with some of the articles stolen in his possession'—say Śāṅkha-Likhita⁵⁴⁴.

541. अनुमानं त्रिधा प्रोक्तं नवधा दैविकी क्रिया । बृह. १ by परा. मा III. p. 87, साक्षिलेख्यानुमानं तु मातृधी त्रिविधा क्रिया । घटाद्या धर्मजान्ता च दैवी नवविधा स्मृता ॥ बृहस्पति १ by स्मृतिच. II. p. 50, व्यव. नि. p. 73 and सदनरत्न (ms) which latter remarks 'अत्र युक्तिः पृथगनिर्देशोऽनुमानेनैर्भावात् ।' व्यव. नि. p. 73 quotes बृहस्पतिः अनुमानं तु द्विविधं and explains युक्तिः कैश्चिद्विशेषणैर्विशिष्टा स्वत्वेहेतुः । सा तु कथं साक्षिलेख्यादिकमव्यभिचारादनुमापयति, अनुपपद्यमाना वा कल्पयतित्यनुमानं द्विविधमिति शुक्ररवाकः ।

542. सन्देहे लिङ्गतो दैवेनेति विचिन्त्य । आप. घ. II. 11. 29 6

543. केशाकेशिनङ्गग्रहणारपारजायिक उत्काहस्तोऽग्निदः शस्त्रपाणिशोक्तो लोप्त्र-हस्तश्चौरः । शङ्खलिखित १ by परा मा III 119, स्मृतिच. II p 95, व्यव. म. p. 168

544. Compare sec. 114 of the Indian Evidence Act which lays down how a court is to draw presumptions of fact from the common course of natural events in relation to the facts of the case before it, illustration (a) to which is 'the court may presume that a man who is in possession of stolen goods soon after the theft is either the thief or has received the goods knowing them to be stolen, unless he can account for his possession'.

Kaut.⁵⁴⁵ IV. 12 and Yāj. II. 283 similarly say that adultery may be inferred from (the man and woman) being caught in the act of dalliance with the hair or from the signs left (such as marks of nails or teeth on the lips, cheek &c) after carnal enjoyment or from the admission of the woman concerned (or of both) Nār. (IV. 172-175) declares that there are six kinds of disputes in which the indications (or circumstances) themselves serve as witnesses and lead to a conclusion without the testimony of witnesses viz one found with a fire-brand in his hand (near the scene of arson) may be inferred to be the incendiary, one armed⁵⁴⁶ (found near the scene of murder) as the murderer, one caught dallying with the hair of another's wife as an adulterer, one with a spade in his hand near a breached embankment as the person who caused the breach in it and one armed with an axe as the feller of a tree, a person guilty of an assault may be inferred to be so from visible signs (such as his club or sword being smeared with blood) But Nār. IV 176 gives the warning that in such cases it is necessary to be careful in arriving at a conclusion, since a person in order to bring into trouble another whom he hates may create marks of injury on himself Kāt (337-338) further provides⁵⁴⁷ that where one litigant proves as against his opponent (such as a debtor) either the offer of a bribe, or the effacing of the means of recognition (such as effacing one's signature on a document) or holding out temptations (to the witnesses or *sabhyas*) or the concealment of his wealth (to avoid its being attached in execution of a decree), there the original claim (such as a debt) may be presumed to be proved even if he (the opponent) denies his liability.

545 केशाकेशिकं सशङ्खम् । उपलिङ्गनाद्वा शरीरोपभोगानां वज्रतेभ्यः स्त्रीवचनाद्वा । कौटिल्य IV 12

546 Best oo 'Evidoece' (12th ed 1922) sec 294 cites as an illustration of circumstantial evidence the fact of one armed being regarded as the probable murderer in certain cases. Compare Wills on 'Circumstantial evidence' (7th ed of 1937 English and Indian combined) p 145 'Amongst the most forcible of presumptive indications may be mentioned all attempts to pollute or disturb the current of truth or justice, or to prevent a fair or impartial trial by endeavours to intimidate, suborn, bribe or otherwise tamper with the prosecutor, or the witnesses or the officers of justice, or by the concealment, suppression, destruction, alteration of any article of real evidence'

547 दानं प्रज्ञापनाभेदं संप्रलोकयित्वा च या । विज्ञापनयनं चैव हेतवो हि विभावकाः । एवमित्यतमो यत्र वादिना भावितो भवेत् । मूलक्रिया तु तत्र स्याद् भाविते वादिनिहते ॥ कात्या (337-338) q by sy, p 169, विवादचन्द्र p 188 (only the first), which reads विज्ञापनयनम्.

Judges often repeat from the Bench the words 'witnesses may lie, but circumstances cannot'. But this so-called maxim is often dangerous. Circumstantial evidence leads to conclusions that are in several instances false. The ancient Hindu lawyers were quite aware of the dangers of drawing inferences from circumstantial evidence. Nārada's warning has already been mentioned (p. 356). Kaut.⁵⁴⁸ (in IV 8) remarks: 'even one not a thief may by chance be on the way by which thieves pass and one meeting thieves is seen to be apprehended as a thief because he is mixed up in dress, arms and articles carried with the thieves or is found near the articles stolen, just as Māṇḍavya though not a thief declared himself to be a thief for fear of being subjected to torture; therefore (the king) should punish one only after thorough examination' Māṇḍavya's is a leading case on the danger of relying on purely circumstantial evidence. Brhaspati⁵⁴⁹ also remarks that 'a decision should not be arrived at merely by relying on the words of texts; for, if judges come to a conclusion without applying careful reasoning, loss of dharma results; a thief is held to be not a thief and a good man is held to be a wicked one in a judicial proceeding (not arrived at with proper reasoning). The sage Māṇḍavya was held to be a thief on account of the decision being arrived at without proper reasoning'⁵⁵⁰.

The 9th Act of the *Micchakātika* is a standing literary condemnation of conclusions about guilt drawn from circumstantial evidence and of how judicial procedure is vitiated (of *vyavahāra-dustatā*, as the author says in Act I)

Nār IV. 289 provides that when even circumstantial evidence and presumptions therefrom do not enable the court to arrive at a decision, the judge should press the litigant with

548 दृश्यते ह्यचोरोपि चोरमार्गे यद्वृत्त्या संनिपाते चोरत्वेपशब्दमाण्डसामान्येन गृह्यमाणो दृष्टः, चोरमाण्डस्योपवासेन वा यथा हि माण्डस्यः कर्मकृशमयादचोरश्चोरोऽस्मीति दुषाणः । तस्मात्समाप्तकरणं नियमयेत् । कौटिल्य IV. 8

549 केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णयः । शुक्तिहीनविचारे हि धर्मज्ञानि मज्जायते । चोरोऽचौरः साधुसाधुर्जायते व्यवहारतः । शुक्तिं विना विचारेण माण्डस्यश्चौरता गतः ॥ दृष्टं Q by my p. pp 13-14, परा मा III. p 39 The स्मृतिच. II p 25 quotes a verse of नारद (I. 42) 'यात्यचोरोपि चोरत्वं चोरश्चायात्वंचोरोत्तमम् । अचोरश्चोरोत्तमो माण्डस्यो व्यवहारतः ॥'. Vide note 332 above for other references to माण्डस्य

550 Wills' work 'Principles of circumstantial evidence' (English and Indian ed combined, 7th ed pp 39-48) contains a lucid exposition of the value and defects of purely circumstantial evidence.

śapathas (oaths and ordeals) according to the place, time and strength of the litigant, such as fire, water, his spiritual merit and others. Manu VIII. 109 also says that when there are no witnesses the truth would have to be found out by śapathas. Divine proof is called *daivakikṛyā* or *samayakṛyā* (Viṣṇu Dh. S. IX. 1). Some writers make a distinction between *śapathas* (special oaths) and ordeals (*divyas*), others (like Manu VIII. 109-114, Nār. IV. 239) do not. For example, the Vivādacandra quotes Nār. IV. 247 'when there is no witness in a dispute between litigants, there the judge should decide by means of ordeals⁵⁵¹ and various śapathas'. Acc. to the Mīt. (on Yāj. II. 96) and S. V. (p. 106) both special oaths and ordeals are divine proof (*divya pramāṇa*), but in disputes of small value *śapathas* (oaths) were generally employed, while ordeals were resorted to only in serious disputes or crimes. The Mīt. (on Yāj. II. 96), the V. May. p. 46 and V. P. (p. 170) state that ordeals are those that generally end in immediate decision of the dispute, while *śapathas* take time for decision (because after the oath the king has to wait for a week or more to see whether a calamity befalls the person taking the special oath). Vyāsa quoted by Sm. C. II. p. 96 employs the word *śapathas* for both special oaths (taken as to one's 'satya') and ordeals like balance. Śāṅkha-Likhita state that divine proofs are the balance, eating poison, entering fire, holding a piece of (hot) iron, offering one's merit acquired by sacrifices and charity and the king should make him undergo other śapathas⁵⁵². Brhaspati says that where documents or witnesses do not lead to a certain decision or where inference from circumstantial evidence also is confusing, there the matter is to be decided by divine proof⁵⁵³.

Special oaths were taken not only in judicial proceedings, but also in ordinary dealings to clinch one's assertion or to clear one's character or reputation. Nār. (IV. 243-244) refers to

551 यदा साक्षी न विद्येत विवादे वदता नृणाम् । तदा दिव्यैः परिक्षेत शपथैश्च धृष-
निवधैः ॥ नारद IV. 247 q by विवादचन्द्र p. 112 and स वि p. 106 अर्थात्तुल्य
शपथाः स्मृताः सत्यवदादयः ॥ व्यास in स्मृतिच. II. 96.

552 तत्र दिव्यं नाम तुलाधारण विषाज्ञानमग्निप्रवेशो लोहधारणमिष्टापूर्तप्रदानमन्याश्च
शपथान् कारयेत् । शङ्खलिखित q in परा मा. III p. 151, स्मृतिच. II p. 96, अपराकं
p. 694 The व्यव नि p. 140 reads विषाज्ञानमपि प्रवेशो and इष्टापूर्तापत्यप्रदानं.

553 लिखिते साक्षिवादे च सन्दिग्धिर्यत्र जायते । अहमने च सम्मान्ते तत्र दिव्यं
विक्षोधनम् ॥ बृह. q by व्य. मा. p. 333, अपराकं p. 629, विवादचन्द्र p. 111 (reads
प्रकल्पयेत् as the last word).

the special oaths taken for clearing themselves by Vasistha when he was suspected to be a *yātudhāna* (a demon or sorcerer) and by the seven sages together with Indra, who (sages) were suspected to have stolen lotus fibres (by each among them⁵⁵⁴). Manu VIII. 110 also speaks of the *śapatha* taken by Vasistha before Sudās, son of Pijavana (when the sage was charged by Viśvāmitra with the offence of devouring his own hundred sons). Nārada (IV. 243) refers to Rg. VII. 104 15-16 in the first of which Vasistha made the imprecation,⁵⁵⁵ 'May I die this very day if I am a *yātudhāna* or if I injured the life of a human being, May he who falsely addressed me as *yātudhāna* be deprived of his ten valiant sons' (Manu VIII. 110 also refers to the same hymn⁵⁵⁶. Manu VIII. 113 (= Nār. IV. 199) referred to above (p 343) states the various oaths to be taken or administered to the parties according to their respective castes. Manu VIII. 114 further provides for special oaths for litigants by touching the heads of their sons and wives. That *śapatha* taken by *satya* was common in very ancient times appears from Pān. V 4 66 (*satyād-asupathe*).⁵⁵⁷ Nār. IV. 249 prescribes that in charges of grave offences ordeals may be resorted to and *śapathas* in matters of small moment Nār. IV. 248 mentions 'truth, horses and arms, kine, grains and gold, the feet of (the images of) gods and the ancestors, acts of charity and good deeds (*sukṛta*) are to be employed in *śapathas* as declared by Manu' Bhṛhaspati⁵⁵⁸ enumerates the special

554. In the Anuśāsanaparva 95 13-35 it is narrated that each of the seven sages suspected the others of the theft of lotus-fibres and that they cleared themselves by taking oaths Indra is said to have taken an oath when he was the subject of suspicion in relation to Ahalyā. Vide Best on 'Evidence' (12th ed. of 1922) pp 42-45 sections 56-59 for the employment of oaths in all ancient societies in courts as well as outside, for the forms and sanctions of oaths and for the arguments urged against their use

555. अथा सूर्यो यदि यातुधानो अस्ति यदि वायुस्तप पुरुषस्य । अथा स वीरिर्दशभिर्नैव पूरा यो ना मोघं यातुधानेत्याह ॥ इ VII 104 15 The बृहद्वेत्ता (VI. 33-34) refers to the story thus पञ्चदश्या तु सूक्तस्य अष्टम्या चैव वादयिः । दुःस्वशोकापरीतास्मा शपते विलसन्निव ॥ इते पुत्रज्ञते तस्मिन् वसिष्ठो दुःखितस्तदा । रक्षोभूतेन शापात्तु मुदा तेनेति वै श्रुतिः ॥

556. The story of king Kalmāsapāda cursed to be a demon by Śakti, eldest son of Vasistha, who then devoured one hundred sons of Vasistha is narrated in Ādiparva 176 (cr ed. 166).

557. On सत्यादशपथे, the काशिका says. सत्यशब्दोऽनृतमतिपक्षवचनः । कश्चिच्चपये च वर्तते सत्येन शापपेक्षिमिति । तस्यायं प्रतिषेधः । सत्याकर्तृति भाष्यं वणिक् । नयैत केनप्यमिति तदर्थं करोतीत्यर्थः । अज्ञपथ इति किम् । सत्य करोति ब्राह्मणः ।

558 सत्यवादनशस्त्राणि गोबलिजनकाणि च । देवब्राह्मणपादाश्च पुत्रदारक्षोरास च । एते तु शापयाः भोक्ताः स्वल्पेयं मुकराः सदा ॥ बृह. in स्वातिच. II p. 96, परा. ना- III p 151.

oaths mentioned by Manu and Nār. and adds that they are to be employed in small matters (civil and criminal) The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (IX. 5-10) prescribes that when the litigant is a sūdra and the dispute relates to a matter worth less than one, two, three, four or five *hrasnalas* he should swear respectively by holding in his hand *dūrū* grass, sesame, silver, gold or earth taken from ploughed land, that (IX 11-12) beyond that value various ordeals may be offered and that oaths with similar objects in the hands may be offered to vaiśyas, ksatriyas and brāhmanas when the value of the subject matter is double, three times or four times of the value in the case of a sūdra Manu VIII 111 gives the admonition that a wise man should not make a false oath, because by so doing he incurs loss (of reputation) here and after death (by falling into Hell) Yāj II 236 prescribes a fine of 100 *panas* for one who takes an improper or profane oath⁵⁵⁹.

The benefit of doubt is to be given, according to modern ideas on the administration of justice, to the accused. This principle was put forward several centuries before Christ by Āp Dh. S II 5 11 2 'the king should not punish when there is a doubt' (about a man's guilt⁵⁶⁰)

559. The Mit explains 'सम्बाधुक्तं मातरं गमिष्यतीत्येवं क्षयार्थं करोति।'

560 न च सन्देहे दण्डं कुर्यात्। आप ध सू II 5 11. 2

CHAPTER XIV

ORDEALS

A brief history of ordeals may be set out here. Rg. I. 158. 4-5, wherein⁵⁶¹ the sage Dirghatamas, son of Ucatha, prays that the fire of faggots heaped tenfold may not burn him and that the rivers in which he was thrown bound hand and foot may not engulf him, are regarded by some as a reference to the ordeal of fire and water. Yet in those verses there is probably no reference to ordeals, but to the cruel treatment of Dirghatamas by *dāsas* headed by Traitana. Rg. III. 53. 22 also, where it⁵⁶² is said 'he heats the axe (or acc to Sāyana 'just as the tree is injured by contact with the axe &c')', does not contain a clear or certain reference to the ordeal of holding the heated axe. Atharvaveda⁵⁶³ II. 12 is held by several Western scholars to contain a reference to the fire ordeal. This also is far from certain, though verse 8 may lend some support to that view⁵⁶⁴. The Pañcavimsa (or Tāndya) Brāhmaṇa 14. 6. 6 refers⁵⁶⁵ to the story of Vatsa, who was abused by his step-brother that the former was the son of a śūdra woman, against which Vatsa protested, urged that he was a brāhmaṇa, entered fire to prove the truth of his assertion and came out of fire unscathed. This is referred to by Manu VIII. 116. This is probably the earliest

561. मा ममेधो दशतयाश्वितो धाक् प्र यद्वा सज्जस्मनि खादति क्षाप् ॥ न ना गरजतो मातृतसा दासा यदीं सुसमन्वमवायुः । ऋ. I. 158. 4-5

562. परछुं चिद्धि तपति क्षिप्सुं चिद्धि वृश्चति । उखा चिद्विद् येयन्ती प्रयस्ता केनमस्यति ॥ ऋ. III. 53. 22.

563. आ दधामि ते पद्मसिद्धे जातवेदसि । अग्निं शरीरं येवेद्वहं वागपि गच्छतु ॥ अथर्ववेद II. 12. 8.

564. Vide Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, vol XIII pp CCXXI-XXVI where, after referring to the views of Ludwig (III p. 415), Weber (Indische Studien XIII. p 164) and Zimmer (Altindische Leben, p 184) about the mention of the fire ordeal in the above hymn, it is sought to be proved that the hymn refers to re-establishing a soiled reputation and reliance is placed on the Kausikasūtra (47. 25 ff) which does not treat it as a fire ordeal hymn.

565. वत्सश्च वै मेधातिथिश्च काण्वावत्सः तं वत्सं मेधातिथिराक्रोशद्ब्राह्मणोऽसि श्रुत्वा-
ब्रुव वति । सोमदीवृतेनाग्निं ययाव यतरो नौ ब्रह्मर्षिप्राप्ति । वास्तेन वत्सो वयैस्मेधादिभ्येन
मेधातिथिस्तस्य न होम च नैवत् । त. ऋ. 14. 6. 6.

and clearest reference in ancient Sanskrit Literature to the fire ordeal Next comes the reference to holding in the hand the heated head of an axe by a person accused of theft to prove his innocence contained in the Chāndogya⁵⁶⁶ Upanisad VI. 16. 1. Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29 6 refers to inference and divine proof (quoted above n. 542). In another place (II 5. 11. 3) Āpastamba states that after carefully considering (the charge before him) by means of divine proof and questioning (of witnesses) the king should set about awarding punishment Śāṅkha-Likhita (n 552) name four ordeals, viz those of balance, poison, water and holding red-hot iron⁵⁶⁷. Manu VIII. 114 mentions only two viz. the holding of fire (i. e. red-hot iron) in the hand or plunging in water, but Nār. IV. 251 states that Manu declared five kinds of ordeals. Yāj II 95, Viṣṇu Dh. S. IX-XIV and Nār. IV. 252 mention five viz. balance, fire, water, poison and *kośa* (consecrated water). Nārada, however, knew two more viz. *taptamūsa* (IV. 343) and *tandula* (IV. 337). Brhaspati (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 315 verses 4 and 5) and Pītāmaha speak of nine (Aparārka pp. 628, 694 respectively).

Yāj II. 95-113, Viṣṇu Dh. S. IX-XIV, Nār. IV. 239-348, Kāt. 411-461, Śukra IV. 5. 233-270 treat of the several ordeals Pītāmaha contained, as the quotations from the digests show, the most elaborate treatment That ordeals had attained great vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era is shown by the Mrcchakatika Act IX. 43 (where the ordeals of poison, water, balance and fire are expressly named) and by Bāna who mentions the same four in Kādambārī, para 47⁵⁶⁸. Among the digests and commentaries the Mitākṣarā, the Smṛticandrikā, the Divyātattva of Raghunandana, the Vyavahāramayūkha and the Vyavahāraprakāśa contain the most elaborate treatment of ordeals⁵⁶⁹

566. पुरुषं सोम्योत हस्तपृथीतमानयन्त्यपहर्षात् स्वेयमकार्षीत् परब्रह्मस्मै तपतेति स यद्वि तस्य कर्ता भवति तत एवाचुतमात्मानं कुरुते सोऽनृताभिसम्बोद्धुतेनात्मानमन्तर्थाय परब्रह्मं प्रतिगृह्णाति स दहतेऽथ हन्यते । छान्दोग्य VI 16 1.

567. धटाद्या धर्मजात्यन्ता द्वौ नवविधा क्रिया । बृह. q. by अपरार्क 628; धटो-शिरद्वकं चैव विषं कोशश्च पञ्चमः । यष्टं च तण्डुलः शोकं सप्तमं तप्तमायकम् । अहमं काल-मित्युक्तं नवमं धर्मजं भवेत् । पितामह q. by अपरार्क p. 694; the same verses are quoted as बृहस्पति's in दिव्यतत्त्व p. 574 and sv. m p 45

568. धनकरिणां धारिवेशः प्रतिनामशिधारणं ग्रहणार्थं तुलादिदण्डमनस्योद्घे-विषङ्गादिः । कादम्बरी para 47.

569. Those interested in the further study of ordeals may consult my translation of and notes on the Vyavahāramayūkha

Divya is defined as 'that which decides a matter (in dispute) not determined by human means of proof' (V. Mayūkha) or 'that which decides what cannot be or is not to be decided by human means of proof' (*Divyatattva*⁵⁷⁰ p. 574). Medhātithi on Manu VIII 116 discusses the question how ordeals can be relied upon for the discovery of truth. The objection is raised that fire and water are natural forces that act in a uniform way and are not intelligent beings which may change their minds by an appeal to them. Therefore, the objector says, ordeals and oaths are like magic and are only meant to frighten the parties into telling the truth. It is further objected that thieves may (by some trick) not be burnt in the fire ordeal and good men are seen to suffer burns. The reply is: the usefulness of ordeals cannot be negatived by these examples of failures, as they are not frequent and as even direct perception and inference sometimes lead to uncertain results. No one, however, says that these latter should not be relied upon. Just as one relies on witnesses in deciding a matter (who may for aught one knows be telling lies), so reliance can be placed on ordeals. Where there is failure in case of ordeals, it must be held to be due to the results of the performer's actions in past lives. The general rule as stated by Yāj II 22, Nār. II 29, IV. 239, Brhaspati⁵⁷¹, Kāt (217) and Pitāmaha is that ordeals were to be resorted to only if no human evidence (witnesses, documents, possession) or circumstantial evidence was available. Kāt. (218-219) prescribes that⁵⁷² if one party relies on human means of proof and the other on divine proof, the king (or judge) is to accept human means and not divine and that if human means of proof reach (i. e. are able to establish) only a part of the allegations (in the plaint), then human means should be accepted and no divine modes of proof, even though they may be complete (i. e. completely cover all allegations). When Nār. II 30 (= IV. 241) states that divine means of proof are to be resorted to when a transaction takes place in a forest, in

570. तत्र मानवप्रमाणानिर्णयस्यापि निर्णायकं यत्तद्विषयमिति लोकप्रसिद्धम् । अतिना मानवप्रमाणसत्त्वेपि यत्र चैव धरायुद्धं कारस्तत्राप्येतद्भवतीति सूचितम् । दिव्यतत्त्व p. 574

571. प्रमाणहीने वादे तु निर्दोषा देविकी क्रिया । बृह II च. म. p. 169, संभवे साक्षिणां मानो देविकीं वर्जयेत् क्रियाम् । कात्या. II स्तुतिच. II. p. 51, यस्मिन् यस्मिन् विवादे तु साक्षिणा नास्ति सम्भवः । साहस्रेषु विक्रोषेण तत्र दिव्यानि दापयेत् ॥ पितामह II स्तुतिच. II. p. 95

572. यद्येको मानुषीं ब्रूयादन्यो ब्रूयात्तु देविकीम् । मानुषीं तत्र दृढीयात्तु तु देविकीं द्रुपः ॥ यद्येकदेशव्यासापि क्रिया विद्येत मानुषी । सा ग्राह्या न तु पूर्णार्पि देविकी वदतां दण्डाम् ॥ कात्या. in मित. on य. II. 22 and च. मा p. 315

a lonely place, at night, inside a house, in cases of *sūhasa* and when a deposit is denied, or when Kāt (230) prescribes that trial by ordeals is to be resorted to in the case of persons accused of committing *sūhasa* in secret (i.e. by wearing masks &c.),⁵⁷³ those words only apply where it is impossible to have human evidence. Kāt. (229) states an exception to this viz. when the dispute⁵⁷⁴ investigated is about *sūhasa* or about assault or abuse and defamation and in causes that spring from the use of force there is an option that witnesses or divine proof may be resorted to. Nār. IV. 242 states that divine proof could be resorted to when the chastity of women was in question, in theft and *sūhasa* and in all cases of the denial of monetary liability. Sītā's ordeal of fire at once comes to mind as an illustration of Nārada's rule. Brhaspati⁵⁷⁵ and Pītāmaha say that in disputes about immoveable property divine proof should be avoided, which does not forbid *divya* altogether, but only where the evidence of neighbours or of a document is available and that in the latter case even if the defendant offers to pay a fine if he fails by the divine proof, *divya* is not to be resorted to. The ordinary rule was that ordeals were to be administered to the defendant⁵⁷⁶ (Kāt. 411 = Visnu Dh. S. IX. 21). But Yāj II. 96 gives an option that any one of the two litigants may by mutual agreement undergo an ordeal and the other should agree to pay on defeat a fine or undergo physical punishment. This means that human proof is adduced to prove a positive proposition, that divine proof may be resorted to prove a negative proposition as well (e. g. a defendant denying the claim for a debt may prove by *divya* that he did not borrow a loan). Making an offer to pay a fine or undergo corporal punishment is said to be being *śīrasakastha*⁵⁷⁷ or *śīrasastha*

573 गृहसाहसिकानां तु प्रातः द्विचैः परीक्षणम् । कात्या. q. by मिता. on या. II 22, स्मृतिच० II, p 51

574. एक स्ते साहसे वादे पारुष्ये दण्डवाचिके । बलोद्भूतेषु कार्येषु साक्षिणो दिव्य-मेव वा । कात्या in मिता on या II 22, अपराकं p 629, स्मृतिच० II p. 51.

575. स्वाधरेषु विचादेषु दिव्यानि परिजयेत् । पितामह in मिता. on या II 22, स्मृतिच० II p 53, वाक्यारुह्य महावादे निषिद्धा द्वैविकी क्रिया । बृह q. by अपराकं p. 629, स्मृतिच० II p 53.

576 न कश्चिदभियोक्तारं दिव्येषु विलियोजयेत् । अभियुक्ताय दातव्यं दिव्यं विज्ञारदैः ॥ कात्या q. by अपराकं p 695, परा मा III 152, इय म p 172

577. On शीर्षकस्थेऽभियोक्तारि (या. II 95) the मिता. explains 'शीर्षक शिरो षष्ठहास्य चतुर्थः पादो जयपराजयलक्षणस्तेन च दण्डो लक्ष्यते तत्र तिष्ठतीति शीर्षकस्थे तत्प्रयुक्तदण्डभाषित्यर्थः ।' *Śīras* (head) indicates the fourth stage of a law-suit viz success or defeat and since fine is imposed on the defeated party, it indicates fine or corporal punishment.

(in Yāj. 95, Viṣṇu Dh. S IX. 20, 22, Pītāmaha, Nār IV. 257, Kāt. 412-413) Yāj. II 95 prescribes that the ordeals of balance, fire, poison and water were to be prescribed in disputes of great value and not elsewhere and in II 99 he says that all claims above 1000 panas (of copper) are to be regarded as of great value, but in charges of treason and of the committing of any one of the five grave sins (*mahūpātakas*) any one of these four ordeals may be resorted to without regard to value and without any offer to pay fine on defeat. So also these four ordeals were to be offered to the defendant where the plaintiff offered to pay a fine on defeat. The ordeal of *kośa* was allowed in all claims whether of high value or low value or whether the plaintiff offered to pay a fine on defeat or not.

Yāj. II 98 states that the ordeal of balance should be given to women, a minor (under 16), a very old person (above eighty years), the blind, the cripple, brāhmanas and the diseased; the fire ordeal (i. e. heated ploughshare and heated māsa) to ksatriyas, water ordeal to vaiśyas, poison to śūdras. Nār. IV. 335 assigns ordeals to the different varnas similarly. Nār IV. 256 prescribes that ordeals should not be undergone by those who are observing a vow, who are much distressed or who are performing austerities, and by women Pītāmaha quoted by Mit. (on Yāj. II 98) adds minors and old persons to these. The Sm. C. II p. 103 explains this as referring to the ordeals of fire, poison and water only. Another Smṛti (q. by Mit. on Yāj. II 98) prescribes that the ordeals of balance and *kośa* may be offered to women, minors and the others mentioned above. There is in all these rules a spirit of tolerance, kindness and concern for the weaknesses of mankind. Kāt (423) holds⁵⁷⁸ that persons of the higher castes who are cowherds, traders, artisans, bards, domestic servants and usurers should be given ordeals as if they were śūdras. Kāt (422) allows all ordeals to members of all castes, except that brāhmanas are not to undergo the poison ordeal. Kāt. (424-426) prescribes that the ordeal of fire should not be offered to blacksmiths or those who are leprous nor of water to those who ply boats or who suffer from difficulty in breathing or cough, nor poison to those who are experts in incantations and *yogic* practices or who suffer from (excess

578. शोरक्षकान्वागिजकास्तथा कारकुशीलवान् । जेव्यान्वाहुषिकांश्चैव ब्राह्मणेन्द्र-
ब्रह्म द्विजान् ॥ कात्या. q. by अपरार्क p. 698, स. वि. p. 180.

of) bile or phlegm, nor *kośa* to those who are drunkards, to persons fond of women, to gamblers and to those who are atheists. Visnu Dh. S. IX. 25, 29 and Nār IV. 255, 332 contain similar provisions. Kāt (427-430) further provides that no ordeal should be allowed to be performed personally by the following persons, viz. those charged with the murder of their father, mother, a brāhmana, their teacher, a minor, a woman and the king; those guilty of the (five) grave sins; particularly those that are atheists; those who wear (or subsist by) peculiar sect marks; great rogues; those who are experts in incantations and *yoga* practices; those who are the progeny of unions of persons of different varnas; those who repeatedly engage in sin; in the case of these the king should offer ordeals to good men appointed by them on their behalf and if such good men are not willing then they should appoint their own relatives. Śankha-Likhita also refer to the appointment of friends or relatives as representatives (Aparārka p. 842)⁵⁷⁹ Kāt (433)⁵⁸⁰ lays down the following rather remarkable provision, viz. when untouchables, men of lowest castes, slaves, *mlecchas* and those born of mixed unions in the reverse order of the castes are guilty of crimes, the determination of their guilt (by the above mentioned ordeals) should not be made by the king; he should indicate such ordeals as are in vogue among them. The Sm. C and Par M say that this applies

579. असाक्षिमणिदिते दिव्यम् । अथवा मित्रैः सज्जनैरात्मानं वा शोधयेदेव । स चेष्टण्ड्योऽधिना चार्थे द्वापयेत् । शङ्खालिखित q by अपरार्क p 842

580 असृग्वाधमदासाना म्लेच्छाना पापकारिणाम् । प्रातिलोभ्यमस्ताना निश्चयो न तु राजनि । तत्प्रसिद्धानि विद्यानि संशये तेषु निर्विरोधे ॥ कात्या q by मिता on या II 99, स्मृतिच० II p 104, परा मा III p 161, 'तत्प्रसिद्धानि सर्पयदादीनि' स्वयङ्कारतश्च p 579, च. प्र 180 'तत्प्रसिद्धानि सर्पयदादीनि इति स्मृतितत्त्वे'. In the Gadag Inscription of Vikramāditya VI dated 1098 A. D. (E I vol 15 p 348 at p 360) there is this passage 'we handle boiling water, we strike with the hand a great snake placed in a jar or we may well mount the balance' In I A, vol 19 p 242 at p 246 it is stated in an inscription dated 1208 A. D. of the Mahāmandaleśvara Kārtavīrya IV that Candrikā (or Candalaadevi), the queen of Lakṣmīdhara of the Rattas of Sugandhavartu (Saundatti) was a pativrātā and got success by *ghatasarpa* 'भाति म्नास्यह्णा पतिव्रततया देवीं चिर चन्द्रिका संयासा घटसर्पजातविजयं लक्ष्मीधरयेवसी'. The Bombay Gazetteer vol I part 2 p 556 n 5 gives a quotation from the Asiatic Researches vol I where the ordeal of putting a ring or coin in a vessel in which a snake has been already placed and asking a person to take it out is mentioned; Vide also Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1924 para 66 for the ordeal of dipping the fingers in boiling ghee or oil

only when they cannot secure relatives or other persons appointed by them to undergo the usual ordeals on their behalf. The Vyavahāratattva (p. 579) explains that the ordeals referred to among mlecchas and others are the snake in the jar and the like. This seems to have consisted in taking out a ring or coin with the hand from a jar in which a snake was placed; if there was no snake-bite or no effect even if the snake bit, the person was declared innocent. Vide note 580. Yāj. II. 97 and Nār. IV. 268, 320 prescribe that all ordeals are to be administered by the chief justice in the morning at sunrise or in the forenoon in the presence of the king, the śabhyas and brāhmanas. The Mīt. adds that a Sunday is the proper day according to the usage of respectable people (*śiṣtas*). Pitāmaha specially provides that the water ordeal should be administered in the noon and poison in the last watch of the night (Mīt. on Yāj. II. 97). Certain seasons and months were either appropriate or inappropriate to certain ordeals e. g. Nār. IV. 254 states that the fire ordeal should be given in the rainy season, balance in the winter (*śiśira*), water in summer, poison when the season is cool Nār. IV. 259 prohibits water ordeal in the cold season, fire in summer, poison in the rainy season and balance while the wind blows violently. The Mīt. (on Yāj. II. 97) and Par. M. III. 162 quote Pitāmaha to the effect that the months of Caitra, Vaiśākha and Mārgaśīrṣa are common to all ordeals, *koṣa* and balance may be administered in all months.

As regards the place, Pitāmaha prescribes that ordeals are to be administered by the king or the judge appointed by the king in the presence of learned brāhmanas and the public (or the ministers)⁵⁸¹. Kāt. (434-35 and 437) provides:⁵⁸² 'ordeals should be administered in some well-known temple in the case of men accused of grave sins and near the royal gate in the case

581. अत्यक्षं द्वापरेद्विष्यं राजा वाधिकृतोपि वा । ब्राह्मणानां श्रुतवतां प्रकृतीनां तथैव च ॥ पितामह इति परा. मा. III. 164, स. वि. p. 183.

582. इन्द्रस्थानेऽभिज्ञस्तानां महापातकानां घृणाम् । वृषद्वेदे प्रवृत्तानां राजद्वारे प्रयोजयेत् ॥ प्रातिलोभ्यमस्तानां दिव्यं देवं चतुष्पथे । अतन्निष्ठे सभामध्ये दिव्यं देवं विवृर्द्धयाः ॥ अवेकाकालवृत्तानि बहिर्वसिस्तुतानि च । स्वर्गिचरं सद्वापरेदु कुर्वन्वीह न संशयः ॥ कात्या. in मित्ता. (on या. II. 99), परा. मा. III. 163, स्मृतिच. II. p. 105, स. वि. p. 183. इन्द्रस्थानं प्रदद्यात् देववायतनम् स्मृतिच. II. p. 104 and स. वि. p. 183; 'इन्द्रस्थानं इन्द्रवज्रस्थाने' दिव्यतत्त्व p. 576; 'इन्द्रवज्रस्थाने' एष. प्र. p. 182. For the festival of the banner of Indra, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 398, 825-826. On स्वर्गिचरं &c the स्मृतिच. says 'विहितदेशायनादरे दिव्यपामाण्यहानिर्भवतीत्याह स एव'.

of those charged with treason; in a public place where four roads meet in the case of those born of mixed unions in the reverse order of castes, in cases other than these in the hall of justice. When ordeals are administered in an improper place or at an improper time and when they are performed outside human habitation (in a lonely place) they fail as to the matter in hand (i. e. they cease to be decisive). Nār IV 265 prescribes that the balance should be planted in the hall of justice or at the royal gate or near a temple or where four roads meet.

The procedure common to all ordeals and described in the Mit on Yaj II 97 and 99, the V May pp 52-55, V P. pp 183-186 (all relying on Pitāmaha) and Vyavahāra-nirnaya pp 148-53 (relying on Prajāpati, Pitāmaha, Br) is briefly as follows—In ordeals the chief justice is to do every thing at the king's bidding as the *adhvaryu* priest does in all sacrifices. He should observe a fast and the *śodhya* (person undergoing the ordeal to clear himself) is also to do the same. Both are to bathe in the morning and the *śodhya* was to have his wet clothes on. The Chief Judge is to invoke the gods to the accompaniment of music and to offer flowers, sandal-wood paste and incense. He should fold his hands, face the east and invoke Dharma to be present at the ordeal (Dharma being the principal deity in ordeals) and assign places to Indra, Yama, Varuna and Kubera in the four principal quarters from the east and to Agni and other guardians of quarters in the corners of the principal quarters. He is to contemplate on the eight deities of the eight quarters as having different colours (viz Indra as yellow, Yama as dark &c.) He is to assign the eight Vasus (repeating their names) to the south of Indra, the twelve Ādityas (repeating their names) between Indra and Īśāna (i. e. between east and north-east), assign a place to the eleven Rudras to the west of Agni, assign a place to the seven Mother goddesses between Yama and Nirrti (between south and south-west), assign a place to Ganeśa to the north of Nirrti, to the Maruts (seven) to the north of Varuna; to the north of the balance (or the place of other ordeals) he should invoke Durgā. All these deities are to be invoked with appropriate Vedic mantras (set out in V. May.) He should offer the several items of worship from *arghya* (water offered by way of honour) to ornament to Dharma (as the principal deity) and then to the subsidiary deities from Indra to Durgā (according to appropriateness) and then sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, lamp and *navedya* to the deities from Dharma to Durgā. The

flowers for Dharma are to be red. Up to this is the work of the Chief Justice. Sacrificial priests should offer into fire in the four quarters 108 oblations of clarified butter, boiled rice and fuel sticks with syllable *Om* and the *Gūyati* and with 'Om' and 'sūhā' at the end of each. Having written down on a leaf the subject matter for which the party is undergoing ordeal the leaf should be placed on the head of the *śodhya* with the *mantra*,⁵⁸³ 'the sun, the moon, the wind, fire, heaven and earth, waters, the heart, Yama, day and night, the two twilight and Dharma know (see or mark) the deeds of men'.

The several ordeals will now be briefly described.

First comes *tulā* or *dhata* (balance) A sacrificial tree (such as *khadira* or *udumbara*) should be cut to the accompaniment of vedic mantras (employed in making a sacrificial post). Two wooden posts made of that tree should support a transverse beam (called *akṣa*). The posts should be fixed in the ground, the part above ground being four cubits and that below being two cubits. This frame should face the east (i. e. the posts must be in the south and north). Then the beam of the balance was to be made from the same tree and was to be suspended from the transverse beam of the frame by means of a hook. Three iron rings were to be fastened to the beam of the balance, two at the end and one in the middle for suspending the balance from the transverse beam by means of a chain or string. Two scales were to be suspended at the two ends of the beam by hooks and strings from the iron rings fixed at the ends of the beam. On the two sides of the balance there should be two arches in which the scales should move and which should be ten angulas higher than the balance. There should be two perpendicular pendants made of clay hanging down from the arches and touching the upper surface of the balance. In the pan to the west the *śodhya* should be placed and weighed against clay, bricks and stones placed in the other pan. Then traders or goldsmiths or braziers should examine the balance and bring it on a level with the two pendants hanging down from the arches and examine the perfect horizontality of the

583. The मन्त्र is आदित्यचन्द्रावनिलोऽलश्च दीर्घमिरापो हृदयं यमश्च । अहश्च रात्रिश्च उभ च सन्ध्ये धर्मोपि जानाति नरस्य वृत्तम् ॥ आदित्यर्वे 74 30. It is to be noted that विश्वामित्र quoted by the मित्रा regards this verse of the आदित्यर्वे as a मन्त्र and Prajāpati quoted by the Vyavahāraṇinaya p. 153 does the same. Compare for a similar verse Manu VIII, 86.

beam of the balance by spilling a little water on the beam. When the person sitting in one pan is equal in weight to the materials (clay &c) in the other, a line should be drawn with chalk by the experts on the arch (to show the exact position of the pans). Then the man is made to get down from the pan and he is to invoke the balance as stated in Yāj. II. 101-102. 'O balance, you are the abode of truth, you were created by the gods for this purpose, declare the truth, free me from this (cloud of) suspicion. Mother! if I am a sinner then take me lower, if I am pure take me upwards'. The person is then to hear exhortations about the result of untruth after putting the writing on his head (vide Nār. IV. 276 and Visnu Dh. S. X. 9), then he is again to be placed in the pan to the accompaniment of invocations (Nār. IV. 278-279, Visnu Dh. S. X 10-11). A worthy brāhmana learned in astronomy is to calculate the time of five *palas*⁵⁸⁴ or *vinādīs*. Then his weight is again to be marked. If the person goes up (i. e. is found lighter than what he formerly weighed) he is declared innocent (acc. to the com. on Nār. IV. 283, V. Mayūkha p. 60, Dipakalikā on Yāj. II. 102); if he weighs the same or goes down (i. e. weighs more) he is guilty. Then the person concerned is to distribute gifts to the judge, the brāhmanas and sacrificial priests and take leave of the deities invoked. Brhaspati (SBE vol. 33 p. 317 v. 19) states that he who weighs the same should be weighed once more. If the pan or the beam or the hooks break or the ropes give way owing to some visible cause then the procedure was to be repeated, but if the breaking is due to an unseen cause or accident, the person was to be declared guilty.

The ordeal of fire is as follows :—Nine circles with cowdung are to be drawn from west to east, they being meant for Agni, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Yama, Indra, Kubera, Soma, Savitr and all gods. Each circle was to be 16 *āṅgulas* in diameter and the space between two circles was to be 16 *āṅgulas*. In each circle kuśa grass was to be spread and the person to be tested was to plant his feet on them; ghee was to be offered into fire 108 times. A blacksmith by birth should heat in fire a ball of iron weighing 50 *palas* (16 *palas*⁵⁸⁵ in the case of a weak man) and eight

584 A *vinādī* is the time required for reciting 60 long syllables and 60 *vinādīs* make one *ghatikā*. So five *vinādīs* will be equal to two minutes.

585 A *pala* weighed 320 *guṇjās* according to the *Līlāvati* (I. 4). Acc. to *Divyātattva* (p. 608) 20 *palas* were equal to 66 *tolakas*, five *māsas* and 4 *guṇjās*, which, while accepting the view that a *pala* is equal to 320 *guṇjās*, gives the rather modern measurement into *tolakas* (*tofas*).

angulas in length till it becomes red-hot and emits sparks. Then all the details described above ending with the placing of the writing on the head of the *śodhya* are to be gone through by the judge and the fire (in the red-hot piece) is to be invoked with several mantras (such as Yāj. II. 104⁵⁸⁶ and Visnu Dh. S. XI 11-12). The *śodhya* should stand in the first circle facing the east. Having made red marks on all sores of the hands of the *śodhya* on which grains of rice have been rubbed, he (the judge) should place seven leaves of the *aśvattha* tree on them and also grains of rice and curds and should fasten round them threads. Then the judge should carry the red-hot iron piece by means of a pair of tongs and place it in the hands of the *śodhya* (that are covered with leaves). Then the *śodhya* holding in both his hands the red-hot piece should walk from the first to the eighth circle not hurriedly but slowly and at ease. Having reached the 8th⁵⁸⁷ circle he should throw the red-hot iron piece on to the 9th circle. Then the judge should rub on the hands of the *śodhya* rice grains and when the latter shows no hesitation at the rubbing and no injury on his hand at the end of the day he is declared to be innocent. Kāt. (441) and Yāj. II 107 provide that if the red-hot piece falls earlier (i. e. before reaching the 8th circle) or there is a doubt (whether his hands are injured or not) or if he loses his footing or is burnt elsewhere than on the hands he should again undergo the ordeal.

The ordeal of water as described in the smṛtis and digests is rather complicated. The Sm. C. (II. p. 116) remarks that⁵⁸⁸ as the ordeals of water and poison had gone out of vogue (in its day) it passes over the procedure of these and takes up the description of *kośa* ordeal after the fire ordeal. Having gone to a reservoir of water the judge should get erected on its bank a *torana* (an arch) as high as the ear of the *śodhya* on an even and cowdunged plot. He should offer worship to Varuna (Lord of waters), to a bow of middling size and to three arrows (the points of which are made not of iron but of bamboo) with sandal

586. Before the red-hot iron is placed on his hands the *śodhya* repeats 'त्वमेने सर्वभूतानामन्तश्चरसि पावक। साक्षिवत्पुण्यप-पेभ्यो ब्रूहि सत्यं कवे मन ॥ या. II. 104; the आदिपर्व 5 27. (cr. ed. 5. 22) has the same verse (but reads पुण्यपापेषु सत्यं ब्रूहि कवे नमः').

587. अथ सप्त-स्थपणान्तरिते पोदशपलमग्निवर्णं लोहविण्डमजलिनादाय सप्त मर्षादां गच्छेत्। शङ्खलिखित in स्मृतिच० II. p. 112, २५. प्र p 196,

588. अथ जलविषयोऽस्त्वजानुष्ठानत्वाद् बहिधिमनाख्याय कोशविधिरुच्यते। स्मृतिच० II. p. 116.

paste, incense, lamp, flowers A target is to be fixed at the distance of 150 *hastas* (cubits) from the torana A post of some sacred tree is to be fixed in the water and a strong man of one of the three higher castes free from love or hatred for the *śodhya* is to stand in navel-deep water facing the east and holding the post Then the judge is to make the *śodhya* stand in water, invoke the deities from Dharma to Durgā, perform all the rites up to the placing of the writing (embodying the accusation) on the head of the *śodhya* A ksatriya or a brāhmana following the profession of arms who is of a pure heart and has observed a fast should discharge, while standing near the root of the torana, three arrows at the target. The *śodhya* should invoke the water with the mantra, 'O Varuna! save me by means of truth' (Yāj. II 108)⁵⁸⁹. Then a young but swift man should run to the spot where the second arrow struck the ground, and stand there holding that arrow in his hand. Another swift man stands at the root of the torana whence the arrows were discharged. Then the judge claps his hands thrice. At the third clap the *śodhya* dives into the water seizing the thighs of the man standing in water and at the same time the swift man near the arch runs at his best speed to the place where the second arrow fell The other man who holds the arrow starts off the moment the first runner reaches him and comes running to the arch If he does not see the *śodhya* or sees only his head (i. e. the back of the head) when he reaches the arch the *śodhya* is to be declared innocent; but if he sees other parts of the head (such as the ear or nose &c.) or if the *śodhya* floats to some part other than the one where he dived he is not innocent

Ordeal of poison After worshipping Maheśvara with incense⁵⁹⁰ and the like (mentioned above) poison placed before the image of Maheśvara is to be administered in the presence of (images of)

589 Several smrtis give different mantras to be recited by the judge in invoking the waters (so that there is an option) Vide Viṣṇu Dh S XII 7-8 (tvamambhah &c.), Pitāmaha (toya tvam prāninām prānāh &c.) quoted by the Mit on Yāj. II 108, Nār IV. 316-317 (satyāntavibhāgasya &c.), Kālikāpurāṇa q. by V P. p 206 The mantra in Saṅkha-Likhita (q. by Madanaratna and V. P. p 206) was सद्सत्यं त्वमेव वरुण । उभयोः प्रतिदिवत्समि सत्यं त्विदं देव वरुण । त्वमेव सद्ब्रूहि वरेण्यं तदादिशस्व । The Ms of मदनमल reads तदादिशस्व ।

590. It is most appropriate that Siva is to be worshipped in the poison ordeal, since, according to the Paurāṇic mythology, he swallowed the Hālāhala poison produced at the churning of the sea. 960 *yavas* make one *pala*.

gods and brāhmanas. The poison to be selected is *śārṅga* (derived from the *śrnga* plant) or *vatsanābha* (aconite) or *hamavata* (Visnu Dh. S. XIII 3, Nār. IV. 322 &c.). Pitāmaha (q. by Aparārka p. 712) treats the three as distinct, while Yāj. II. 111 appears to prescribe *śārṅga* growing on the Himālaya as the poison to be selected. Visnu Dh. S. (XIII. 2-3) also does the same. In the rains the quantity of poison is to be six *yavas* in weight, in summer five, in hemanta (and śisira) seven or eight and in śarad (autumn) less than the latter (i. e. six *yavas* acc. to Mit. and three acc. to V. Mayūkha). Poison is to be administered in the last watch of the night and never in the noon or afternoon or twilight; it was to be mixed with ghee thirty times as much. It may be administered to any one except a brāhmana. Visnu Dh. S. XIII. 6-7 and Nār. IV. 325 are mantras with which the judge invokes poison and Yāj. II. 110 is the mantra which the *śodhya* repeats before taking poison viz. 'O poison! thou art the son of Brahman, thou art firm in the duty of (deciding) the truth. Save me from this accusation and be like nectar to me by truth (if I be innocent)'. Nār. IV. 326 states that then the *śodhya* should eat the poison, should be kept in shade without food and guarded the rest of the day and if he discloses no signs of the effect of poison should be declared innocent. If the dose of poison is large, the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 111) says that when the *śodhya* shows no change till five hundred clappings of hands then he should be declared to be innocent and medical treatment should be resorted to. Pitāmaha says that, in order to prevent fraud, for three or five nights before the ordeal the intending *śodhya* should be kept under the supervision of the king's servants and an examination should be made whether medicines, incantations or precious stones that are antidotes are secretly employed.

The ordeal of kośa. The *śodhya* is made to worship the stern deities (such as Rudra, Durgā, Āditya) with sandal wood paste, flowers etc. and made to bathe the images with water. Then the judge asks the *śodhya* to invoke the consecrated water with the mantra '*satyena mābhurakṣa*' (Yāj. II. 108) and makes him drink three handfuls (*prasṛti*) of that water. Pitāmaha gives some special rules. The water may be that of the bath of the image of that god of which the *śodhya* is a devotee or if he holds all images in equal esteem, then of the Sun. In the case of Durgā it is her spike (*śūla*) that is to be bathed, the orb in the case of the Sun and the weapons in the case of other

gods The water of the bath of Durgā is to be offered as ordeal to thieves and those who live by the profession of arms and the water of the bath of the Sun is not to be given to brāhmanas. In other divyas the result is declared immediately, but in the kośa ordeal there is a period of waiting which is more or less according to the value of the claim or the gravity of the offence. Acc. to Yāj. II. 113, Visnu Dh S 14. 4-5, Nār. IV. 330, if within fourteen days of taking the kośa ordeal the śodhya does not suffer any serious calamity due to the king's action or the act of God or does not fall seriously ill or does not lose by death his son or wife or other dear relative or his wealth, then he is to be declared innocent. Insignificant loss or illness did not matter as it is unavoidable in this world. Besides, the calamity or illness must not be one common to several people (such as an epidemic). Drinking holy water (*kośapāna*) was employed not only as an ordeal for proving innocence, but it was resorted to also for assuring another about one's good will and future honesty (vide Rājāt V. 326).

Ordeal of Tanḍula (rice grains). It is to be administered in charges of theft or disputes about debts or other monetary matters. On the preceding day grains of rice should be made white (i.e. husked). The judge should perform all the rites on the previous day. The rice grains should be placed in an earthen vessel, exposed to the sun, water of the bath of (the image of) the sun should be poured over them in the vessel and the vessel should be kept in that state the whole night. The next day in the morning the śodhya should swallow thrice the rice grains. He should be made to spit on a *pippala* or birch leaf. If blood is found mixed in his saliva he should be declared guilty.

Ordeal of taptamāsa (heated piece of gold). In a vessel of copper, iron or clay sixteen angulas in diameter and four angulas deep, the judge should get twenty palas of ghee and oil poured and heat it to the boiling point. Then the judge should cast into it a golden piece weighing one māśaka (equal to five *guṇjās*). The śodhya should take out the heated golden piece with the thumb and the next two fingers. If he does not jerk his fingers or there is no scalded skin he should be declared to be innocent. There is another method. Cow's ghee should be poured in a vessel of gold, silver, copper, iron or clay and it should be heated to the boiling point so that when a green leaf is cast into it the sound '*churu*' is produced. Into the

boiling ghee he should cast a golden, silver, copper or iron seal ring once washed. Then he should invoke the ghee with this mantra 'O ghee! thou art the holiest thing in sacrifices, thou art nectar; burn him (the *sodhya*) if he is a sinner; be cool as ice if he be innocent.' Then the *sodhya* takes out the ring from the boiling ghee. If there are no marks of scalding on his forefinger he is innocent

Ordeal by phāla (ploughshare). This is described by Brhaspati (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 318 verse 28) quoted by the Sm C II. p. 119, V. P. p. 218 and others. A ploughshare of iron weighing twelve *palas*, eight *angulas* long and four broad should be made red-hot and the thief should be made to lick it once with his tongue. If he is not burnt he establishes his innocence; if otherwise, he is guilty. The *Vyavahāratattva* (p. 608) mentions that acc. to Maithila writers the thief meant is a cattle-lifter. The ordeal mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* is a *phāla divya*.

Ordeal of dharma (i. e. of the images or pictures of Dharma). Men guilty of causing bodily injuries or who have monetary disputes or who desire to undergo this ordeal as an expiation for sins should undergo this. A silver image of Dharma and a leaden or iron one of Adharma should be prepared or the judge should draw on a birch leaf or a piece of cloth figures or pictures of Dharma and Adharma respectively white and dark in colour. Having sprinkled *pañcagavya* over the two, he should worship them with white and dark flowers respectively. The images or figures should then be placed in two balls of clay or cowdung. The two balls should be then placed inside a new earthen vessel in a cowdunged spot in the presence of images of gods and in the presence of *brāhmanas*. Then the judge should perform all the rites from the invocation of Dharma to the placing of the writing on the head. The *sodhya* should repeat the words 'if I am free from guilt may (the image or picture of) Dharma come to my hands'. Saying this he should take out one ball from the vessel. If he takes out Dharma he is innocent. This resembles the drawing of lots.

Ordeals played their part in the judicial systems of most ancient countries. In early England handling of red-hot iron and plunging the hand in boiling water were the commonest ordeals. In the ordeal of water sinking was a sign of innocence and floating of guilt. Stephens (*History of Criminal Law of England*, vol. I p. 73) suggests that the ordeal of water

was a form of honourable suicide. The Assize of Northampton (1176 A. D.) prescribed the ordeal of water for murder, robbery, theft, forgery and arson, but ordeals were abolished in England from 1215 A. D. (*ibid.* vol I p. 300) In India⁵⁹¹ there is epigraphic and other evidence to show that ordeals were resorted to till the end of the 18th century and rarely even later. In the Kittur Pillar Inscription (J. B. B. R. A. S. vol IX, pp. 307-309) dated in Kaliyuga era 4289 in the reign of Kadamba king Jayakesideva there is a description of the *phāladvya* which was administered by mutual agreement on Sunday to an ācārya Śivaśakti who had a dispute about a plot of land with Kalyānaśakti the ācārya of another shrine and whose hand was examined the next day after he underwent the ordeal by all the bankers of the *agrahāra* village Degāve In the Silimpur stone slab Inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva (E. I. vol XIII, p. 283 at p. 291-292) there is a reference to the ordeal of

591 In Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western world,' vol I p. 84 (also Watters on Yuan Chwang's travels vol. I p. 172) four kinds of ordeals are mentioned as in vogue, viz. by water, fire, weight and poison. In the water ordeal the accused is placed in a sack connected with a stone vessel and thrown into deep water. If the man sinks and the stone floats he is guilty, if the man floats and the stone sinks then he is pronounced innocent. The ordeal by fire is they heat a plate of iron and make the accused sit on it and again place his feet on it and apply it to the palms of his hands, moreover he is made to pass his tongue over it. If no scar results he is innocent, if there are scars his guilt is proved. In the ordeal by weight a man and a stone are placed evenly in a balance. If the accused is innocent the stone rises in the balance, if he is guilty the man rises and the stone falls. In the ordeal of poison an incision is made in the right thigh of a ram, all sorts of poison with a portion of the food of the accused are placed in the incised wound. If the man is guilty poison takes effect and the animal dies, if he is innocent the poison has no effect and the animal survives. It will be noticed that these descriptions of the four ordeals do not agree in several respects with the descriptions in the *smṛtis* and *digests*, while the poison ordeal in Beal has nothing in common with the *smṛti* poison ordeal. Alferum (tr. by Sachau, vol II, pp. 159-160) probably speaks of poison ordeal in the words 'the accused person is invited to drink *bīṣa* called *brāhmaṇa*' (he is probably referring to poison being called the offspring of *Brahmā* in Yāj. II 110 and Nār. IV 325). In the ordeal of water the accused is simply thrown into a deep and rapidly flowing river or a deep well and he was held innocent if he was not drowned. He describes the *kośa* ordeal and balance ordeal accurately, but states that if the man has spoken the truth he weighs more than before. He describes correctly *taṭṭamāsa* (gold piece taken from boiling clarified butter) and also the ordeal of the red-hot iron piece.

balance⁵⁹² (about 1200 A. D.). The Vispukundin king, Mādhavarman in the 7th century A. D. (Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. VI pp. 17, 20, 24) is said to have carried out various ordeals (*avasta-vardha-divyah*). The E. C. vol. III (Māndyā Taluka Ins. No. 79 p. 47) records that a dispute having arisen about the boundaries of land bestowed by means of a copperplate grant by the Hoysala king Virā-Narasimhadeva, one Kannaya, a descendant of the original donees, performed an ordeal by holding consecrated food in the presence of the God Hoysalesvara in the capital Dorasamudra and came out successful. E. C. IV. p. 27 (Yelandur Jagir Ins. No. 2 page 27, about 1580 A. D.) is a charter to potters whose headmen underwent the ordeal of dipping their hands in boiling ghee as against barbers and washermen who denied that potters could pare their toe nails and tie on upper cloth (at the time of marriage). In the Indian Antiquary for 1931 (vol. 60 p. 179) an extract is cited from the Archaeological Report for Travancore 1930 which describes the balance ordeal undergone by a brāhmana 18 years before and seen by the writer himself in the temple of Śiva at Calicut. For the ordeal of red-hot ploughshare in the case of thefts, vide Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1907, para. 27.

In the times of the Maratha kings ordeals were resorted to. For example, in 'Peshwa's Diaries' vol. 2 p. 150 (in 1764-65 A. D.) mention is made of *taptakatāha* ordeal (i.e. taking out a coin or ring or a piece of metal from a large vessel in which either water or oil or ghee had been brought to the boiling point) in which the person undergoing it had his right hand burnt up to the middle joints of the fingers and was declared to be false. In a Marathi publication called 'Vatanpatrem, nivādapatrem &c' pp. 46-56 edited by P. V. Mavjee and D. B. Farasnis (1909) there is a document which describes in great detail the ordeal of fire undergone in connection with a dispute about the office and emoluments of Deshpande in the district of Kalyan in *śake* 1666 Pausa bright 11th, Thursday (1745 A. D.). It is stated therein that the ordeal was performed on the tank of the sacred river Godāvari at Kopargaon in accordance with Dharmaśāstra in the presence of the Peshwa himself and learned brāhmanas and *pañchās* near the temple of the god Śrī Sukleśvara, that as the opponent was long in

592. सन्दिग्धनिर्णयं युक्त्या कुर्वतोपि सद्व्रजः । यस्य धर्मदुष्टा नास्तिद्वन्द्वित्त-
सुम्भवा E. I vol. XII, at pp. 291-292.

possession the ordeal had to be performed by the man claiming title, that an iron ball of 50 palas (i. e. 166 tolas and two māśas) was heated red-hot and the *śodhya* carried it across seven circles and threw it in the 8th circle on flour and bundles which began to burn, that his hands were examined in the presence of the opponent and the respectable people and were found unaffected and the opponent was made to pass a document of victory to the *śodhya* called '*yejutapatra*'. The description agrees very closely with that given above. In the same work at pp. 36-41 there is a remarkable description about an ordeal undergone (in 1742 A. D.) by Mahomedan litigants in their own mosque for 15 days by lighting lamps and sitting down in the shrine. There are several other *vatanpatras* in the same work which refer to ordeals.

For an informing article on *divyas* reference may be made to Dr. Dines Chandra Sirkar's 'The successors⁵⁹³ of the *Sāta-vāhanas*' Appendix pp 354-376 (Calcutta, 1939). He quotes therein a passage from the '*Asiatic Researches*' vol. 1, from which it appears that a magistrate named Ali Ibrahim Khan at Benares tried by *phāla divya* two cases in 1783 A. D. and reported them to the then Governor-General, Warren Hastings. In the '*Tṛtiya-sammelana-vṛtta*' (pp. 18-26) and in the *Caturtha-sammelana-vṛtta* pp 100-154 of the *Bhārata-itihāsa-samśodhaka-maṇḍala* at Poona (both in Marathi) Mr Bhaskar Vaman Bhat contributes two thoughtful and scholarly papers on the administration of Justice in the times of the Marathas in which the part played by ordeals is described at some length.

593. It is somewhat strange that Dr Sirkar refers to '*Divyatattva of Brhaspati*' (in '*Successors of the Sātavāhanas*' Appendix p. 360). A *Divyatattva* of Raghunandana is well-known. A *Divyatattva* of Brhaspati has so far been mentioned nowhere.

CHAPTER XV

DECISION

The last (i. e. 4th) stage in a judicial proceeding is *siddhi* (Yāj. II 8) or *munaya* (decision). If *pratyākālita* (as defined above on p 298) is regarded as a *pāda* of *vyavahāra* (and since all are agreed that there are only four *pādas*) then the decision is not a *pāda* of a lawsuit but is the fruit thereof (V. P. p. 86). When the evidence has been led, the king (or chief justice) should with the help of the *sabhyas* decide upon the success or failure of the plaintiff⁵⁹⁴. Nār. II. 42 says that the *sabhyas* should ask the parties to leave the court when they are considering their verdict or what decision was to be pronounced⁵⁹⁵. It is stated by Vyāsa and Śukra IV. 5. 271 that the decision of a case is based on eight sources⁵⁹⁶ (6 acc to Śukra) viz. the three *pramāṇas* (possession, documents and witnesses), logical inference, the usages of the country, *śapathas* (oaths and ordeals), the king's edict and the admission of the litigants. Pitāmaha prescribes that, in disputes where there are no witnesses, no possession nor documents and no recourse can be had to divine proof, there the king is the final deciding factor as he is the lord of all⁵⁹⁷.

It is stated by Nārada II 41 and 43 that, whether a party is defeated by his own admission or by his own conduct (i. e. because he adduces false witnesses or forged documents) or

594. उक्तप्रकाररूपेण स्वमतस्थापिता क्रिया । राज्ञा परीक्ष्य सम्यैश्च स्यादयो जय-
पराजयो ॥ संग्रहकार q. by स्मृतिच० II. 120, परा. मा. III p. 199.

595. Dr Jolly (S. B. E. vol. 33 p 35) is not right when he translates Nār II. 42 as 'whenever the false assertions have been removed the judges shall pass a decree'. He has not also correctly rendered the com. of Asahāya. There is no word for 'assertions' in Nār. II 42 पक्षान्तरस्य तु सम्यै कार्पो निनिश्चयः सदा' on which the comment of Asahāya is: यदा निर्णयकालो भवति लग्नस्तदा वादिप्रतिवादिनोः पक्षेः सर्वैस्तत्क्षणसम्बन्धमानकैः सह द्वावप्युत्तार्य सम्ये निर्णयः कार्यः ।

596. प्रमाणैर्हेतुचरितैः शपथेन द्रष्टव्यया । वादिसंभतिपत्या वा निर्णयोऽष्टविधः स्मृतः ॥
यास्त in व्यव. नि. p 138, व्यव. प्र. p. 86, श्रुतनीति IV. 5. 271 (reads षड्विधः स्मृतः).
श्रुत apparently regards *pramāṇas* as one.

597. लेख्यं यत्र न विद्येत न शक्तिर्न च साक्षिणः । न च द्विस्थावतारोक्तिः प्रमाणं तत्र
पार्थिवः । निश्चेतं ते न शक्याः स्तुर्वादाः सन्दिग्धरूपिणः । तेषां ह्यपः प्रमाणं स्यात्स
सर्वस्य महर्षतः ॥ पितृमह q. by स्मृतिच० II. 26, परा. मा. III. p 93. श्वबहारसार
p. 43, मदनमल.

whether he is defeated after full trial and the adducing of proof, it is proper that the defeat should be declared by the sabhyas (the judges) and that a *Jayapatra* (a document of success i.e. a judgment) should be given to the successful party couched in fitting terms. Several verses of Nārada (quoted by Aparārka p. 684), Brhaspati (S B. E. vol. 33 p 307 verse 19), Kat. (259-265), Vṛddha-Vasistha (q. by Mit. on Yāj II 91- and Aparārka p. 684) and Vyāsa (Sm C II p 57) lay down the contents of the judgment.⁵⁹⁸ It was to contain a brief statement of the plaint, the reply, the evidence, the depositions of witnesses, discussion thereof, arguments, the smṛti texts applicable, the opinion of the sabhyas, the decision and the relief granted, and should be signed by the chief justice and bear the royal seal. Vas. 19 10 refers to precedents also in the decision of cases and the awarding of punishments (*āgamād-dṛṣṭāntāc-ca*). The Mit quotes a smṛti text (on Yāj. II. 91) that other members of the assembly (who are not judges) proficient in smṛti may also sign the judgment to show that the decision is acceptable to them also. But this was not absolutely necessary, as is made clear by the Vivādacandra p. 146. Kat (256) applies the word *paścātkāra*⁵⁹⁹ (refutation) to a judgment containing the above particulars given after a complete contest, while he restricts the word *jayapatra* to a document (given by the judge) when a plaintiff becomes what is called *hinaūdi* (because he makes a change in his pleading or for similar cause) and when there has been no complete trial of an action; and such a document embodies only what happened. Kaut. (III. 19) appears to employ the word 'paścātkāra' in a somewhat different sense when he says 'the

598. सकलं पूर्वपादं च सोत्तरं सक्रियं तथा । सावधारणकं चैव तज्ज्ञेयं जयपत्रकम् ॥
भारद् (q. by अपरार्क p 684), यथोपन्यस्तसाध्यार्थसंयुक्तं सोत्तरक्रियम् । सावधारणकं
चैव जयपत्रकमिष्यते ॥ प्रादुर्बिवाकविहस्ताङ्गं सुद्वितं रानुवृत्त्या । सिद्धेऽर्थे वादिने दद्याज-
यिने जयपत्रकम् ॥ वृद्धशतिष्ठ q. by मिता on या II. 91 and अपरार्क p 684, पूर्वोत्तर-
क्रियापादं प्रमाणं तत्परीक्षणम् । निगदं स्मृतिवाक्यं च यथासम्पन्निनिश्चितम् । एतत्तर्कं समा-
सेन जयपत्रेऽभिलेखयेत् ॥ व्यास q. by स्मृतिच. II 57; पूर्वोत्तरक्रियायुक्तं निर्णयार्थं
यदा दृष्टः । प्रदद्याज्यायिने लेख्यं जयपत्रं तदुच्यते ॥ वृद्ध q. by रघ. मा. p 309; समासद्वय-
ये तत्र स्मृतिशास्त्राविदः स्थिताः । यथा लेख्यविधौ तद्वत् स्ववस्तुं तत्र दापयेत् ॥ कात्या (263)
q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 57, मिता on या II 91 (without name) 'जयपत्रे सम्प-
प्रादुर्बिवाकप्रपत्तिर्लभतिरेव प्रयोजिका न तु पावत्पाण्डित्यवदस्तौवि' विद्याचन्द्र p 146
Compare Order 20 r 4 of the Indian Civil Procedure code for the contents
of the judgment.

599. निरस्तास्तु क्रिया यत्र प्रमाणेनैव बादिना । एवात्कारो भवेत्तत्र न सर्वाहं विधि-
यते ॥ अन्यवाचादिहीनेन्य इतरेषां प्रदीयते । वृत्ताद्वयादसंसिद्धे तत्र दद्याजयपत्रकम् ॥
कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच. II 57-58, परा मा III. 124-125, रघ. म p 146 For
हीनवादी vide above p. 303.

person, who, when charged with murder, does not reply to the charge that very day, stands refuted' (i. e. is found guilty)⁶⁰⁰. The Mit (on Yāj. II. 91) differing from Kāt holds a jayapatra to be a judgment giving 'a summary of the plaint, the reply, the evidence and the decision, while when a plaintiff is defeated for change of pleading or for default of appearance or for non-prosecution the document stating this is called 'hīnapatraka'. It is to be regretted that ancient jayapatras in Sanskrit have not yet been discovered. In 25 Calcutta Weekly Notes pp. CXLII—III Dr. Jolly communicated the substance of a *jayapatra*, couched in ancient Javanese, engraved on a copper-plate found in the island of Java and described by Dr. Brandes in a Dutch paper. That judgment is dated *śaka* 849 (928 A. D.), relates to a dispute about a debt of one *suvarṇa* in which the plaintiff failed because he did not appear at the trial. At the end there are the signatures of four witnesses and the document is styled jayapatra at the end. Vide for the same jayapatra J. B. O. R. S. vol. VII pp. 117 ff. The late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal published in 24 Calcutta Weekly Notes (pp. CXLIX—CLVI) a *jayapatra* (text, translation and remarks) granted by the Hindu court of Mithilā in *śaka* 1716 (1794 A. D.) and in J. B. O. R. S. vol. VI pp. 246—258, which strictly conforms to the rules of procedure laid down in the *smṛtis* and *nibandhas* and is couched in dignified, technical and scrupulously formal language. It related to the ownership of a slave girl. Plaintiff at first made default in appearance; the judgment notes this and also refers to the restoration of the suit. The defendant raised an objection that a single witness to prove a matter was inadmissible. This objection was upheld. Then plaintiff prayed that he might be allowed to undergo an ordeal, but this request was disallowed as human proof was possible and plaintiff ultimately lost his suit. The judgment is written and signed by one Sacalāmīśra, who was the chief justice, and is addressed to other members of the *sabhā*, called *dharmādhyaksas* and *panditas*, seven of whom express their concurrence (*sammah*) at the top of the document. Vide Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society vol XXVIII for 1942 for nine Sanskrit jayapatras from the courts of Mithilā in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 91), and V. Mātṛkā p. 309 note that a jayapatra is given specially to prevent the same matter being

600. पातान्नियोगमतिदुर्गतस्त्वद्वरेष पश्चात्कारः । कौटिल्य III 19.

agitated again, while a document given where a party is *hinavādi* (i. e. a *hinapatra*) serves the purpose of making that party liable later on to pay a fine. When a dispute was decided by a domestic tribunal (*kula &c*) there was no *jayapatra* but only a *nirṇaya-pāṭha* (*kulādibhū nirṇaye jayapatrābhāvān-nirṇaya-pātram tatra kāryam paratapatramukṛt yāvat*, as the Vy. Nirṇaya p. 85 says). It would be better to adopt the reading '*eritapatram*' as given by one Ms

The defeated party has to pay a fine to the king and the successful party was complimented (or honoured) by the king (or chief justice) and was to be put in possession of the matter that he succeeded in proving⁶⁰¹. Manu VIII 51 prescribes that in monetary matters (i. e. in civil disputes) the defeated party should be made by the king to pay the judgment debt to the successful party and also some fine to the king according to his ability, while Manu VIII 139 lays down that when the defendant admits in the court his liability he has to pay to the king five per cent as fine and if the defendant denied his liability altogether and was proved to be false he had to pay as fine double of that (i. e. ten per cent). This is analogous to court fee, for which see above pp. 294-295. If one or both parties had laid down a stake or 'wager' (viz. 'if I be defeated in this suit I shall pay a hundred panas') then he had to pay that stake to the king and a fine as above and the subject of dispute to the successful party (Yāj. II 18 and Nār. II 5)⁶⁰²; compare Visnu Dh. S. V. 153-159 for similar rules. The punishments awarded in criminal matters will be discussed immediately below.

It would be necessary to see in what cases review of judgment was allowed. The general rule is stated by Manu IX. 233, 'whenever any legal proceeding has been completed (*tīrta*) or has been carried out so far as to recover a fine from the defeated party, a wise king shall not annul it' (at his mere will or pleasure or through greed). The words '*tīrta*' and

601. सिद्धेनार्येन संयोज्यो वादी सत्कारपूर्वकम् । लेख्यं स्वहस्तसंयुक्तं तस्मै दद्यात् पार्थिवः ॥ कात्या १ by स्मृतिच. II. p 57, अपरार्क p. 684, स. नि. p 220 The अद्वनरत्न (स्वव. ms) explains 'सिद्धेनार्येन साधितपनेन । लेख्यं जयपत्रम् । साधित घने तदभिप्रायसहितं दापनीयम् ।'

602 विवादो सोत्तरपणे द्वयोस्तत्र हीयते । स एव हि पणं दास्यो विजयं च पराजये । भारद् II. 5.

'anuśīṣṭa' have been variously explained⁶⁰³. The word 'tīrita' is very ancient and occurs in the Delhi Pillar Edict IV of Aśoka (E I. Vol. II. p. 253) as 'tīrita-dandaṇam' qualifying men imprisoned in jails. Medhātithi and Kuṭṭūka explain them as 'decided according to the rules of the śāstra' and 'taken so far as to recover fine from the unsuccessful party' respectively. Kāt. (495) defines them differently: "When a certain side is decided by the sabhyas themselves (without the examination of witnesses) to be either true or false, it is said to be tīrita and that matter or side is called 'anuśīṣṭa' which is declared (to be true or false) on the testimony of witnesses." The lexicon called Vajjayantī seems to have Kāt. in mind and defines 'tīrita' as a perverse decision given by the sabhyas themselves and 'anuśīṣṭa' occurs where the evidence of witnesses makes what is true appear as false (Bhūmikāṇḍa, vaiśyādhyāya, verses 11-12). Nār. II. 65 (S.B.E. vol 33 p. 22) employs the two words, which the Mit on Yāj. II. 306 respectively explains as (tīrita) 'decided by reliance on documents and witnesses but not carried so far as to recover a fine', and ('anuśīṣṭa') as 'decided so far as to recover a fine from the defeated party'. Vide Aparārka p. 866 and V. P. p. 90 for explanations.

According to Kāt. quoted in the Vyavahārasāra (p. 101)⁶⁰⁴ the decree should provide for the successful party receiving the interest on or accretions to the movable or immovable property placed (during the pendency of the suit) in the hands of a third party (as a sort of Receiver). Kāt. (477-480) points⁶⁰⁵ out the various ways in which a decree may be executed. The king should make a brāhmana debtor return the decretal debt

603. तीरितं समापितं निर्णयपर्यन्तं प्रापितमिति यावत् । ... अहुक्षिहं अधिमप्यधिनीं प्रति कथितं जयपत्रे चारोपितम् । स्य. प्र. p. 90; तीरितं समाप्तं अहुक्षिहं साक्षिभिश्चकम् । दीपकालिका on य. II. 306; तीरितं समापितं निर्णयपर्यन्तं प्रापितमिति यावत् । अहुक्षिहं साक्षिभिश्चकम् । मदनरत्न (धन ms); सद्वासासक्तुं सत्यैस्तीरितं साक्षिणा तु चेत् । अहुक्षिहमथो लेखो लेख्यं दिव्यं तु वैविकम् । वैजयन्तीकोश.

604. मध्यस्थस्थापितं द्वयं चर्ल वा यदि वा स्थिरम् । पश्चात्ततोदयं दाय्यं जयिने पञ्चमुत्तरम् ॥ कात्या. in न्यघाटमार p. 101. This is ascribed to नारद in स्मृतिच. II. p. 120, and मदनरत्न which reads मध्ये यत्स्थापितं and जयिने जयपत्रकम् and explains 'मध्ये यत्स्थापितं विवादकाले मध्यस्थस्थापितम्'.

605. राजा तु स्वामिने विषं साम्त्वैर्नैव प्रदापयेत् । देशाच्चारणे चान्यास्तु बुद्ध्या संपीड्य दाययेत् ॥ रिजियनं सुहृदं वापि हलेनैव प्रदापयेत् । वणिजः कर्षकांश्चापि शिल्पिनश्चानवीहृष्टः । घनदानासहं दुष्टश्च स्वाधीनं कर्म कारयेत् । अशक्तौ बन्धनमार्गं प्रवेश्यो ब्राह्मणादृते । कर्षकाश्च स्रजविदुश्चान्द सतीहानास्तु दाययेत् । कात्या. q. by मिता on य. II. 40 and 26, अपरार्क p. 645, स्मृतिच. II. pp. 121, 124, परा. न. III. 200 and 209.

to the judgment creditor by conciliatory words, should make other debtors return it according to the usage of the country and compel bad people to satisfy the decree by means of physical pain (i. e. imprisonment). The king should make a co-sharer or friend (of the successful party) pay the decretal debt by means of a ruse (i. e. by borrowing an ornament or the like from him on a festive occasion and handing it over to the creditor) and also make traders, husbandmen and artisans (to pay) in a similar way. On finding that the debtor is unable to return the debt in cash, the king should make the debtor, whether a ksatriya, vaiśya, śūdra or husbandman, work (for the creditor). If he be unable to work the debtor should be sent to jail except when he is a brāhmana. Manu also (IX. 229) says that if the members of the three varnas other than brāhmana are unable to pay the fine imposed by the king they should be made to work for the king, but a brāhmana may be allowed to pay in easy and small instalments. If a brāhmana debtor was unable to pay, nothing could be done for recovery of the decretal debt except taking a surety from him if any one cared to be one. In modern times also judgment debtors are liable to be arrested and detained in civil jail in execution of decrees under rules 55-58 of the Indian Civil Procedure code (except women in execution of a decree for the payment of money). If in ancient times state policy exempted brāhmanas from arrest and detention in a civil jail for monetary debts on spiritual grounds and on the ground of caste, in modern times the State in India exempts agriculturists from arrest or imprisonment in execution of a decree for money on economic grounds under certain legislative enactments like sec. 21 of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act (Bombay Act XVII of 1879). As regards women also Kāt. (488-489) laid down certain prudent rules "Women who are not⁶⁰⁶ independent should not be arrested (for offences like adultery); it is the male who should be regarded as the offender; women should be punished by their lord (i. e. the person on whom they depend) but the king should take away for punishment the male offender. Even if a woman whose husband has gone abroad be consigned to jail she should be kept imprisoned only till he returns." The Sm. C. II. p. 323 explains that the first verse applies to a woman who can perform the

606. नास्वतन्त्राः स्त्रियो ग्राह्याः दुर्मास्तत्रापराध्यति । प्रहृणा शासनविवास्ता राजा तु दुरुक् नयेत् ॥ प्रोषितस्वामिका नारी प्रापिता यद्यपि गृहे । तावत्ता वन्द्यते रघाव्या वार-प्रत्यागत. प्रभुः ॥ कात्या. प. by स्मृतिच. II, p. 323.

expiation for adultery and who is dependent and the adultery is not with a male of a lower caste.

Nār (II. 40) lays down⁶⁰⁷ a qualification that when a party has been defeated by his own conduct (i. e. by his demeanour or by his having adduced manifestly false witnesses or forged documents) there is to be no retrial or review of judgment, but where a man has lost his cause through (the dishonesty of) witnesses or the *sabhyas*, the cause may be tried anew. There are four exceptions to the finality of the judgments of the king's court. Where a litigant either through folly or insolence⁶⁰⁸ thinks a decision to be wrong, he may be allowed a retrial, provided he agrees to pay double the fine inflicted on the losing party (Yāj II. 306, Nār. I. 65, Kat. 496). Secondly, where the former judgment is obtained by fraud or force, it may be set aside (Yāj. II. 31)⁶⁰⁹. Thirdly, where the litigant was incompetent, i. e. was a woman or a minor or a lunatic or intoxicated, seriously ill or distressed by a calamity or where the proceeding was carried on by another on behalf of a litigant who did not appoint him or with whom he was not connected in any way or was held inside a house or outside a town or village (i. e. in a forest) or by an enemy, the decision may be set aside and a retrial ordered (Nār. I. 43 in S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 16, Yāj. II. 31-32). Fourthly, a king could set right a former decision of his predecessor which was unjust and arrived at through ignorance (Mit. on Yāj. II. 306)⁶¹⁰.

Yāj. (II. 4 and 305) prescribes that legal proceedings that are suspected to have been wrongly decided by the *sabhyas* through partiality or greed or intimidation should again be tried by the king and if the suspicion turns out to be true he should levy from the *sabhyas* and the party who at first succeeded double the fine that is imposed on a defeated party. Nār. I. 66 (in S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 22) is similar. Manu IX. 231 (= Matsya 227. 158)

607. साक्षितव्यावसत्तानां हृदये दर्शनं पुनः । स्वचर्यावसितानां तु नास्ति पौनर्वचो विधिः ॥ नारद II. 40.

608. तीरितं चाश्लिष्टं च यो मन्येत विघर्षतः । द्विगुणं वृद्धमास्थाय तत्कार्यं पुन-
रुद्धरेत् ॥ नारद I. 65 ; कुलादिभिर्निश्चितेपि सन्तोषं न गतरतु यः । विचार्य तत्कृतं राजा
कुरुत पुनरुद्धरेत् ॥ बृह- and कात्या- q. by ap. p. 91.

609. बलोपधिभिर्निर्द्वन्द्वान् स्पवहाराभिर्वर्तयेत् । याज्ञ. II. 31

610. न्यायापेक्षं यदन्येन राजाज्ञानकृतं भवेत् । तदप्यन्यायविहितं पुनन्यायि निवे-
शयेत् ॥ स्मृति q. by मित्रा. on पृ. II. 306, परा. मा. III. p. 582. Thus is नारद,
मकीर्णक 9.

and 334 prescribe that when officers appointed to administer justice cause loss to litigants by taking bribes, the king should deprive them of all their wealth and when the *amātyas* (ministers) or chief justice disposes of a matter wrongly (but without being bribed), the king should himself decide the matter correctly and should impose on the *amātyas* or chief justice a fine of 1000 *panas*

Though there is hardly any express *smṛti* text for the transfer of cases from one court or judge to another court or judge, in practice this must have been done, though rarely. In "Selections from Peshwa's Daftar" vol 43 p 108 there is a letter (of 12-8-1764 A.D.) written by the renowned minister Nana Phadnis to the Peshwa Madhavrao in which the former endeavours to persuade the latter to cancel his order for transfer of a case from the court of Rāmsāstri, famed for his impartiality and strict life, to another judge on the ground that one of the litigants was afraid that Rāmsāstri showed some partiality to the other litigant. Manu (VIII 174-175) states that the king who decides the causes of people unjustly through greed is soon subjugated by his enemies, while the king who curbing his own temper and desires impartially decides causes according to the dictates of *sāstra* becomes of one mind with his subjects as rivers merge in the ocean. Br and Nār I 74 (S.B.E vol. 33 p 24) lay emphasis on both the secular and spiritual effects of doing even justice, saying that when the king gives decisions according to *sāstra* he spreads his fame in this world and secures Heaven⁶¹¹

A crime may be defined as an act or omission that breaks the law and is subject to public punishment. But all kinds of breaches of the law do not result in punishment; only some do. Those breaches are crimes which are deemed to be menaces to the conditions of existence of society, which society, the ruler or legislation recognises as preventible only through punishment. The menace is not that of the specific action, but the abstract menace inherent in that type of action. A breach that is held to be a crime at one time may even be held not to be a crime at another time or in another country. For example, adultery is a crime under the Indian Penal Code (sec 497), while it is not a crime but a civil wrong in English Law.

611 एवं ज्ञानोदित राजा कुर्वन्निर्णयपालनम् । वितरयेत् यतो लोके न्येयमसाधितं
नयेत् ॥ साक्षिलेखयानुमानेन प्रकुर्वन्कार्यनिर्णयम् । वितरयेत् यतो राजा नम्रपराधीनि वि-
पम् ॥ बृह० १. by स्मृतिच० II p 123. परा. मा. III. p. 219.

Many crimes and wrongs were sins and entailed secular punishments and also religious sanctions (viz expiations, *prāyascittas*). Vide Manu IX. 236, 240, Br. (S. B. E. vol 33, p. 362, verse 22) and *Paṭhīnāsī* quoted below⁶¹². Maine in his 'Ancient Law' chap. X (3rd ed of 1866) examines ancient western systems like those of Greece and Rome and makes the generalisation (p. 370) that the 'penal law of ancient communities is not the law of crimes; it is the law of wrongs or, to use the English technical word, of Torts. The person injured proceeds against the wrong-doer by an ordinary civil action and recovers compensation in the shape of money damages if he succeeds'. Dr. Priya Nath Sen in his 'Tagore Law Lectures on 'Hindu Jurisprudence' (1918, Lecture XII) rightly points out that this generalisation is not applicable to Ancient Hindu Law. It has already been shown (on pp. 264-266) that the king could of his own motion take cognisance of many wrongs called *chālas*, *padas* and *aparūdhas* and it is clear that in such crimes as theft, assault, adultery, rape, and manslaughter the *smṛti* texts do not prescribe only a money compensation to the person wronged, but corporal punishment in the first instance and monetary compensation in addition. Vide for example, Manu VIII. 287, Yāj. II. 222, Br. (SBE vol. 33 p. 358 verses 9-10), Kāt. (787) which prescribe a punishment for causing pain to the body or the loss of a limb and also the expenses of curing the person injured and some *solatium* to him⁶¹³. Āp. Dh S (I. 9. 24, 1 and 4) lays down that the slayer of a *ksatriya* should give a thousand cows in order to remove the enmity (i. e. as compensation to relatives) and one bull in addition for expiation.⁶¹⁴ The *Chāndogya Upanisad* quoted above (p. 362) shows that a thief was punished with death in those early days. There is a passage in the *Tai. S. II.*

612. अकार्यकारिणामेवा प्रायश्चित्तं तु कल्पयेत् । यथाशक्त्यनुसारं च दण्डं चैषां प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ पैठीनसि q. by दण्डविशेक p. 76.

613. देहेन्द्रियविनाशे तु यथा दण्डं प्रकल्पयेत् । तथा तुष्टिकरं देयं समुत्थानं च पण्डितैः ॥ समुत्थानमप्ययं चासौ दद्यादात्रणविरोधनात् । कात्या q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 329, अथर्वकं p. 816, परा मा III. pp. 419-420; दण्डस्त्वभिहतायैव दण्डपाक्यकल्पितः । ह्ये तद्दण्डिणं चान्यद्वाजदण्डस्त्रतोऽधिकः ॥ बृह. q. by विश्वरूप on या. II. 226.

614. शत्रिणं हत्वा गवां सहस्रं वैरपातनार्थं दद्यात् । ... ऋषभश्यामाधिकः सर्वत्र प्रायश्चित्तार्थः । आप. घ. सू. I. 9. 24, 1 and 4. द्रदत्त in order to bring Āp in line with Manu XI. 127 and Yāj. III. 266 explains that 1000 cows and one bull are all for expiation.

6. 10. 1 (quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II p. 151 n. 346) which states, 'He who threatens a brāhmana should be made to pay a hundred, he who strikes a brāhmana should be made to pay a thousand'. It is rather doubtful whether the figures stated are fines or are meant as *solatium* to the wronged. In Rg. II. 32. 4 (which also occurs in Tai S III 3. 11. 5) the poet prays to Rākā⁶¹⁵ (the Full Moon personified) that she may be pleased to grant the boon of a valiant son, who would be 'śatadāya'. Śāyana's rendering of this word as 'possessed of plentiful heritage or wealth' appears to be the right one. The words 'śatadāyam vīram' in the Tai S. III. 3. 11. 5 are translated by Prof Keith as 'a hero whose *wergild* is a hundred'. This is incorrect, confounding as it does the ideas of western Germanic tribes with the Rgveda composed several millenniums earlier. It would be a strange thing to pray to a goddess for a son and at the same time to have in mind or refer to the price set upon him if he happened to be killed.

The ancient smṛti writers were quite aware of the several purposes served by punishments for crimes,⁶¹⁶ though they do not develop a regular science of penology. The person wronged feels a great urge for revenge or retaliation and other men sympathise with that emotion. The individual, however, could not, in civilized societies, take the law into his own hands and therefore the State saw to it that the emotion for retaliation or revenge was to some degree satisfied by the adequate punishment of the wrongdoer. Yāj. II. 16 and Nār. I. 46 (SBE vol. 33 p. 17) state that when a person without complaining to the king sets about to secure what is denied by the opposite side or is doubtful he becomes liable to punishment and he also cannot secure the object he wants.^{616a} In all ancient societies the *lex talionis* (the law of retaliation, viz. an eye for an eye,

615. राकामहं सुभगां सुदुतीं हवे ... ददातु धीरं शतदायसुख्यम् ॥ ऋ II 32. 4.

616. The work of Harry Elmer Barnes on 'The Study of punishment (1930, New York) may be read with great interest and profit. It will set off to great advantage the comparatively humane treatment of criminals in Ancient India as compared with the horrible and revolting methods for punishing criminals employed in the West

616a. अनावेद्यं तु यो राज्ञे सन्दिग्धेऽर्थे भवति । यस्तस्य स विवेकः स्वास्त आस्ताप्ये न सिध्यति ॥ नारद I. 46.

a tooth for a tooth) prevailed.⁶¹⁷ Manu VIII. 280 (which is almost the same as Nār., pārusya, verse 25), Yāj II. 215, Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 19 and Śāṅkha-Likhita prescribe that with whatever limb⁶¹⁸ a man of low caste offends against a brāhmana, that very limb of his shall be cut off. Another and the most important purpose of punishment is deterrent. Punishment of the evil-doer serves as an example and a warning to all others that might be tempted to tread the paths of violence and crime. This aspect of punishment (danda) has already been dwelt upon in the section on *rājadharmā* (p. 21). The end sought to be served by punishment was the protection of society and the securing of its happiness. The Śāntiparva (15 5-6) remarks that people do not commit sins through fear of punishment at the hands of the king, through fear of Yama and of the next world and through fear of others (i. e. public opinion).⁶¹⁹ Gaut. XI. 28 derives the word *danda* from the root *dam* to restrain or to deter. This purpose of punishment is well brought out in the *Mṛcchakatika* (X) when the sentence passed on Cārudatta for the alleged murder of Vasantasena is proclaimed to the citizens by the executioners.⁶²⁰ Another purpose of punishment is preventive i. e. if a culprit is imprisoned for an offence he is prevented or disabled from repeating the same offence or

617. Vide Deut XIX. 21, Lev, XXIV. 20 for the ancient Hebrew Code (eye for eye &c.), the code of Hammurabi (about 2200 B. C.) in Babylon and the law of the Twelve Tables in Rome. In the 8th Table in Ortolan's 'History of Roman Law' (tr. by Pritchard and Nasmyth, 1871) p. 114 the 20d provision is: 'retaliation against him who breaks the limb of another and does not offer compensation'. In Hammurabi's Code (text tr. by C. H. W. Johns, 1903) sections 196 and 200 are: 'If a man has caused the loss of a gentleman's eye, his eye one shall cause to be lost. If a man has made the tooth of a man that is his equal to fall, one shall make his tooth to fall out'.

618. येन येनाङ्गेनापराधं कुर्यात्तत्तदस्य च्छेत्तव्यमन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात् । हाङ्गुलिस्त्रि प. in sv. m. p. 249; येनाङ्गेनापरवर्णो ब्राह्मणस्यापराधश्चात् । तदङ्गं तस्य च्छेत्तव्यमेवं छुद्दिमवामयात् ॥ नारद (पारुष्य 25); हीनवर्णोऽधिकवर्णस्य येनाङ्गेनापराधं कुर्यात्तद्विचारस्य शातयेत् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 19.

619. राजदण्डभयादेके पापाः पापं न कुर्वते । यमदण्डभयादेके परलोकभयादपि । परस्परभयादेके पापाः पापं न कुर्वते । ... दण्डस्यैव भयादेते मनुष्या वर्तमाने स्थिताः ॥ शान्ति 15. 5-6, Vide मत्स्य for almost the same words (225. 16-17).

620. शृणुत आर्याः शृणुत । एव ... आर्यचारदत्तो नाम । एतेन ... वसन्तसेना मारिष्टा ... तदा राजा पालकेन वयमाज्ञता एतं मारयिष्यत् । यद्यपर ईदृशसुभयलोकविरुद्धमकार्यं करोति तमपि राजा पालक एवमेव शास्ति । सुच्छकटिक X after verse 11.

committing further offences for some time at least and if he be sentenced to death or transported for life or banished, the commission of offences by him is prevented for his life-time. Another purpose was that of reform or redemption of the evil-doer. The punishment was deemed to be a sort of expiation, which purged the man of sinful promptings and reformed his character. Manu VIII 318 (= Vas. 19 45) states that men who are guilty of crimes and have been punished by the king go to heaven, becoming pure like those who perform meritorious deeds. Medhātithi remarks on this verse that this applies only where the punishment is corporal and not merely monetary. It will be seen from the early sūtras like that of Gautama and from the Manusmṛiti that the more ancient criminal law in India was very severe and drastic, but that from the times of Yājñavalkya, Nār. and Br. the rigour of punishments was lessened and softened and fines came to be the ordinary punishments for many crimes, as is noted by Fa Hien (399-400 A D) in relation to middle India (*Madhyadeśa*) under the Guptas apparently 'The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments. Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily according to the circumstances. Even in circumstances of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion they only have their right hands cut off' (Legge, 1886 p 43). This may be contrasted with the state of things depicted by Megasthenes 700 years earlier than Fa Hien: (Fragment XXVII p. 71) 'a person bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities. He who maims anyone not only suffers loss of the same limb but his hand also is cut off. If he causes an artisan to lose his hand and eye he is put to death'. The Daśakumāracarita (II p 56) states that the Mauryas conferred a boon on traders that for certain offences they were not to be sentenced to death, but were to be deprived of all their wealth and banished. The first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka at Dhauī (Corpus I I pp. 93, 97) shows that great Emperor's anxiety that his judicial officers should strive to see that there is no undeserved fettering or no undeserved harsh treatment. In India the list of capital offences at any time was much shorter than in the West. Stephens is constrained to admit that in England 'there can be no doubt that the legislation of the 18th century in criminal matters was severe to the highest degree and destitute of any sort of principle or system' (His. of Cr. Law, vol I p 471). As stated by Dr. Hart (in 'Way to justice' p 94), at the beginning of the 19th century in England more than a hundred offences were

punishable by death. In 1832 a child was convicted at Ludgate Hill for stealing a box of paints worth two pence, was tried at the Old Bailey and hanged (vide 'In the service of youth', by Dr. J. M. Brew, 1943 chap. XV. p. 208).

Manu VIII. 129, Yāj I. 367 and Br. (S B E. 33 p. 387 verse 5), Vṛddha-Hārīta (7195) speak of four methods of punishment (*danda*) viz. by gentle admonition by severe reproof, by fine and by corporal punishment and declare that these punishments may be inflicted separately or together according to the nature of the offence.⁶²¹ The first takes the form of saying 'you have not done a proper thing', the 2nd 'lie upon you who are a wrongdoer and guilty of *adharma*'. Br. lays down that preceptors, *puṇyatas* and sons should be sentenced to the punishment of wordy admonition, other persons who engage in disputes should be punished with reproof or fines and those guilty of *mahāpātakas* should be punished with corporal punishment. That admonition and reproof were two modes of punishment shows that ancient writers were alive to the notion that among very sensitive persons or in a very sensitive society verbal condemnation would be enough to achieve the main purposes of punishment. Br. (SBE vol. 33 p. 388 verse 8) states that the first two are within the privilege of the *brāhmaṇa* (appointed as chief justice) but fines and corporal punishment are to be inflicted by the king (on the recommendation of the chief justice, *prāḍvṛkamate śikṣitah*). The *Mṛcchakatika* (IX) bears this out when the judge says 'We have authority only to pronounce the judgment; as to the rest the king is the final authority' (*mṛnaye vāyam pramāṇam śeṣe tu rājā*). Gaut. XII. 51, Vas. 19. 9, Manu VII. 16, VIII. 126 and Yāj I. 368 (=Vṛddha-Hārīta VII. 195-196), Brhat Parāśara p. 284, Kaut. IV. 10 lay down that the award of punishment must be regulated by a consideration of the motive and nature of the offence, the time and place, the strength, age, conduct (or duties), learning and monetary position of the offender and by the

621 The *Daṇḍavivēka* of Vardhamāna (published in Gaikwad Oriental series, 1931) deals exhaustively with the subject of punishments. न त्वयेदं सम्पद् कृतमिति निन्द्या, धिक् त्वां पापीयांसमघर्मकारिणमिति निर्भर्त्सनम् । दण्डविवेक p. 20; these are respectively वाग्दण्ड and धिग्दण्ड. शुक्लपुरोहितान्पुत्रान्वाग्दण्डेनैव दण्डयेत् । निवादिनो नरांश्चान्पान्धिग्दण्डेनैव दण्डयेत् ॥ महापातकयुक्ताश्च बध्दण्डेन दण्डयेत् । इह. q. by सूत्रचि. II, p. 126 and स्वय. नि. p. 328.

fact whether the offence⁶²² is repeated. This provision means that the dharmaśāstras did not hold that the same punishment must be meted out for the same offence irrespective of the antecedents, characteristics or physical and mental condition of the offender. They always took extenuating circumstances into account. Kaut (I. 4), differing from the view of the ācāryas that there is nothing like danda for bringing under one's complete control all beings, gives his own opinion that, as a king whose control and punishments are most severe makes the subjects disgusted with him and as the king who deals mild punishments is disregarded by the people, the king should distribute punishments according to the deserts of the offenders and would then command respect⁶²³. One reason why some of the works on dharmaśāstra prescribe mild punishments is the doctrine of *karmavipāka* (a man committing certain sins is born in the next life afflicted with certain diseases or bodily deficiencies or is born as a low or filthy beast or bird) Vide Manu XI 49-52, Yāj III 207-216, Visnu Dh. S 44-45. This doctrine will be dealt with later on under *pātaka* and *prāyaścitta*. Gaut. XII. 48 first provides that the king must take into account, when awarding punishment to the criminal, his physical or monetary circumstances, the nature of the crime, the fact of repetition of the crime and then adds that the king should award punishment after consulting an assembly of learned brāhmanas. The Dandaviveka (p. 36) quotes a verse in which the considerations that should weigh in awarding punishment are brought together viz. the offender's caste (as in Manu VIII 337-338 for theft), the value of the thing, the extent or measure (as in Manu VIII 320), use or usefulness of the thing with regard to which an offence is committed (as in Manu VIII 285), the person against whom an offence is committed (such as an idol or temple or king or brāhmana), age, ability (to pay),

622. पुरवं चापराधं च कारणं शुक्लाद्यम् । अनुबन्धं तदात्वं च देशकालौ समीक्ष्य च । उत्तमायमध्यमं प्रदेष्टा दण्डकर्मणि । राज्ञश्च प्रकृतीनां च कल्पयन्तस्मान्नि ॥ को. IV. 10; दण्डस्तु देशकालधर्मवयोविद्यास्थानविक्रमैर्युक्तकोशयोः कल्पनैः । नसिद्ध 19. 9; शुक्लवस्त्रपर्यायानुबन्धविज्ञानाद्दण्डनियोगः । अनुज्ञानं वा वेदवित्समवायवचनात् । गो. XII 48-49, अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ च तद्वतः । सारापराधौ चालोक्य दण्डं दण्डेषु पातयेत् ॥ मनु 8 126, on which मेधातिथि makes the striking remark that this is the fundamental verse about all offences 'उक्ताहकदण्डेष्वपराधेषु मातृकाश्लोकोयम् । एतदपानुसारेण सर्वदण्डव्यतिः कर्तव्या ॥'

623. न होवन्निधं वक्षोपनयनमस्ति भूतानां यथा दण्ड इत्याचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः । वीक्ष्यदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीयः । सुदुदण्डः परिभूयते । यथार्थदण्डः प्रज्यः । सुविज्ञात-प्रणीतो हि दण्डः प्रजा धनार्थिकमैर्योजयति । अथेशाख I. 4. Vide Manu VII 103 (=Sānti 140. 8) which appears to be of the same opinion as the ācāryas.

qualities, time, place, the nature of the offence (whether it is repeated or is a first offence). The *Rajatarangini* (VIII 158) provides that in disputes where parties are in doubt as to their rights it is proper to award punishment with forbearance but where a man starts on an evil path of set purpose (the king and officers) must award severe punishment. In modern times there are controversies among several schools of criminology. Some hold that every man has freedom to act criminally or not or to act in the way he does and that each man has complete moral responsibility for his own acts. On the other hand there are some who go to the other extreme and propound that a so-called criminal act is mostly due to biological, physiological, pathological or sociological conditions, to the upbringing and environment of the person charged with crime. They favour determinism. The ancient Indian writers do not enter into these speculations. But when they said that regard must be paid to time and place and other considerations they were faintly conscious of or were groping towards the ideas of the 2nd school.

Fines are either fixed or not fixed (i. e. variable). They range from a *kāṇi* to the confiscation of all wealth; fixed fines were of three kinds called *prathama sāhasa*, *madhyama sāhasa* (middling amercement) and *uttama sāhasa* (highest). These are variously defined. According to Śāṅkha-Likhita the first⁶²⁴ amercement is fine from 24 panas to 91, the middling one is from 200 to 500 panas and the highest is from six hundred to 1000

624. चतुर्विंशतिरेकमपतिः प्रथमसाहसः । द्विशतं पञ्चशतं चैव मध्यमसाहसः । सदृशं सहस्रं उत्तमः । यथासारायकारम् । शङ्खलिखित q. by वि. र p 664, दृण्डविवेक p. 23.

There was great divergence of views about the metal in which the fines were to be paid. According to *Vijñāneśvara* the figures of fines in such verses as *Manu VIII. 378* (where no metal is specified) the *panas* are those of copper, while according to *Bhāruci* (quoted in *S. V.* p 150) they are of gold. The *S. V.* remarks that local usage is to be followed. The *V. Mayūkhā* (p. 255) states that in all texts (about fines) the mention of a number without specifying the object to which it refers is to be deemed to refer to panas, that pana is a copper piece one *karsa* in weight and that *karsa* is one fourth of a pala. *Br.* (q. by *Sm C. II* p. 99) states that the tables in *Manu* (VIII 132-136) beginning with the dust particle in a beam and ending with *kāśāpana* is to be followed in ordeals and fines. An interesting sidelight is shed on crimes and their punishments in the Inscription of *Cāṅkya Vikramāditya V* (dated *śaka* 934) from Gadag which provides that the fines for abuse, assault, for drawing out a dagger, for stabbing and for adultery by a bachelor were respectively 2 panas, 12 panas, 3 *gadyānas*, 12 *gadyānas* and 3 *gadyānas* (vide *E. I.* vol. 20 p. 64.)

in proportion to the value of the matter in dispute or the injury caused Manu VIII 138 (= Visnu Dh S. IV. 10) states that the first, middling and highest fines are respectively 250, 500 and 1000 panas, while Yāj I. 366 puts these respectively at 270, 540 and 1080. The Mit explains that the lesser figures of Manu represent the fines to be awarded for offences committed without set purpose. Nār. (sāhasa, verses 7-8) prescribes that 100 panas is the lowest limit of fines for the lowest kind of sāhasa, 500 is the lowest for middling sāhasa, 1000 is the lowest fine in what is called the highest amercement (and might include death penalty, forfeiture of all property, banishment, branding and cutting off of a limb). Fines were supposed to be lesser than corporal punishment. Kāt (490-493) lays⁶²⁵ down the following rules: Whatever figure of fine is prescribed in the smṛti texts for a wrong it is to be paid to the king in panas of copper or their equivalent. Where the fine is said to be one-fourth or one half of a māsa, there it is a golden māsa that is meant; when the fine is declared in māsas, they are to be understood as those of silver and where the fine is declared in kṛṣṇaśas the same is to be understood; a māsa is 1/16th of a kārṣāpana. The general rule that lesser punishment is to be inflicted on women is stated by Kāt. (487) 'In the case of all offences, women are to suffer half of the fine in money which is prescribed for a male offender (of the same kind) and when the punishment is death for a male, the punishment for a woman would be the excision of a limb.'⁶²⁶ Kaut (III 3) provides, 'a woman attains ability to enter into transactions on completion of 12 years and men when they are 16; if they disobey after that (i.e. after attaining majority) the woman shall be fined twelve panas and a man twice that amount.'⁶²⁷ Angiras quoted by the Mit (on Yāj,

625. कलितो यस्य यो दण्डस्त्वपराधस्य बलतः । पणानां दण्डं तु इत्यतश्चुल्यं तस्य राजनि ॥ मायपादो द्विपादो वा दण्डो यत्र भवति । अनिर्दिष्टं तु सौवर्णं मायकं तत्र बलपदेन ॥ यत्रोक्तो मायकैर्दण्डो राजत तत्र निर्दिष्टोत् । कुण्डलैश्चोक्तमेव स्यादुक्तदण्डविनिश्चयः ॥ तयोर्विशतिभागस्तु ज्ञेयः कार्यापणस्य तु ॥ कात्या 490-493 प. by स्मृतिच II. p 127, दण्डविशेषक p 29-30 (there are various readings in all these). The text .ने. p 202 says धर्मशास्त्रेण दण्डविधानादौ सख्यामात्रे निर्दिष्टे पणानां व्यवहारार्थतया कलितत्वात् सख्येयतया मायेण तत्र पणा एव गृह्यन्ते इति ।

626. सर्वेदं चापराधेषु पुंसो योर्वर्द्धमः स्मृतः । तदर्थं योपितो दण्डोऽयं इति कर्तव्यम् ॥ कात्या (487) प. by स्मृतिच II p. 321, च्य म p 246

627. द्वादशवर्षा स्त्री मातृव्यवहारा भवति पोटशतवर्षं पुमान् । आ उर्यमष्टदशवर्षा इति । छजपण. त्रिषा दण्डः पुंसो द्विगुणः ॥ कौ III. 3.

III. 243) states that⁶²⁸ an old man over eighty, a boy below sixteen, women and persons suffering from diseases are to be given half *prāyaścitta* and Śankha quoted by the Mit. (on the same verse) that a child less than five commits no crime nor sin by any act and is not to suffer any punishment nor to undergo a *prāyaścitta*⁶²⁹. Under the Indian Penal Code, sec. 82, nothing is an offence which is done by a child under seven years of age. The severity of punishment depended on caste also. In the case of theft, Gaut. XII 15-16, Manu VIII 338-39 prescribe that a *vaiśya*, a *ksatriya* and a *brāhmana* should respectively be fined twice, four times and eight times of the fine to be imposed upon a *sūdra* for a theft, since each of these is deemed more and more aware of the heinousness of the crime. Kāt (485) and Vyāsa state this as a general rule for all offences⁶³⁰. In the case of abuse and defamation the scales are turned in favour of the higher castes as regards fines. Gaut. XII 1, 8-12, Manu VIII 267-268 (=Nār. pārusya 15-16), Yāj II 206-207 prescribe that a *ksatriya* or a *vaiśya* or a *sūdra* abusing or defaming a *brāhmana* was to be respectively punished with the fine of 100 panas, 150 panas and with corporal punishment (cutting off the tongue), while a *brāhmana* defaming a *ksatriya*, *vaiśya* or *sūdra* was to be fined 50, 25 or 12 panas respectively (nothing in the last case acc to Gaut. XII. 13). In the case of adultery and rape the difference in the punishment awarded. For adultery with a woman of the same caste Yāj II 286 prescribed the highest amercement, the middling one when the paramour was of a higher caste, but if the male be of a lower caste than the woman, the male offender was sentenced to death and the woman had her ears cut off. Corporal punishment assumes (as pointed out by the Dandaviveka p. 20) various forms according as it is meant to cause only harassment (pain) or is

628. अङ्गीतिर्यस्य वपाणि बालो वाप्यूनयोदशः । प्रायश्चित्तार्थमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो व्याधित एव च ॥ ऊनैकादशवर्षस्य पञ्चवर्षातिरस्य च । चरेद्भ्युः सुहृदेव प्रायश्चित्तं विमुह्ये ॥ अतो बालतरस्यान्य नापराधो न पातकम् । राजदण्डो न तस्यास्ति प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥ q. by हरदत्त on गौ II. 6 (without name) The *mita* on या III. 243 ascribes the first to अंगिरस् and the last two to शङ्ख.

629. Nār. IV. 85 holds that a boy is called *śiśu* and is like an embryo till eight and *bāla* or *poganda* thereafter till 16

630. येन द्रोणेन शूद्रस्य दण्डो भवति धर्मतः । तेन वेत्कात्रविमाणां द्विगुणो द्विगुणो भवेत् ॥ कात्या. 485 q by स्मृतिच II 127, परा मा III 211 (ascribes to पितृमह), प्रायश्चित्तं च दण्डं च शौचं च ततो यथाक्रमम् । कल्पसूक्तसुक्ते मह्यं मध्येऽधमेऽधमम् ॥ यास q. by विश्वरूप on या. I. 17.

carried out by cutting off (or destroying) a limb or to cause death. Harassment or pain may be inflicted by imprisonment, beating, putting fetters, by making ridiculous (by the complete shaving of the head, declaring the offence by beat of drum in the presence of the convict, parading him through the streets on an ass) and marking him with signs indicative of offences like theft. Manu (VIII. 125) provides that punishment may fall upon any one (or more) of ten places in the case of the three higher castes, viz. the private parts, the belly, the tongue (either whole or half), the hands, the feet, the eyes, the nose, the ears, wealth and the whole body; but a brāhmana shall depart unhurt from the country (i. e. he is to be only banished). Br. (SBE 33 p. 388 verses 9-10) speaks of fourteen places of punishment adding the neck, the thumb and index, the forehead, the lips, the hind part, hips, one half of the feet (to Manu's ten) and omitting wealth and the whole body therefrom. Gaut. XII. 43, Kaut. IV. 8, Manu (VIII. 125, 380-381), Yāj. II. 270, Nār. (sāhasa, 9-10), Viṣṇu V. 1-8, Br. (SBE. vol 33 p. 388 verse 11), Vṛddha-Hārta VII. 191 prescribe that a brāhmana was not to be sentenced to death or corporal punishment for any offence whatever, but if he were guilty of an offence deserving the death penalty, he was to be punished by ordering his entire head to be shaved, he might be banished from the country (from the city acc. to Nār.), a mark appropriate to the grave sin committed by him might be branded on his forehead and he might be paraded on an ass.⁶³¹ Yama,⁶³² quoted by Sm. C. and V. P., while providing that a brāhmana was to be free from undergoing corporal punishment, allows

631. वचाहते ब्राह्मणस्य न वधं ब्राह्मणोर्हति । शिरसो मुहूर्तं दण्डस्तस्य निर्वासनं दुरात् । ललाटे चाभिज्ञस्ताड्यः मयाणं गदंभेन च ॥ नाद (सायन 9-10). In these days of fasts as part of the technique of *satyāgraha* for redress of grievances or for justice pursued by Mahātmā Gāndhī and some of his ardent followers it is interesting to note that the widow of the murdered brāhmana referred to on p. 397 had been undergoing voluntary starvation (*prāyopaveśa*) for four days for securing punishment of her husband's murderer (who she believed was a wizard) and that the king himself being unable to prove the guilt of the accused began to starve himself and found proof by supernatural means (Rājataranginī IV. 82-105).

632. न शरीरो ब्राह्मणस्य दण्डो भवति कश्चित् । एते तु मन्थने बद्ध्वा राजा भवेत् प्रदाययेत् । अथवाप्यधनं रक्षार्कं वा कारयेन्मृत् । मासार्धनासं कुर्यात् कार्यं विज्ञाय ह्यस्य । यथापराधं विप्रं तु विकर्षण्यपि कारयेत् । अवध्या ब्राह्मणा गावो लोकस्मिन्नेदिकी भुतिः । यम quoted by स्मृतिच. II. p. 317, स्व. प्र. p. 393 (only the first).

the king to keep a brāhmana offender in confinement in a secret place and give him bare maintenance or the king may make him do the work of guarding cattle for a month or a fortnight or make him perform other work not fit for a decent brāhmana. The Mīt. on Yāj. II. 270 explains that the mark of female private parts for violating *guru's* bed, of a tavern for drinking the liquor called *surā*, a dog's foot for theft, of a headless corpse for brāhmana murder (as laid down by Manu IX. 237 and 240, Visnu Dh S. V. 4) is to be made on the forehead only if the offender (whether a brāhmana or not) did not perform *prāyaścitta* for those grave sins. Branding with marks appropriate to the crime committed were in vogue in Rome and in Britain up to 1699 (such as the mark of the letter M for murderers, T for thieves &c.). Vide Barnes' 'Story of punishment' p. 62. The Rājatarāṅgīni (IV. 96-106) refers to a case in the reign of king Candrāpīda of Kashmir when a brāhmana guilty of the murder of a brāhmana was exempted from death sentence because of the *smṛti* rule. Manu IX. 241 gives option that a brāhmana (unintentionally) guilty of grave offences may be punished with the middle amercement or he may be banished from the realm keeping all his wealth. The punishments for a brāhmana offender, according to Gaut. XII. 44, were preventing him from doing the same thing again, depriving him of all wealth, taking sureties from him, proclaiming him as a thief in the city banishment, putting on his forehead the mark indicative of his crime. Āp. Dh.S. (II. 10. 27. 16-17)⁶³³ lays down that a brāhmana guilty of murder, theft, forcible seizure of another's land was to have his eyes covered over with cloth for the whole of his life (while a śūdra guilty of any of the three was to receive the death sentence). Vṛddha-Hārīta (VII. 209-210) says that a brāhmana should be branded on the body for all those offences that entailed corporal punishment for other offenders, that he should have his head shaved, that he should be deprived of all his property and banished from the realm. The force of popular feeling on the point of exempting a brāhmana offender from the death sentence was so great that Elphinstone (Governor of Bombay) in Regulation 14 of 1827, sec. IV (cl. 5) exempted brāhmanas and women from death sentence even for murder where public feeling would

633. इदमपि स्तेये धूम्यादान इति स्वान्यादाय वक्ष्यः चक्षुर्निरोधस्त्वेतेषु ब्राह्मणस्य ।
आप ध सू II. 10. 27. 16-17.

be shocked⁶³⁴. It is not to be supposed that this exemption of the brāhmana from the death sentence was unanimous or universal. Kāt. (806) contains this remarkable statement.⁶³⁵ Even a brāhmana deserves to be killed if he be guilty of

634. यत्तु शङ्केनोक्त 'अदण्ड्यो मातापितरौ स्नातकपुरोहितौ परिव्राजकवानप्रस्थौ जन्मकर्मश्रुतशीलाचारवन्तश्च' इति, यद्यपि कात्यायनेन 'आचार्यस्य पितृभर्तृवार्धवाणा नपैव च। एतेषामपराधेषु दण्डो नैव विधीयते' इति तच्छारीरार्थदण्डयोगनिर्देशार्थं न युवदण्डमात्रस्य। स्मृतिच II p 126 Medhātithi: nn Manu VIII 125 makes it clear that the absence of a fine occurs only in the case of a brāhmana who was a first offender, who did not commit the offence with forethought and who was endowed with learning, good family and character. The Sm C II p 124 relying on Manu IX 236 says that a brāhmana could be imprisoned but he could not be subjected to such corporal punishment as cutting off a limb or whipping. The Smṛtis openly regarded the brāhmana's person as sacred and so saved his body. The smṛtis endeavoured to reach the ideal of the rule of law and succeeded to a great extent in doing so. They held that every man, whatever his rank or condition, was subject to the ordinary law of the realm and amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals. The only differential treatment that we find is in the appointment of judges (pp. 272-273), in the order of taking up causes of litigants (p. 298), in the punishment for perjury (Manu VIII 123-124), in the matter of corporal punishment, in abuse, defamation and assault (pp. 395-397), in punishment for adultery, in the repayment of debts and in the punishment for theft, which was severer for a brāhmana. It will be shown below that from the 13th century, as indicated by the Sm C, S. V. and Madanaratna, differential punishments had gone out of vogue. The smṛtis did not, like some modern freedom-loving people, declare the equality of all before the law on paper and in practice indulge in lynching. Further the smṛtis required all offenders of whatever caste to be brought before the same tribunals. Manu VIII. 335 and Yāj. I 358 emphasize that there is none who is exempt from punishment in the king's court whether the person be the king's father or teacher or friend or mother or wife or a son or a family priest or brother or father-in-law or maternal uncle. Sankha-Likhita and Kāt (481) do not say that a king should not punish his parents, his family priest, teacher, near relatives, forest hermits, ascetics. But, as the Sm C. II. p. 126 explains, the real meaning is not that the king is to allow these to escape scot-free, but that he should not inflict corporal punishments or fines on these, but should employ admonition or severe reproof towards them. The smṛtis do not contain rules like those in the Indian Criminal Pro. Code entitling Europeans and Americans in India to claim a jury preponderantly composed of their countrymen and claiming trial only by the High Court or like the privileges of the English Peers to be tried only by the House of Lords for felonies or the doctrine of the benefit of clergy abolished in 1827. Vide H. of Dh vol II. pp. 140-143 and 147-152 about certain privileges of brāhmanas.

635. गर्भस्य पतने स्तेनो ब्राह्मण्यो राजपातने । अदुष्टा योपित इत्यादौ ब्राह्मणोऽपि हि ॥ कात्याय. ५. by विश्वरूप on वा. II. 281.

causing abortion, if he be a thief (of gold) or if he kills a brāhmana woman with a sharp weapon or if he kills a chaste woman'. Kautilya (IV. 11) prescribes that a brāhmana who aims at the kingdom or who forces entrance into the king's harem or who incites wild tribes or enemies (against his king) or who foments disaffection (or rebellion) in forts, the country or the army should be sentenced to death by drowning.⁶³⁶ The fact that Cārudatta, a brāhmana, is represented as having been condemned to death by king Pālaka in the *Mrcchakatika* indicates that the sentence of death against brāhmanas was not entirely unheard of. It appears from Fick's 'Social organisation' &c p. 212 that in many Jātaka passages the execution of brāhmanas is referred to.

The Śāntiparva chap. 268 contains an interesting dialogue between king Dyumatsena and his son prince Satyavat on the subject of the punishment of death, which contains some of the arguments forcibly urged in these days by those that are opposed to capital punishment altogether. The prince pleads that punishment should be light even for grave offences, that when the sentence of death is carried out in the case of robbers,^{636a} several innocent persons (such as the wife, the mother, the son of the condemned man) suffer great loss (and they may die also), that if offenders give themselves up to priests, swear before them that they will never commit sin, they may be let off after undergoing penance, that if great men go astray their punishment should be proportionate to their greatness. The king replies that in former ages when people were most truthful, soft-hearted, and not hot-tempered the punishment of saying 'fie on you' sufficed, then vocal remonstrances and upbraidings sufficed, but in the later ages (of Kali) corporal punishment and death sentence have to be resorted to and that some people are not deterred even by the fear of death sentence.

A few remarks will be made on each of the several modes of punishment. The sentence of death was, acc. to Kām XIV. 16, Śūkra IV. 1 93, to be avoided even in the gravest offences

636 राज्यकायुकमन्तःपुरप्रथर्षकमहव्यमित्रोत्साहकं दुर्गराजदण्डकोपकं वा शिरो-
हस्तपादोपिकं यातयेत् । ब्राह्मणं तमपः प्रवेक्षयेत् । अयं शास्त्र IV. 11

636a दम्बुच्छिदन्ति वै राजा भूयसोऽद्याप्यनागतः । भार्या माता पिता पुत्रो हन्यते
पुरुषेण वै ॥ न मूलघातः कर्तव्यः &c. ज्ञान्ति 268 10-11.

except for the offence of subverting the state.⁶³⁷ Visnu Dh. S. V. 1 provides that all persons except brāhmanas guilty of the mahāpātakas may be sentenced to death. But Manu IX. 236 says that this extreme penalty was to be awarded only if they performed no prāyaścitta. Kaut (IV. 11) prescribes death sentence for causing the death of any one with a sharp weapon. Vṛddha-Hārta (VII 190) prescribes it for incendiaries, poisoners, murderers, robbers, bad characters, rogues and those guilty of grave sins. The death sentence was carried out in various ways such as by giving poison or by trampling at the feet of an elephant, or by a sharp weapon (like a sword), by being burnt or drowned⁶³⁸. Impalement was a punishment prescribed by Manu IX. 276 for thieves guilty of housebreaking by night (after first cutting off their hands), by Yāj II. 273 for those who made another a captive or stole horses and elephants or killed another by the use of force and by Vṛddha-Hārta VII. 202 for the murderer of a brāhmana or for one who killed a woman, a child or a cow. Death sentence by being trampled under the feet of an elephant continued up to the times of the Marathas. The Daśakumāracarita 4th Uucchāsa shows that a thief could be trampled upon by an elephant by way of punishment. Vide 'Selections from Peshwa's Daftar' (edited by Mr. G. S. Sardesai) vol. 43 No. 143 p 114 (dated 7-9-1775 A. D.), where out of seven dacoits of the Berad caste two were ordered to be trampled to death at the feet of an elephant⁶³⁹ and five were ordered to be simply beheaded. Death sentence is said by the Dandaviveka (p. 20) to be simple *suddha*, which is of two kinds, *avacitra* when the offender is beheaded (with a sword), and *citra* or *ucitra* (when the offender is impaled or burnt) and it is *miśra* (when his hands or feet or other limbs are cut off and then he is killed)⁶⁴⁰. Simple death

637. महत्स्वप्नपराधिषु दण्डं प्राणान्तिकं त्यजेत् । क्रते राज्यापहारात् पुकदण्डः प्रशस्यते ॥ काम XIV. 16 This is q. by बृह P 61 verse 346

638 विषेष्ट (?) दन्तिमुज्जगशब्दानलजलादिभिः । पापानां प्राणहरणं यद्यदण्डः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ मानसोद्धार II 20, verse 1287, p 144

639. In 'Pandyan Kingdom' by Prof. K A Nilkaant Sastri p. 224 the sentence for the murderer of a brāhmana is shown to have been that of being tied to the leg of a he-buffalo and being dragged by it

640. The word '*suddha-vadha*' is used by Manu IX 279 and the words '*suddha*' and '*citra*' occur in Kautilya IV. 11 and also in Śānti 85 22 राज्ञो वध चिकीर्ष्यस्तस्य चित्रो वधो भवेत् । आदीयकस्य स्तेनस्य वर्ज्यमङ्गुलि-कस्य च ॥

is prescribed by Manu IX. 271 for those who abet thieves by giving them subsistence, instruments of house-breaking or asylum. If a man of a low caste had sexual intercourse with a woman of a higher caste (with or without her consent) or kidnapped a maiden he was to be sentenced to death (Manu VIII. 366, Yaj. II. 286-288, 294) Vas. XXI. 1-5 prescribed for a śūdra, vaiśya or ksatriya guilty of adultery with a brāhmana woman the horrible punishment of being burnt to death after being respectively covered with *viṇa* grass, with red *darbhās* and *śara* leaves respectively and similar punishment for a śūdra paramour of a ksatriya or vaiśya woman and for a vaiśya paramour of a ksatriya woman. The consenting woman (adulteress) was, acc. to Vas. XXI 1-3, to be shaved, to have her head anointed with clarified butter and to be paraded naked on an ass and left to die on the Great Journey, while, acc. to Gaut. XXIII. 14 and Manu VIII. 371, an adulteress, vain of her charms or the wealth of her parents, was to be openly devoured by dogs, if her paramour was a man of lower caste. Śaṅkha⁶⁴¹ prescribes this punishment (of being devoured by dogs) for a woman's paramour of a lower caste and for the erring woman death by burning. Vṛddha-Hārita VII. 192 prescribes that in the case of a woman who is a confirmed adulteress, or who destroys her foetus, her husband should have her ears, nose and lips cut off and then she should be banished and verses 220-221 prescribe death by being burnt with grass (*katāgni*) for those guilty of incest. These severe penalties for adultery were very much relaxed and softened by later smṛti writers as is shown in H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 571-573. A man who made a breach in the embankment of a lake or tank (and thereby caused it to become dry) may be sentenced to death by drowning (Manu IX. 279) or a woman who was extremely wicked (such as one who killed her own child in the womb) or who murdered a man or who destroyed the embankments of a tank may have a stone tied round her neck and be drowned, provided she be not pregnant at the time of the sentence (Yaj. II. 278). Yaj. II. 279 (= Matsyapurāṇa 227. 200) prescribes death by being gored by the horns of bulls (after the nose, lips, ears and hands are cut off) for a woman who is guilty of poisoning (the food or drink of another) or who is guilty of incendiarism or who kills her husband, elders

641. अथैतः शपनशास्त्रिनं राजा बद्ध्वा नृभिः खादयेत्काष्ठैश्चैनं बधेत् । शङ्ख
quoted by वि. र. p. 396.

or her own child (provided she is not pregnant)⁶⁴². Yāj II 282 provides death by being burnt with the fire of straw for those who set fire to growing crops, houses, forests, village, pastures and threshing floors or who approach the queen Nār. (pārusya, verse 31) prescribes that one who strikes with a weapon the king, even though the latter be at fault, should be impaled and roasted in fire. These examples are enough to convey an idea of the crimes for which the sentence of death was provided in some of the ancient smrtis. Manu VIII 272, Nār (pārusya 24), Visnu Dh. S. V. 24 prescribe the pouring of boiling oil in the mouth and ears of a śūdra who through insolence tries to expound dharma to brāhmanas. Cutting off limbs as a punishment (particularly hands and feet or fingers) was common in the case of thieves, pickpockets and cut-purses (Manu IX. 276-277, Nār., parīśista verse 32, Yāj II 274). Excision of the tongue was the sentence when a śūdra abused a brāhmana or a ksatriya by falsely charging him with some grave sin (Āp. Dh. S. II. 10. 27. 14, Manu VIII. 270, Nārada, pārusya 22), when a śūdra loudly repeated the Veda along with twice-born persons (Gaut XII. 4), when a person abused the king (Nār., pārusya 30), when a person repeatedly proclaimed what was disliked by the king or divulged the secret policy of the king (Yāj. II. 302). Excision of the male organ was prescribed for a śūdra who sexually approached a woman of the three higher varnas (Gaut XII. 2), for any one guilty of the rape of another's wife (Vṛddha-Hārta VII. 201 and also confiscation of all property), for any one guilty of incest or intercourse with mother, mother's sister, paternal aunt, sister,

642 The general rule was that women were not to be killed on any account. Vide H of Dh. vol II, pp. 575, 593-94. Certain offences were exceptions. Even as to them Vas. XXI, 10 and Yāj I. 72 suggest another and very mild alternative viz abandonment (*tyāga*), when a woman conceives from intercourse with a man of lower varna or when a woman was guilty of killing her husband or foetus. Acc to the Mit on Yāj III 268 the king appears to have had to undergo some expiation for ordering the death of a guilty woman. In the 18th century the famous judge of the Peshwa's court, Rāmāśtri Prabhū, ordered a woman guilty of a brāhmana's murder to undergo only the expiation of circumambulating the holy shrine and hill of Tryambakeśvara near Nasik ('Selections from Peshwa's Daftar', vol. 43 No 156 pp. 121-122) Under sec 382 of the Indian Criminal Procedure Code 'if a woman sentenced to death is found to be pregnant, the High Court shall order the execution of the sentence to be postponed and may, if it thinks fit, commute the sentence to transportation for life'.

the wife of an uncle, friend or pupil, daughter, daughter-in-law, teacher's wife, a woman come for refuge, the queen, an ascetic woman, a wet-nurse and any chaste woman or a woman of a higher varna (Nār., *śrīpumsayoga* 73-75) The nose, the ears and the hands were cut off in the case of an offender guilty of selling false gold or forbidden flesh such as that of a dog (Yaj. II. 297). For branding, vide Gaut. XII. 44, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 19, Nār. (śāhasa 10), Manu XI 237 (= Matsya 227. 16), Visnu Dh. S. V. 3-7. The Dandaviveka (p. 47) states that branding was to be resorted to if the proper penance was not performed and if the offence was intentional. Yaj II. 202 provides branding for a gambler using false dice and (II. 294) for persons of the three higher *varnas* having intercourse with a very low caste woman and Dakṣa VII 33 prescribes it for an ascetic giving up his duties. The Rājataranginī mentions (VI. 108-112) that king Yaśaskara (939-948 A. D.) of Kashmir branded on a brāhmana's forehead the mark of dog's foot. Keśavapandita in his Dandānti-prakarana (p. 6) quotes the author of the Vaijayanti (Nanda-pandita) to the effect that the making of marks was to be effected with the juice of the marking nut in the case of brāhmanas and with a red-hot iron *śalākā* in the case of others. In England about a hundred years ago branding for desertion from the army was practised. Manu VIII. 370 prescribes the shaving of the head as a punishment for a woman who pollutes a maiden, Nār. (śāhasa 10) prescribes it for a brāhmana who is not sentenced to death on account of his caste, Śāṅkha-Likhita (q. by Aparārka p. 807) for one who abuses officers, brāhmanas and elders. Megasthenes (Fragment XXVII. p. 72) notes 'If one is guilty of a very heinous offence the king orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree infamous'. Imprisonment for life is prescribed by Visnu V. 71 for striking out both eyes of a man and by Śukra IV. 1. 88 (for repeating an offence more than three times) For imprisonment with labour, vide Śukra IV. 1. 92 and 108-109. Flogging was prescribed⁶⁴³ by Vishnu Dh. S. V. 105 for a woman.

643. The punishment of whipping is allowed in England for several offences; vide 'Laws of England' (ed. by Lord Halsam, vol. IX, pp. 229-230). In India under the Prisons Act (IX of 1894) by section 46 whipping is allowed for certain prison offences and under the Whipping Act (IV of 1909) whipping is awarded for certain offences such as theft, house-breaking, dacoity, rape and for juvenile offenders. In modern times many persons interested in criminology and penology condemn most strongly the sentences of death and whipping. परतन्वास्तु ये केचिद् दासत्वे ये च संनिषदा । अनीयास्ते तु निदिष्टास्तेषां दण्डस्तु ताडनम् ॥ श्रीबालेन्मसकृद्भ्राता दुद्रिणा तु रोमिणाम् । शिफादिलरज्जवाद्यैर्विद्वह्यान्धपातितम् ॥ काल्या. q. 10 स्व. ति. pp. 531-532.

in her monthly course touching intentionally members of the higher castes. It was also prescribed for offenders who were slaves or who were dependents and for women, minors, lunatics, old men, poor men and those suffering from diseases (Kāt). The punishment of banishment was prescribed for brāhmanas guilty of the gravest offences meriting death sentence (Gaut XII. 44, Manu IX. 241, VIII. 380, Visnu Dh S V. 3 and 8, Baud Dh. S. I. 10, 19, Yāj. II. 270). It was often associated with branding. Banishment is also prescribed by Yāj I 339 for officers taking bribes (and also confiscation of all wealth), for a perjured brāhmana witness (Yāj II. 81), for one who embezzles the money of a corporation or transgresses the conventions agreed upon by a guild or village &c (Yāj. II. 187, Manu VIII. 219, Visnu Dh S. V. 167-168), for playing with false dice (Yāj. II. 202 and Nār., dyūtasamāhvaya 6), for a brāhmana guilty of very heinous offences⁶⁴⁴ (Śānti 14. 116) Śukra (IV. 1. 98-108) contains a long list of offenders that deserve to be sentenced to banishment. Confiscation of all property was the punishment for several offences such as the commission of the *mahāpātakas* by persons other than brāhmanas, provided they committed them unintentionally (Manu IX. 242), for perjury, for taking bribes by *sabhyas* (Visnu Dh. S V. 179-180) Nār (prakīrnaka 10-11) provides a humane rule that even when the king orders the confiscation of all the property of an offender he should not deprive the offender of the tools of his trade or the tools of his craft, such as arms in the case of a soldier, materials of art in the case of artisans, ornaments of courtezans, musical instruments of musicians Śāṅkha-Likhita⁶⁴⁵ quoted by V. R p 656 contain a similar provision Enhanced punishment was prescribed for committing an offence again. Visnu Dh. S. III. 93 holds that a king should never pardon or let off a man who is guilty of a second

644. महापातकानि विमं कृताहुं विप्रवासयेत् । शान्ति 14. 116

645. शिल्पिनः कारवः शूद्रास्तेषां स्वभिक्षोरेवपि निरुपेयकारणानि स्वेत् । तदामान-
प्रतिमानसमुत्पानि वणिक्प्रधानां, क्षेत्रधीजमकणोश्चकटकर्षकद्रव्याणि कर्षकाणां, पादपायण-
लङ्कारवासांसि रत्नोपजीविनां, गृहशाल्यालङ्कारवासांसि वेष्टानां, शस्त्राणि धातुधोषनी-
विनां सर्वेषां कारणद्रव्याणि जाह्याणां राज्ञा । अधानिकेण हि उरुया पायद्वाराध्यादि-
पाश्च भवन्ति तेष्वः पापज्ञानायाज्ञा तस्मान्नापनालाह्नकरणान् कुर्यात्सन्मूला हि वृत्तिर्न-
वति । वृत्तिमूलो निवामः । तैत्तिरीयसद्धिः स्वीतं राष्ट्रमुच्यते । शब्दलिखित १ by नि १.
p. 656, which explains 'स्वभिक्षोरेव सर्वभाषद्वारयोगेषु अयस्येष्ट ... यत्न कृदि-
सिद्धिपर्यन्तं कर्षणद्रव्यं दद्यादि'. Compare section 60 (a, b, c) of the Indian
Civil Pro. Code for the property which is not liable to attachment and sale
in execution of a decree.

offence (though a first offender may be let off with a mere admonition). Kaut. IV. 10 states that when a person is a first offender as to theft at a holy place or as a pickpocket or house-breaking from the roof, his thumb and index finger may be cut off or he may be fined 54 panas, for a second offence all fingers may be cut or a fine of 100 panas may be levied; for a third offence the punishment is cutting of the right hand or a fine of 400 panas and for the fourth death in any way the king may direct Manu IX. 277, Yāj II. 274, Visnu Dh. S. V. 136 contain a similar rule Vide Āp Dh. S. II. 10, 27. 11-13 for adultery. If several people conspire together and kill or injure a single man the punishment was to be double of what a single man committing the same offence would receive (Kaut. III. 19, Yāj. II. 221, Visnu Dh. S. V. 73). As indicative of the superstitions of ancient (and even modern) times punishment for witchcraft may be mentioned. Kaut. IV. 4 prescribes⁶⁴⁶ the employment of spies to find out those who profess to use charms for securing illicit love and banish them and adds that persons who are engaged in witchcraft to injure others may be similarly dealt with. In the times of the Peshwas wizards⁶⁴⁷ and raisers of ghosts appear to have been frequent and were severely dealt with by the people themselves by being put to death, but the State generally confiscated the property or cut off the alleged wizard's finger. Up to the beginning of the 18th century even in England wretched old women were frequently convicted as witches and hanged⁶⁴⁸

646 यं वा मन्त्रयोगसूक्तकर्तृभिः इनाशानिकैर्वा सवननकारकं मन्येत त सत्री ब्रूयात् अक्षय्य भार्यां स्तुवा दुहितर वा कामये सा मा प्रतिकामयतामयं चार्थः प्रतिशुद्धतामिति । स चेतथा कुर्यात्सवननकारक इति प्रवस्येत । तेन कृत्याभिचारशीलौ व्याख्यातौ । कौटिल्य IV. 4.

647. Vide 'Selections from Peshwa's records' vol 43 pp. 25-26 about frequent witchcraft in Kolhapur territories (and a wizard of the *mang* caste being impaled), p. 32 (for a woman who was killed as a witch by the Patils without Government orders) and Rao Bahadur Wad's extracts from Peshwa's Diaries vol II p. 7 (for confiscation of Vatan and razing to the ground the house of a ghost-raiser) and vol. VIII p. 147 (for cutting off a finger).

648. Vide e. g 6 State Trials p 647 (a trial of witches held in 1665 A D. before Sir Matthew Hale C. B. who condemned them to death) and 8 State Trials p. 1017 (in 1682) and Stephens' 'History of Cr. Law of England' vol. II. p 435 for numerous cases of trials for witchcraft between 1653 to 1712 A D. Vide Lea's 'Superstition and force' (ed. of 1878) p. 425 as to torture of heretics for extracting confessions expressly allowed by Papal Bulls and pp. 506-507 for torture being allowed in sorcery and witchcraft cases in England up to the 17th century. Vide a very discerning and interesting paper on 'Witchcraft in Ancient India' by Dr. Winternitz in Indian Antiquary, vol. 28 pp. 71-83,

Manu IX. 290 (=Matsya 227. 183) prescribes the very mild punishment of the fine of 200 panas for all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites and various kinds of raising ghosts and goblins. Medhātithi and Kullūka say that if the magic rites are successful the punishment would be that for murder. Br. (S B E. vol. 33 p. 361 verse 16) provides banishment for those who practise incantations with roots.

Kaut. in II 5 prescribes⁶⁴⁹ that a jail should be constructed in the capital provided with separate accommodation for men and women kept apart and well guarded at the entrances. He further provides⁶⁵⁰ that among the duties of the *nāgaraka* is to let out of the jail on the day of the festival of the birth constellation of the king and on the full moon day (of every month) such persons as are young, very old, suffering from diseases and helpless, or those who are charitably disposed may pay the fines or others bind themselves by an agreement to pay in cash the fines for the offences for which the prisoners are jailed (and then the prisoners may be released). The persons jailed may be set free on their working every day or once in five days or by undergoing corporal punishment (whipping &c.), paying fines in cash. Prisoners may be released from jail (as a favour) on the conquest of fresh territory or on the coronation of the Crown Prince or on the birth of a son to the king. In the Delhi Topra Pillar Edict No. IV (Corpus I I vol. I p. 123 and E. I. vol. II. pp. 253-54) Emperor Aśoka promulgates that he gives three days' respite to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death and in the 5th Pillar Edict of Delhi Topra (Corpus I I vol. I p. 126-128 and E. I. vol. II. pp. 258-259) he says that he let off prisoners 25 times in 26 years (which is in conformity with Kautilya's dictum cited above). In the first separate Edicts at Dhauli Aśoka addresses his officers of justice in the capital (*Nagaravyāvahārikāh*) that they should so act that even a single person should not unnecessarily suffer imprisonment or pain. In spite of this if we are to believe Yuan Chwang, Aśoka in his early career was most cruel and had constructed a jail

649. विभक्तस्त्रीपुरुषस्थानमपसारतः सुयुक्तकक्षे बन्धनागारं कारयेत् । कौटिल्य II 5.

650. बन्धनागारे च बालवृद्धव्याधितानाथानां च जातनक्षत्रपौर्णमासीषु विसर्ग-
सुप्यशिलाः समयावृत्तौ वा दोषनिष्कस्य दद्याः । दिवसे पञ्चरात्रे वा बन्धनस्यायं विमो-
क्षयेत् । कर्मणा कायदण्डेन हिरण्याह्वयेण वा ॥ अपूर्वद्वेषाधिगमे सुवराजमिवेचने । पुत्र-
जन्मनि वा मोक्षो बन्धनस्य विधीयते ॥ कौटिल्य II 36.

that was called Hell-prison of *Asoka* (vide Watters, vol. II. pp. 88-90). Manu IX 288 requires that all jails should be so built as to abut on the royal road where the offenders suffering pain and in bad condition would be seen by all (in order to deter others from committing offences). The *Śilappadikāram*, one of the earliest works in Tamil, mentions the release of prisoners on the king's birthday and at the founding of a temple (pp. 38-39 of Mr Dikshitar's translation). Kālidāsa in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*⁶⁵¹ (Act IV) makes the Vidūsaka report to the king, 'the astrologers think that, as the constellation on which Your Majesty was born is in evil aspect now, let all prisoners be released'. Kālidāsa (in *Raghu* 17. 19) alludes to the release of prisoners and the commutation of death sentences at the time of the coronation of king Atithi. The *Brhat-Samhitā* (47-81) states that when the king takes the *Pusyaśnāna* (ceremonial bath on the day on which the moon is in conjunction with the Pusya constellation in the month of Pausa or every month) he may order release except as to those prisoners who were convicted for offences connected with his own person or with the harem.⁶⁵² In the *Mṛcchakatika* (Act X) also various occasions for the release of prisoners are mentioned by the executioner. The *Harsacarita*⁶⁵³ (II. 2nd para) refers to the usage of releasing prisoners at the time of a coronation and on the birth of Harsa (IV.). The prisoners are described in the latter passage as having long beards and as darkened by the accumulation of dirt on their bodies.

Manu IX. 243 enjoins upon the king not to appropriate to himself the property of a man guilty of the *mahāpātaka*s (by way of fine or confiscation) and warns that if he takes it out of greed he is tainted by the guilt of the offender. Manu (IX. 244-45) recommends that such fine may be cast into water as an offering to Varuna (the Lord of waters) who wields sceptre even over kings or may be bestowed on learned and virtuous

651. वैवस्वित्कैर्ब्रह्मापितो राजा । सोपसर्गं वो नडावै सर्वबन्धनमोक्षः क्रियता-
मिति । मालविकाग्निमित्र IV after verse 5, बन्धच्छेदं स ब्रह्मानो बधाहोणामवध्यताम् ।
पुर्णार्ण च धुरो मोक्षमदोहं चादिशद्गवाम् ॥ रघु. 17. 19.

652. बन्धनमोक्षं कुर्याद्व्यस्तरेदोषकृद्दर्शम् । पृहसंहिता 47. 81, on which उपल
remarks 'दृपशरीरे अन्तःपुरे वा येदोषः कृतः &c'

653. अभिनवोदितश्च सर्वस्या पुष्पिण्या सकलकुलमबन्धनमोक्षमकरोत्पद्मपुत्रव्यास-
भ्यः । हर्षचरित II. para 2, मलम्बमक्षुजालजालानानि बहलमलपङ्ककालङ्ककाल
कायानि नश्यतः कालिकालस्य बान्धवकुलानीवाकुलान्यवायन्त शुक्तानि बन्धनवृन्दानि ।
हर्षचरित IV.

brāhmanas, that are lords of the whole world Manu (IX. 246-247) further states that in the country where the king avoids taking the property of very wicked sinners men become long-lived, crops spring up, there is no infant mortality &c.

Generally no one was allowed to take the law into his own hands except as to recovery of debts (which will be discussed below). But Nār. (pārusya⁶⁵⁴ 11-14) contains the following remarkable passage: 'If a *śvapūka*, a *meda*, a *caṇḍāla*, one devoid of a limb, one gaining livelihood by killing animals, an elephant driver, *vṛātya* (i. e. deprived of caste for non-performance of *upanayana*), a slave, one who disregards his elders or spiritual teacher—if these should transgress the limits they must observe towards their superiors, they should be punished then and there by the person offended and the person so doing is not regarded as committing an offence (equal to theft) Should any such low person insult another (who is his superior) that man himself shall punish him and the king has nothing to do with the punishment. These people are like the refuse (*dreṣa*) of humanity and their property also is impure. The king is entitled to inflict bodily punishment (whipping), but he should not inflict fines on them'. The Mit. on Yaj. II. 270 quotes a text of Vṛddha-Manu of similar import and explains that the words 'the king should avoid taking fines' refer to cases of grave offences⁶⁵⁵.

Something must be said about the law of Limitation. In the smṛtis and digests rules of Limitation play very little part for several reasons. As on spiritual grounds, which will be set out under the title of *rnādāna*, not only the debtor, but also his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons were liable to pay a debt (Mit. on Yaj. II. 50), there was no scope at all for prescribing any period of limitation so far as recovery of debts was concerned Unpaid purchase money was treated as a debt. In other matters also the smṛtis and dharmaśāstras, under the influence of religious and other-worldly considerations always lean against

654. श्वपाकमेव चण्डालस्य द्रुष्टुं वधश्चास्ति । हस्तिपद्मात्यहासेषु श्वपाकायादिषु च ॥ मर्यादातिक्रमे सद्यो घात एवाज्ञासासनम् । न च तद्वण्डपादस्ये स्तेयमाहुर्न नीयिणः ॥ एतेन ह्यतिवर्तत नीचः सन्त जनं वृष्टुः । स एव विषये कुर्यान्न तद्विनयभाङ्गं वृषः ॥ मला हेतु मण्डपेषु धनमेवां मलात्मकम् । अपि सान्ध्यातयेद्वाजा नार्थदण्डेन दण्डयेत् ॥ नारद (पारुष्य 11-14). For श्वपाक, मेद, चण्डाल and द्राव्य vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 97, 92, 81, 378 respectively.

655. यश्च नृशृङ्गमनुवचन 'अन्यायोपाचविसत्त्वाद्धनमेवां मलात्मकम् । अतस्त्वाव शत-धेद्वाजा नार्थदण्डेन दण्डयेत् ॥' इति तद्वपि महापरावविषयम् । मिता. on या. II. 270,

allowing mere lapse of time to prevent a man from asserting his just rights. But rarely there were writers who were more secular and laid down periods of limitation. For example, Kaundinya⁶⁵⁶ (quoted in V. Mātrakā p. 341) holds that a debt not claimed for ten years cannot be recovered except when the creditor was a minor or very old or was a woman or was suffering from disease or there was confusion due to invasion or (the creditor or debtor) had left the country. Some important rules on the law of Limitation are set out here in one place :

1. Manu VIII. 148, Yāj II. 24, Gaut. XII. 35, Vas 16. 17, Nār. IV. 79 and others state that enjoyment of immovable property in the presence of the real owner without protest from him causes loss of ownership and ten years' enjoyment of movables under similar circumstances leads to the same result. There are various views on the subject which have already been indicated above (on pp. 322-325).
2. An exception to the above rule is stated to be that no limitation applies to pledges boundaries, deposits, and to the property of minors, idiots, the State, women and brāhmanas learned in the Vedas. Vide Gaut. XII. 35-36, Vas. 16. 18, Manu VIII. 149, Yāj II. 25, Nār. IV 81, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 312 verse 21).
3. As the rules about deposit are extended by Nār. (upanidhi verse 14) to articles borrowed or given to artisans for being worked, and to *anvāhita*, *nyāsa* and *pratinyāsa*, in the case of these also there would be ordinarily no bar of limitation. Vide Manu VIII. 145-146, Yāj II. 58, Visnu Dh. S. VI. 7-8. Here also there are dicta to the contrary. Marici (q. in Sm C II. p 69 quoted above on p. 326) says that cows, beasts of burden, ornaments and the like borrowed in a friendly way would have to be returned (at the latest) in four or five years, otherwise they are lost. Acc. to Vyāsa⁶⁵⁷ this rule would not apply to what is lent to

656 दशवर्षोपेक्षितमुक्तं न ब्राह्मणस्य च बालवृद्धस्यापितपोविद्वेदशत्यागपरचक्रविघ्न-
मेवम् । कोटिः quoted in श्य. मं. p. 341 ; compare the very similar words of
कोटिल्य (III 16) ' यत्तु द्रव्यसन्धेर्मुक्त्यमानं दशवर्षाद्युपेक्षितं क्षयितारय अन्यत्र बालवृद्ध-
स्यापितपोनिमोपेक्षितशत्यागराज्यविघ्नमेवम् । विशतिवर्षोपेक्षितमस्तु वास्तु न. लुप्तजीतः ।
Is कोटिः a misreading for कोटिल्य in the व्यवहारमातृका ?

657. पाश्चात्यमंग यद्भुक्तं ओचित्ये राजपुरुषैः । सुहृद्भिर्बान्धवैर्वापि न तद्भोगेन क्षयते
न्यास in स्मृति- II p 69

friends, relatives, brāhmanas and the servants of the king on their request

- 4 It appears that a period of twenty years was prescribed for avoiding a document on the ground of patent defects by one who had seen it and was affected by it Vide Kāt 298-300 Similarly when a thing is enjoyed for twenty years on the basis of a writing in the presence of an opponent able (to challenge the enjoyment and the writing) then the writing becomes unassailable (even if the witnesses are all dead or there is no other document for comparison). Vide Kāt (299)⁶⁵⁸.
5. A deed settling a boundary dispute becomes unassailable after twenty years Vide Kāt. (301).⁶⁵⁹
- 6 No suit can lie on a document executed beyond thirty years, which has never been seen by any body nor read out (by the creditor to any body) even though the attesting witnesses may be living Vide Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 308 verse 29)⁶⁶⁰.

In the preceding pages we have passed in review the law of judicial procedure, evidence and limitation A careful perusal will convince any unbiassed reader that the Dharmasāstras evolved during the course of centuries an indigenous system of judicial procedure of a high order Nārada, Brhaspati and Kātyāyana represent the high water mark of ancient Indian adjective law These writers flourished before 600 A. D. and the first two of them are probably older by several centuries than that date They present an orderly system providing for the appointment and duties of judges, proper pleadings, the law of evidence and limitation, decrees and their execution, crimes and punishments. This system compares most favourably with any system of judicial procedure prevalent anywhere in the West up to the 18th century A. D.

658. दृष्टे पत्रे स्फुटान् दोषान्नोक्तवाचनिको यदि । ततो विंशतिवर्षाणि स्थितं पत्रं स्थिरं भवेत् ॥ कार्या (298) q by स्य मा p 340, परा मा III p. 136. शक्यं सन्निधावर्थो येन लेख्येन श्रूयते । वर्षाणि विंशतिं यावत्तत्पत्रं दोषवर्जितम् ॥ कार्या 299 q. by मित्ता on या. II 24, अपरार्क p 690, स्य मा p 340.

659 सीमाविवादो निर्णयि सीमापत्रं विधीयते । तस्य दोषा. प्रवक्तव्या यावद्वर्षाणि विंशतिः ॥ कार्या 301 q by मित्ता on या II 24, अपरार्क p. 691, परा मा III p 136.

660 लेख्यं त्रिंशत्समाप्तमदृष्टाभ्याचितं च यत् । न तस्मिन्निमेषामेति निष्ठस्तयि हि साक्षिषु ॥ बृह. q by अपरार्क p. 692, स्य मा p. 340.

CHAPTER XVI

CONTRACTS

There are only three titles of law, viz. recovery of debts, the relation of husband and wife (*stripuṃśayoga*) and partition of wealth (*dāyabhāga*) that are of importance to modern Hindus, since to a very large extent they are even now governed in these matters by the ancient Hindu Law as interpreted by the commentators. These three topics therefore have to be described in detail while other titles will not and cannot be allowed to occupy much space. In almost all smrtis and digests of Hindu Law *rnādāna* (recovery of debts) is treated of first. Therefore here also that subject will be taken up first. A good deal of the matter falling under the title of the relation of husband and wife has already been dealt with in the 2nd volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra pp. 427-636. The topic of *dāyabhāga* will be dealt with last of all, the other topics being taken up in the same order as in Manu. Many of the *vyavahārapadas* are concerned with the law of contracts in various aspects, viz. the contract of debt, of pledge or mortgage, of bailments, of sale, of partnership, of hire and service.

Our writers do not set out with an analysis of the conception of contract in general. They had before them the ancient 18 titles of law, many of which related to various kinds of contracts and therefore they take up one title after another, in the order contained in Manu or in Nārada (as the Sm. C II. p. 206 expressly says). But it is not to be supposed that they did not evolve certain general principles about contracts. They do say a good deal about the competence of persons to enter into contracts, about fraud vitiating all contracts, about damages for breach of contract &c. Similarly the dharmaśāstras do not lay down a general Code of rules applicable to all transfers of immovable property, nor do they treat of transfers by way of sale, mortgage or gift in separate sections. What they have to say on these transfers is tacked on to some *vyavahārapada* e. g. they speak about sales and exchanges of land under *asvāmi-vikraya* and *śimāvivāda*, about gifts under *dattapradānika* and about mortgages under *rnādāna*. As this work has to represent what the ancient law was like the same

arrangement has been followed here. Similarly the law of crimes is not to be found in one place. It is scattered under different titles of law such as *vākpārusya*, *dandapārusya*, *sāhasa*, *strisangrahana* and *steya*; nor is there a complete analysis of intention or motive or of the right of private defence, although all these subjects are briefly dealt with in the *smṛtis* in different places

A great deal has been said by ancient writers about what persons are competent to enter into transactions (*vyavahāra*). The *Arthasāstra* (in III. 1) ⁶⁶¹ has a lengthy disquisition on it. Briefly, it holds that dependent persons, minors, extremely old people, those charged with grave sins, *sannyāsins*, persons who are devoid of a limb and those who are addicted to vices (like drinking and whoring) are incompetent and agreements made with such people are invalid. Among dependent people Kautilya mentions a son when the father is alive (and manages the affairs), a father when he has a son (who manages the family affairs), a brother who has left the family, a younger brother whose share has not been separated, a woman whose husband or son is alive, a slave or a hired servant. He states that these may enter into binding agreements if those on whom they are dependent authorize them to do so. He further says that contracts made by persons that are at the time of making them intoxicated or are under the influence of wrath or are distressed or are of unsound mind or under duress (imprisoned or confined) are invalid. Yāj (II. 31-32) concisely puts down the same propositions by saying that all transactions brought about by force or fraud should be declared (by the king) to be unenforceable, so also those entered into by women or the other persons specified above or entered into at night, or in the interior of the house or outside the town or village (in a forest &c.) or with one's enemy or by persons unconnected with or unauthorized by the persons who are to be bound by them ⁶⁶² Manu (VIII 165 and 168) also declares that all transactions (such as sale, mortgage, gift) brought about by force or fraud are

661. अपाश्रयवाञ्छिश्च कृताः, पितृमता पुत्रेण, पित्रा पुत्रवता, निष्कुलेन भ्रात्रा, कामि-
ष्ठेनाभिभक्तांशिनः, पतिमत्या पुत्रवत्या च स्त्रिया, दासाहितकाभ्याम्, अप्राप्ताततिव्यवहारा-
भ्याम्. अभिशप्तमज्जितव्यङ्ग्यसनिभिश्चान्यत्र निवृत्त्यवहारैः. : तत्रापि क्रुद्धेन, त्वेन
मत्तेनोन्मत्तेनापयुहेतिन वा कृता व्यवहारा न सिध्येयुः। अर्थशास्त्र III. 1.

662. It should be noted that the rules of Kaut and Yāj are in remarkable agreement with sections 11 to 19 of the Indian Contract Act (IX of 1872)

null and void. Nār. IV. 26-42 treat this subject⁶⁶³ exhaustively. Some of Nārada's dicta are interesting. He says: 'in this world three are independent viz. the king, the Vedic teacher and the head of the house in his own house (32). Wives, sons and slaves are not independent; the head of the house has independent power as to what belongs to him by inheritance (34).' Kāt. (497) also prescribes that one should not give a loan to women, minors or slaves. When the texts say that women are incompetent to make contracts, what is meant is that they cannot make contracts binding on their husbands or family or against the family property. Women are not inherently incompetent to deal with their own separate property except that the husband has some control (these matters will be discussed at length later on under *stridhana*). Another proposition laid down by Yāj II 23, Nār. IV. 97, Kāt. (517) and others⁶⁶⁴ is that in all transactions relating to a debt or any other title of law the last act is the deciding factor; but in the cases of gift, pledge or purchase each prior transaction (of gift &c.) is of superior efficacy to the succeeding one.⁶⁶⁵

After the establishment of British rule in India during about 150 years numerous publications dealing with Hindu customs and usages and the Hindu law of debts, contracts, adoption, family rights, partition and inheritance have been published. It is impossible to give an exhaustive list of these nor is it necessary to do so. Most of them have now only an academic or historic interest. But a few of them must be mentioned for their worth, for purposes of study and for a knowledge of the modern Hindu Law as administered by the British Indian courts. They are: Bannerjee's 'Hindu Law of Marriage and *stridhan*'

663 The Vyavahāramātrikā p 288 quotes five verses as from Kaundinya which are almost the same as Nārada IV. 29, 30, 39, 34, 40 respectively. The learned editor does not notice this

664 यद्व्यापदिषु सर्वेषु बलवत्सु स्यात् क्रिया । प्रतिग्रहाधिकृत्यैषु पूर्वा पूर्वा बलीयसी ।
नारद IV 97 , आपण्डिक द्वयोर्यस्तु कुर्यात्का प्रतिपद्यते । तयोः पूर्वकृत ग्रह्य तत्कार्यं चैरे-
वष्टभाङ्ग ॥ कात्या 517 q by स्मृतिच II. p. 144, वि र p. 35, स. वि p 237

665. For example, if A establishes that he lent a sum to B but if the latter establishes that he repaid the amount, this later fact of repayment is decisive of the dispute if A files a suit for recovery of the money. If A mortgages a field to B for a loan and then mortgages the same field to C, the mortgage of B, being prior is superior to that made in favour of C. The same principle is laid down in section 48 of the Transfer of Property Act (IV of 1882).

(5th ed. of 1923); Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law, which is a translation of Jagannātha's Vivādabhangārnava (3rd ed. of 1864, Madras); the several volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer and the Gazetteers of the other provinces and the Imperial Gazetteer of India; A. Ghosh's 'Law of endowments' (2nd ed., 1938); Dr. Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures on Partition, Inheritance and Adoption and *Recht und Sitte* translated by Prof. Batakriahna Ghosh (1928); Mayne's Hindu Law (10th ed. of 1938), Mulla's Hindu Law (9th ed. of 1940), K L Sarkar's 'Mimamsa rules of interpretation'; G. C. Sarkar's Hindu Law and Hindu Law of Adoption (2nd ed. 1916); Raykumar Sarvadhikari's 'Principles of the Hindu Law of Inheritance' (2nd ed. 1932), Dr. P. N. Sen's 'General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence' (1918); Steele's Law and custom of Hindu castes in the Deccan (London, 1868), Stoke's Hindu Law Texts (a work constantly quoted by the Courts and the Privy Council) containing English translations of the Mitākṣarā, the Dāyabhāga, the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Dattakamīmāṃsā, the Dattakacandrikā, the Dāyākramasangraha; West and Buhler's Digest of Hindu Law.

The idea of the liability to pay off one's debts was developed in India in the most ancient times. In Rg VIII. 47. 17⁶⁶⁶ the poet exclaims 'Let us drive away the evil effects of bad dreams as we pay off debts'. In Rg X 34. 10 (the gambler's lament) it is stated that the gambler, because he owes a (gambling) debt, is afraid and approaches the houses of others at night, desiring wealth⁶⁶⁷. This indicates that a debtor was afraid of being detained by his creditor in those days. Rg. VIII. 66. 10 indicates that money-lenders made a stipulation to receive double of what they lent, 'Indra strikes by his power all pams who make representations of taking double'.⁶⁶⁸ The Ait Br 33 1 (*nam-asmin san-nayati*)⁶⁶⁹ employs the very verb 'san-nayati' which occurs in Rg. VIII. 47. 17. The Atharvaveda VI 117. 3 and Tai Br III 7. 9. 8 contain the same verse about a man being free from the obligations of this world, the next

666 यथा कलां यथा शर्कं यथ कर्णे सनयामसि । एवा पुनर्वच्यं सर्वमाप्ये स नया-
मस्येदसो व जतयः सुजतयो व जतयः ॥ ऋ. VIII 47 17

667. कृणावा विम्यञ्चनमिच्छमानोऽप्येषामस्तद्वपनकमेति । ऋ X 34 10.

668 इन्द्रो विश्वाव वेकनादौ अर्द्धंश्च उत क्रत्वा णीरति ॥ ऋ VIII 66 10
The word वेकनाद is very like a *prākṛit* word

669 जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्कणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः
प्रजया पितृभ्य एव वा अर्द्धं यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचरिवासी । हे स VI 3 10 5. कणम-
विमं सनययपुनर्यत् च गच्छति । पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येच्चैजीवतो ह्यस्य ॥ दे. भा. 33. 1.

world (of pits) and the third world (the world of gods).⁶⁷⁰ The Tai. S. (III. 3. 8. 1-2) uses the very word 'kusida', which occurs⁶⁷¹ in the Dharmasūtras and smṛtis (for money-lending) when it says, 'O Agni! whatever debt has not been paid back by me, the tribute that I owe to Yama, here do I make return of it; may I be freed from that debt!'. The Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 3. 11 associates *kusidin* with black magic in the Pāriplava. The Nirukta (VI. 32) while commenting on Rg. III. 53. 14 explains the word 'Pramaganda' occurring therein as 'one who is born of a family that is extremely usurious'.⁶⁷² Pāṇini employs the technical word 'uttamarna' (creditor) in his sūtra 'dhārer-uttamarnaḥ' (I. 4. 35), he speaks of 'ādhamarnya' (the position of a debtor) in II. 3. 70 and the word 'pratibhū' occurs in Pāṇini II. 3. 39, the word 'vṛddhi' (interest) in V. 1. 47. Pāṇini (IV. 4. 31) derives the words 'kusidika' and 'kusidikin'. It is noteworthy that Pāṇini does not derive or mention the word *vārdhuṣka*, which is employed by even Āp. Dh. S and Baud. Dh. S and which is derived by Kātyāyana (the grammarian) in Vārtika 3 on Pāṇini IV. 4. 30, in which Pāṇini refers to such words as 'dvaigunika' or 'traigunika' which were applied to people that carried on the condemned methods of money-lending viz. extorting twofold or threefold of the money lent (the sūtra is 'prayacchati garhyam'). Brahmanaspati is spoken of as 'one who recovers a debt (*ṛnam-ādudh*)' in Rg. II. 24. 13 and the Ādityas as those 'who, themselves being the observers of *ṛta* (the universal Law of Right), collect⁶⁷³ debts' (Rg. II. 27. 4). In Rg. VIII. 32. 16 it is said that those priests who extract (and offer) Soma juice do not indeed owe a debt (to the gods). Divodāsa is said in Rg. VI. 61. 1 to have been the gift of Sarasvatī to Vadhyaśva as a son to pay off debts (*ṛnacyutam*).⁶⁷⁴ These passages certainly establish that in the remote ages of the

670. अहृणा अदिमन्नृणाः परस्मिन् वृत्तये लोके अहृणाः स्याम । ये देवयाना उक्त पितृभागाः सर्वान्पथो अहृणा आ क्षीयेम ॥ तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 9. 8, अथर्ववेद VI. 117. 3 (with very slight variations)

671. यत्कुसीदममतीक्ष्णं मयि येन यमस्य बलिना चरासि । इद्वैव सन्निरवदये तदेतत्तदग्रे अहृणो भवामि ॥ तै. सं. III. 3. 8. 1-2, अथर्ववेद VI. 117. 1 closely agrees

672. मगन्दः कुसीदी माहृदो मामागमिष्यतीति ददाति तदपत्यं प्रमगन्धः अत्यन्त कुसीदिकुलीनः । निरुक्त VI. 32.

673. दीर्घाधिपो रक्षमाणा अनुषसृतावानश्वयमाना ऋणानि । ऋ. II. 27. 4

674. इयमद्वाद्भमसृणञ्चुत दिवोदासं वध्न्यश्वाय दाञ्जये । ऋ. VI. 61. 1

Rgveda it was a firm belief that men were under obligations to gods and pitrs, which could be fulfilled only by worship (yajña) and by the birth of a son. These passages contain the germ of the doctrine of the three religious and spiritual debts that a man owed to gods, Manas (pitrs) and sages, which he paid off by sacrifices, by the birth of a son and by vedic study (vide Tai. S VI 3 10. 5, Śat. Br. I 7. 2. 11 and Ait. Br. 33. 1 quoted in H. of D. vol II. pp. 270, 560 notes 621 and 1302 and above n 669). Gradually further universal obligations came to be added to this theory of spiritual debts. The Ādiparva (120. 17-20) holds that men owe four debts, viz the three vedic ones and the fourth to humanity in general (which is paid back by goodness to all) and Anusāsana 37. 17 raises them to five (adding brāhmanas and guests to the well-known three)⁶⁷⁵. It appears to me that this theory of spiritual debts being already in the air, the same sanctity came gradually to be transferred to one's promises to repay monetary debts and carry out other secular engagements. The word *ṛna* had been applied both to spiritual and secular debts. It is on account of this that the son was not only desired for repaying the spiritual debt owed to one's ancestors, but he was also expected to free his father (if the father could not himself repay the monetary debt) from the liability he incurred to his creditor. Nār. IV. 5-9 puts this clearly and most emphatically : " fathers desire to have sons for their own benefit thinking in their heart ' he will release me from liability to creditors and debtors ' (or probably ' from high or low debts ' i. e. spiritual and earthly debts). Three deceased (ancestors) must be honoured (by a man) and he must subsist on three (descendants) that come after him. These (the first three) series of ancestors rely (for repayment) of their twofold debts (spiritual and secular) on the fourth in descent. If a man fails to pay on demand a debt or promised gift that sum (by the addition of interest) goes on growing till it amounts to a hundred crores and when a hundred crores are reached he is born again and again in the house of his creditor as a slave in order to repay the debt (by his labour). If an ascetic or a brāhmana perpetually keeping the sacred fire (*agnihotra*) dies

675 ऋणैश्चतुर्भिः संयुक्ता जायन्ते मानवा सुवि । पितृदेवर्षिमनुजैर्देवं तस्यश्च धर्मतः ॥
.. यज्ञैरहं देवान् प्रीणाति स्वाध्यायतपसा सुवीर्य । पुत्रै आद्वैः पितृभ्यापि आदृशस्त्वेन मान-
वान् । आदिपर्व 120 17-20, ऋणमुत्तुच्य देवानामसुषीणा च तथैव, च । पितृणामथ
विप्राणामतिथीनां च पञ्चमम् । अष्टशासन 37. 17

without discharging his debts, the whole merit due to his austerities and the perpetual tending of fire belongs to his creditors".⁶⁷⁶ Kat. (551, 591) expresses the same idea but adds that a debtor who has not repaid money borrowed may be born as a slave, a servant, a woman or a beast in the house of his creditor. It was this belief that led to the doctrine of the pious obligation of the son to pay off his father's debts even if he received no property from the father.⁶⁷⁷

Nārada IV. 98 defines 'kusīda' in a rather obscure verse as 'the receiving of money paid in consequence of the original (amount advanced) and the profit (agreed to be paid) thereon and those are called kusīdā who maintain themselves by this occupation'. Brhaspati (S. B. E 33 p. 320 verse 2) derives⁶⁷⁸ kusīda as 'that is called kusīda, which is taken fourfold or (even) eightfold without any qualm (by a person) from a wretched man who is sinking (or distressed)'. Nār IV. 110 defines vārdhusa as the interest (in kind) on grain,^{678a} but Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 18. 22 and Baud. Dh. S. employ the word 'vārdhusika' and Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 10 has a verse in which the word vrdhu occurs. Vas (II. 41-42 = Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 93-94) quotes

676 पुजनीयास्तयोर्विता उपजीव्यास्तयोऽग्रतः । एतत्पुत्रवत्तन्मनसृणयोः स्यात्त-
दुपके ॥ तपस्वी चाग्निहोत्री च ऋणवान् श्रियते यदि । तपश्चैवाग्निहोत्रं च सर्वं तद्धनितो
धनम् ॥ नारद IV 6 and 9 ; पितृणां सुखमिर्जातं दुर्निर्वाधमावृणात् । विमोक्षस्तु यतस्त-
स्माद्विच्छन्ति पितरः सुतान् ॥ उज्ज्वारदिकमादाय स्वामिने न ददाति यः । स तस्य दासी भृत्यः
स्त्री पशुर्वा जायते गृहे ॥ कात्या. 551, 591, quoted by Sm' C pp 168 and 161, परं.
मा III. pp 261 and 263, स्य प्र p 277. Dr Jolly's translation of Nār IV 6
(S B E 33, p 43) 'three must be revered before the rest' does not
seem to be correct. What Nār. means is that a man has to offer worship in
śrāddha to three ancestors while he himself depends upon (upajīvyāstrayaḥ)
his three descendants for the pinda (they offer). Upajīvyā does not mean
'to be revered' but 'to be subsisted on'. The Sm C II p 161 notes
that the verse 'tapasvi &c' (Nār IV 9) occurs in a Purāna

677. स्थानलाभनिमित्तं हि दानग्रहणमिष्यते । तत्कुसीदमिति शोकं तेन । वृत्तिः
कुसीदिनाम् ॥ नारद IV. 98, The वि चि explains: स्थानमभरणं मूलधनस्य
तस्मिन्तस्यैव लाभो वृद्धिस्तदर्थं दानग्रहणम् । 'देवद्वयं दीयत इति दानं इति श्रुत्योः
तस्य ग्रहणमधमर्गेन' निवाद्चन्द्र p 2

678 कुसिवात्सीदितश्चैव निर्विशङ्कैः प्रगृह्यते । चतुर्थेण चाष्टम्युं कुसीदाकथमतः
स्युतम् ॥ बृहस्पति Q. by स्य म. p 167, मदनरत्न

678a. इतिस्तु शोका धान्यस्य वार्धुषं तदुदाहृतम् । नारद IV. 110.

two verses: 'a vārdhusika (usurer) is one who taking cheap grain lends it on condition of receiving a quantity of grain of high price and is condemned among the *brahmanavādins* (students of the veda) Brāhmana murder and usury were weighed in a balance; the murderer of a brāhmana rose to the top while the usurer trembled'. Here usury of the type of the one described in Vas. II 41 (and not all lending of money at interest) is condemned as a great sin Gaut. XII 26, Vas II 50, Kaut III 11, Manu VIII 140-141 and others declare it righteous (dharma) moneylending when an 80th part is stipulated as the interest per month.⁶⁷⁹

Megasthenes (fragment XXVII B p. 72) states: 'The Indians neither put out money at usury nor know how to borrow,' but he is under some misapprehension, for he again says (p 73) 'one who is unable to recover a loan or deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blame himself for trusting a rogue'.

Nār. IV. 1 states that the principal topics under the title of *ṛṇādāna* are seven: what debts must be paid and what not; by whom, where and in what manner (they are to be paid); and the rules about advancing the loan and receiving it back. The first five of these relate to the debtor and the last two to the creditor. Brhaspati (S. B. E. 33 p. 320 v 4) says that interest (*vrddhi*) is described to be of four kinds by some, of five kinds by others and of six kinds by still others. Nār. (IV 102-104) names four kinds and defines them, viz *kāṇṇā* (interest that is stipulated by the debtor himself), *kāṇṇā* (interest accruing and payable every month), *kāṇṇā* (interest of a *pana* or quarter, *pana* to be paid every day without the principal being liable to be reduced, whatever interest may have been recovered), *akāṇṇā* (interest on interest called compound interest). Manu VIII 153 mentions these four and commentators thereon give varying interpretations. Brhaspati (S. B. E. 33 p 321 verse 6) and Vyāsa (q by Sm C II p 154) define *kāṇṇā* as interest received from the body i. e. milk received from a cow pledged or the work put in by a slave or by a bull pledged. Br (S. B. E. vol 33 p 321 verses 7-8)

679 कुसीद्वृद्धिर्भ्यां विज्ञाति. पञ्चमायिकी मासम् । गो XII 26, सपादपण्य
धर्म्या मासद्वि पण्यस्य । कौटिल्य III. 11.

adds two more varieties viz. *śikhāvṛddhi*⁶⁸⁰ (hair-like interest i. e. interest payable every day and so growing every day, just as the top-knot on one's head grows every day) and *bhogalābha* (profit by enjoyment i. e. making use of a house or taking the produce of a field in lieu of interest in the case of a mortgage). Gaut. (XII. 31-32) mentions the six, but instead of *bhogalābha* he uses the word '*ādhabhoga*', which is defined by Kāt. (501) as a transaction in which the complete enjoyment of the thing pledged or mortgaged is to be the interest Kāt. (498-500) defines *kārita*, *śikhāvṛddhi* and *bhogalābha*

Br. (S B E 33 p. 319 verse 1) states⁶⁸¹ that the creditor should always advance a loan after taking an adequate pledge or a deposit (with a mutual friend) or a reliable surety and after committing the transaction to writing or making the loan in the presence of witnesses. The interest may be either stipulated (*kṛta*) at the time of the loan or not stipulated (*akṛta*), as indicated in Visnu VI 4. Yāj. II 38 and Visnu Dh. S. VI 3 state the general rule that debtors of all castes may pay to creditors of all castes the interest settled by mutual agreement and the rate of interest stipulated may be with reference to an

680 वृद्धिश्चतुर्विधा योक्ता पञ्चधाभ्यैः प्रकीर्तिता । पद्धविधास्मिन् समाख्याता तद्वत्तत्तां निचोद्यत ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच II p 154, च्यव नि p 224 (reads पद्धविधाभ्यैः); काविका कर्मसंयुक्ता नासत्राया तु कालिका । वृद्धेर्वृद्धिश्चकवृद्धिः कारिता ऋणिना कृता ॥ प्रत्यहं गृह्यते या तु शिक्षावृद्धिस्तु सा स्मृता । गृहाचोषः (स्तोमः v 1) शब्दः क्षेत्रान्द्रोणलाभः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ बृह. q by अपराक p 642, स्मृतिच II p. 154, परा मा III. pp. 220-221; च्यव नि p 225 ascribes these to नारद; शिक्षेव चर्षते नित्यं क्षिरभृते दाक्षिण्यते । मूले दत्ते तथैवैषा शिक्षावृद्धिस्ततः स्मृता ॥ कात्या in हरदत्त on गौ. XII. 32 and स वि p 233, आधिभोगस्त्वनेषो यो वृद्धिस्तु परिकल्पितः । प्रयोगो यत्र चैव स्यादाधिभोगः स उच्यते ॥ कात्या. q by स्मृतिच II. p 154, वि. र p. 12 वि चि p 4.

681 परिपूर्णा गृहीत्वार्थि बन्ध वा साधुलभकम् । लेख्यास्तु साक्षिमहा ऋणं दद्याद्धनी सद् ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच II 135, परा मा III p 220, 'परिपूर्णा सद्धिक्कमूलद्रव्य-पर्याप्तमित्यर्थः' स्मृतिच II p 135 The words *ādhi* and *bandha* are treated as synonyms by the Amarakośa and by Br. (S. B. E vol 33 p 323 verse 17) himself The difference made by some between the two is this: *ādhi* is a pledge or mortgage of a chattel or immovable property to the creditor himself (with possession or without), while *bandha* consists in placing in the hands of a mutual friend a thing belonging to the debtor in order to inspire confidence (in the creditor). 'निवक्षित बन्धशब्दस्यार्थमाह नारदः । निक्षेपो मित्रवत्तस्यो बन्धो विश्वासकः स्मृतः ॥ इति । ' नारद q by च्य म p 224 The च्य. म. (p 166) defines *bandha* as an undertaking by the debtor that he would not alienate by sale, gift or mortgage the house, land or other property of his until the debt due to the creditor is paid off This is clearly an hypothecation without possession, वाचनावकाशं न शोध्यते तावदेतद्गृहक्षेत्रादीर्दानविकयाधिकरणायच न करिष्यामीति निर्बन्धो बन्धः । विश्वासहेतुमित्रवत्तस्यो निक्षेपो बन्ध इत्यर्थः । मदनरत्न (च्यव. ms).

article pledged or with reference to a surety given or with reference to a debt totally unsecured. Though this was the general rule, Manu VIII 153 and Br condemn taking even agreed interest if it exceeds the rates (to be specified below)⁶⁸² allowed by the smrtis or taking the agreed heavy interest for more than a year or taking compound interest or more than double the principal or the capitalization of interest. The smrtis lay down various rates of interest from different points of view Gaut XII 26, Yaj. II 37, Baud. Dh S I 5. 90-91, Manu VIII, 140 (=Nār IV. 99), Br (S B E vol 33 p 320 v. 3), Vṛddha-Hārīta VII 235 and others state the rule first laid down by Vasistha that it is just and proper to take every month $\frac{1}{80}$ th part of the principal lent, so that the principal is doubled in six years and eight months,⁶⁸³ and Viddha-Hārīta adds

682 भोगो यद्द्विगुणार्द्धं चक्रवृद्धिश्च श्रूयते । मूलं च सोऽयं पञ्चाह्वयुषं तच्च गतेत्यम् । दृष्टं quoted by विं चि p 6 which says द्विगुणाधिकवृद्धिश्च दृष्टं द्विगुणं पुद्गलात् स ए मूलमेकीकृत्य मूलत्वेनैव तद्ग्रहण एतन्नय निन्दितमिति शुहरत्नाकर. Vide p 445 of शुह र This verse occurs in विं र p 14 which says that such actions are condemned, but if a Shylock insists on his agreement he can and does recover compound interest and so on, 'तद्वायुष्य विगर्हितम्, अघर्माय तद्भयति न तु भोगाधिकं तत्त लभते एव तन्नाभत्य तैस्त्वैवैवोयमात्' This shows that the ancient sages were quite alive to the hardships of debtors and the evils of usurious interest. They condemned usury as a greater sin than even the murder of a learned brāhmana Vide Baud Dh. S I 5. 93 and Vas II 40-42 quoted above on pp 417-418

683. कुसीदवृद्धिर्धर्म्या विज्ञातिः पञ्चमापिकी मासम् । गो XII 26, पञ्चमापिकी विज्ञात्या एवं धर्मो न हीयते । अस्मिन् II 50, वैश्य. कुसीदमुपजीवेत् । पञ्चविंशतिस्त्वेव पञ्चमापिकी स्यात् । श्री ध सू I 5. 90-91. पुराणपञ्चविंशत्या मासे अष्टपणा वृद्धि । एव पद्भिर्मासेष्वनुभिर्वत्सरद्विपर्यागत सन्तिष्ठते । एषा धर्मवृद्धिर्नानया धर्माच्च्यवते । हारीत q by शुह र p 447, which explains पुराणनिह षाडशपणा एण काकिणीचतुष्टयम् । Should we not read एवं सहमासकै in the quotation from Hārīta? Gaut and Vas provide that five māśas were the interest on 20 *panas* per month and if we are to suppose that they accepted the rule that $\frac{1}{80}$ of the principal sum was the proper rate of interest (as ascribed to Vasistha by Manu VIII 140, Nār IV 99 and others), then the pana, acc to those two, must be equal to 20 māśas (i e 100 *raktikās*), while acc to Baud the pana would be equal to 16 māśas. When Hārīta says that 8 *panas* are the monthly interest on 25 *purāṇas* (which were silver coins and each of which weighed 32 *raktikās*) and that in 4 years and 2 months the interest on 25 *purāṇas* at 8 *panas* per month came to be as much as the principal, it follows that a *raktikā* of silver was 40 times as valuable as a *raktikā* of copper ($8 \times 80 \times 50 = 32000$ divided by 800) But this does not agree with what Śukra states (note 162 above) Probably the relative values of gold, silver and copper varied from age to age, according to the supply of some or all of these metals from foreign countries

that double the interest stated above may be taken when there is nothing pledged to secure the debt. Yāj and Vyāsa provide that this rate is the proper one when some thing is pledged or mortgaged by way of security. Yāj. II. 37, Manu VIII. 142 (=Nār. IV. 100), Visnu Dh S VI. 2 provide an option that two, three, four or five per cent per month may be charged as interest in the order of the *varnas*⁶⁸⁴ (i. e. 2 per cent per month for a brāhmana debtor and so on) Yāj. II. 37 allows these rates only if there is nothing pledged by way of security Vyāsa⁶⁸⁵ (in Par. M. III. p 221) provided that the monthly rate of interest was $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the principal lent when a pledge or mortgage was given as against the loan, $\frac{1}{8}$ th when only a surety was offered and two per cent per month when money was lent on personal security. The Anuśāsanaparva 117.20 condemns to Hell those who take exorbitant interest. Kaut. prescribed (as stated in n. 688) fines for taking heavier interest than that allowed by him Kāt (498) provides that if a debtor himself stipulates a higher rate of interest than is allowed by the sūtra in times of difficulty (in order to induce the creditor to part with his money) that stipulated interest must be paid but a rate of interest imposed by the creditor otherwise (by force &c.) should not be enforced by the Court⁶⁸⁶ It is probable that these rates are specified because of the economic conditions of those times which proved too much even for the ancient sages or different mercantile usages about interest prevailed in different countries at different times, as expressly stated by Nār. IV. 105-106 that⁶⁸⁷ these high rates (including eight per cent per month) had to be paid according to the law merchant in different countries Manu VIII. 141 (=Nār. IV. 100) holds that to take two per cent per month (on unsecured debts) is not improper In medieval times also the rate of interest was rather high e. g. interest at 25 per cent is said to have been

684. विश्वरूपेण वा II 39 quotes a sūtra of Bṛ for raising the rate of interest according to the *varna* of the debtor (पादोपचयान्तरमेतदप्यम्)

685. सवन्धे भाग आसीत. पादो भाग. सलक्षणं। निराधारे द्विकशत मासलाभ उदाहृत. ॥ व्यास q. in परा म. III p 221, वृ प 227

686. ऋणिकेन तु वा वृद्धिरविका संयकल्पिता । आपत्कालकृता मित्य वृत्तव्या कारिता तु सा । अन्यथा कारिता वृद्धिर्न वृत्तव्या कथंचन । कात्या 498 q by स्मृतिच II 154, कुरल्लोक on मनु VIII 153, वि र p 10 The वि र explains ऋणिकेन तु स्वकायतया अङ्गीतभागद्विकशतादिरूपवृद्धिसौधिका वृद्धिर्व्यवस्थापिता सा कारिता सा च तत्र देया. अन्यथा तेन व्यवस्थापिता यत्नेन स्वीकारितापि न देया ।

687. या देशरिपतिस्त्वस्या यत्रार्णमवतिष्ठते । द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं वापि तथान्यत्र चतुर्गुणम्, तथाष्टगुणमन्यस्मिन् देयं देशोऽवतिष्ठते ॥ नारद IV. 105-106.

charged on a deposit of six *gadyānas* kept with the *mahājanas* of Śivapura (vide Yewur Ins. in E. I. XII. p. 273) Yāj. II. 38 provides that those debtors who carry on trade by traversing dense forests and those who are sea-faring traders should respectively pay 10 per cent and 20 per cent per month and the Mit adds that these exorbitant rates are allowed because of the great danger of the loss of even the principal as the debtors may perish by ship-wreck or from the attacks of robbers and wild beasts. Manu VIII. 157 leaves the rate of interest in the case of seafaring merchants to those who are clever in these matters and who know the proper time and place Kaut. (III. 11) states⁶⁸⁸ that the prescribed (*dharmya*) rate of interest is 1½ *pana* per cent per month, but in transactions (or in commercial usage) it is five *panas* per cent per month (as the highest, it appears), that those who traverse forests and those who carry on maritime trade should pay respectively ten and twenty per cent per month, that those who exceed or induce creditors to exceed these rates should be punished with the first amercement, that each of the witnesses to such usurious transactions should be punished with half of the above fine

Other rules laid down in the *smrtis* relate to the maximum that can be recovered by a creditor from a debtor at one time All are agreed that the creditor cannot recover at one time from the debtor for principal and interest more than double of the money lent Vide Kaut. (III 11), Manu VIII 151, Gaut XII 28, Yāj II 39, Visnu Dh VI 11, Nār IV. 107, Kāt (509) This is called the rule of *dvagunya*⁶⁸⁹ in the *smrtis* and of *dāmdhupat* in modern times It will be explained in detail a little below As regards the interest in kind on articles lent there is some difference of opinion, which need not be gone into in great detail Manu VIII 151 and Gaut XII 33 state that on loans of grain, fruits, wool and beasts of burden, and products like ghee and milk had from cattle the total recoverable cannot exceed in any case five times of what is lent Yāj II 39 states

688 सवावृणया धर्म्या मासद्वि. पणशतस्य । पञ्चपणा व्यावहारिको । दशपणा कान्तारकाणां । विंशतिपणा सामुद्राणां । तत परे कर्तुं कारयेदुक्तं दूरैः साहसद्वयं । ओतृणामेकैक प्रत्यर्धद्वयः । अर्थशास्त्र III 11

689 चिरस्थाने द्वैगुण्यं प्रयोगस्य । सौ XII 28. हिरण्यस्य परा द्विर्द्विगुणा । विष्णुध. VI. 11. चिरप्रवासः संस्तम्भयविष्टो वा मूलद्विगुण दद्यात् । कौटिल्य III 11. कुसीद्विर्द्विगुण्यं नात्येति सकृद्वाहता । मनु VIII 151 There is another reading सकृद्वाहिता

that in the case of cattle and female slaves when loaned their progeny is the profit, in the case of liquids (like oil and ghee) when loaned the maximum recoverable is eightfold and in the case of clothes and grain it is respectively four and three times Vas. II 44-47 says the maximum recoverable at one time in the case of grain, flowers, roots, fruits and fluids (like oil) is three-fold and eight-fold in the case of things that can be weighed Vide Visṇu Dh. S VI. 12-15 Visṇu VI 17 (*amuktāntām daḡunā*) provides that where no special rule is laid down the maximum recoverable is to be only double of what is lent Kāt. (570-572) states⁶⁹⁰ that the maximum recoverable in the case of precious stones, pearls, corals, gold, silver, fruits, silk, wool is double of what is loaned; of oils, liquors, ghee, raw-sugar and salt and land eight-fold, of baser metals five-fold Vide Br. (S B E vol. 33 p. 322 verses 13-16) and V Nirṇaya p 229 (quoting Bharadvāja) for similar provisions.

The rule of what is called *dāmdupul* in modern times expressed laconically by Manu VIII. 151 and Gaut XII 28 is this that 'the amount of principal and interest recoverable' at one time in a lump sum cannot be more than double of the money lent' As a debt was recoverable not only from a man himself but also from his three descendants and as therefore there was practically no period of limitation for bringing a suit for money lent, creditors had great temptations to allow interest to go on increasing Therefore the sages who condemned the profession of usury and particularly waiting long for the increase of interest⁶⁹¹ laid down that whatever the length of time during which the principal was at interest and whatever the rate of interest might have been, the creditor could recover by suit in a lump sum only double of the money lent This acted as a great

690 मणिमुक्तामवालानां सुवर्णरजतस्य च । तिष्ठति द्विगुणा वृद्धिः फलकैटाविकस्य च । तैलानां चैव सर्वेषां मद्यानामथ सर्पिषाम् । वृद्धिरष्टगुणा ज्ञेया शुद्धस्य लवणस्य च ॥ कुट्टये पञ्चगुणं घृनिस्तथैवाष्टगुणा मता । कात्या. q in स वि pp 228-230, वि. र pp 17, 19 (first two), स्प. म p 170. The वि र p 17 accounts for this divergence as follows. 'वृद्धस्यतिना धान्ये चतुर्गुणत्वमुक्तं विष्णुमरीचिवसिष्ठहारीतेश्च त्रिगुणत्वमुक्तं तद्वाधमर्णापकुष्टगुणत्वमरपगुणत्वोत्कुष्टगुणैर्यवैरथा महार्हसमानार्धधान्यके कालदेशभेदेन वा भवत्यथा ।

691 एवं च वृद्धिपरिमाणनं वृद्धिगुरुत्वे अधर्माधिक्यमातिपादनार्थम्, अतिपीडाकर-त्वात् । अधर्मस्तु कलायव्ययमात्र एव विष्ठा पार्थुषिकस्याप्तामिति निन्दन्नात् । चिरत्वापने विशेषविधानाच्च । विवादचन्द्र p. 2

check on the creditors' rapacity. Several propositions are laid down in the Mit.,⁶⁹² the Vyavahāramayūkha and other digests that graft exceptions on the general rule, and that flow from the interpretation of Manu VIII. 151 in both readings. The first modification is that if interest is received every day, month or year and is not claimed in a lump sum at one time then the total interest received by a creditor may be even several times more than the principal lent Br. provides (S B E. vol. 33 p. 321 verse 11) that every day interest or bodily interest and *bhogalābha* may be taken by the creditor (irrespective of the question of *dvaiguṇya*) as long as the principal is not paid⁶⁹³ (2) Further, if after the interest has accumulated for some time, there is a fresh agreement with the same debtor whereby the sum lent together with interest due is taken as the principal and interest is agreed to be paid on the amount so arrived at, then the total recoverable after this fresh agreement may exceed double the original sum lent. Manu (VIII 154-155) and Br (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 331 verse 60) allow such a fresh agreement. But if the debtor does not make a fresh agreement then the rule of *dāmdupat* would apply. (3) If after the sum due to the creditor has become double of the principal lent, the creditor accepts another man as the debtor (who takes the liability on himself), then the creditor may recover from the substituted debtor after the lapse of years an amount which may be more than double of the sum originally lent (4) If the debtor pays a part of the principal or if the creditor makes a concession (called '*reka*' in the Mit on Yaj II 39) and reduces the total recoverable or if the debtor receives an additional amount of money (called '*seka*' in the Mit) and it is added to the original amount borrowed and a fresh agreement is made between the parties to put the whole to interest, then the rule of *dāmdupat* would not apply

692 एतच्च सकृत्प्रयोगे सकृदाहरणे च वेदितव्यम् । पुरुषान्तरसक्तमणेन प्रयोगान्तरकरणे तस्मिन्नेव वा पुरुषे अनेकशः प्रयोगान्तरकरणे सुवर्णादिकं द्वैगुण्याद्यतिक्रम्य पूर्ववदर्थते । सकृत्प्रयोगेपि प्रतिदिनं प्रतिमासं प्रतिसवत्सरं वा वृद्ध्याहरणोऽधमर्णे वेपथ्यं द्वैगुण्यसम्भावपूर्वाद्दत्तवृद्ध्या सह द्वैगुण्यमतिक्रम्य वर्धते एव । मिता on वा. II 39

693 शिक्षाद्वयं कायिकां च भोगलाभं तथैव च । धनी तावत्समादद्याद्यात्मनः न शोषयेत् ॥ बृह. प. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 161, परा मा III. p. 230, विवादचन्द्र p. 2.

The rule of *dāmdupat* has been acted upon by the courts in India in modern times⁶⁹⁴. Though under the Transfer of property Act before its amendment in 1929 there was a conflict of decisions, since 1929 it is settled that the rule of *dāmdupat* does not apply to mortgages governed by the Transfer of Property Act. But the rule is so reasonable and humane that the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act (XVII of 1879) has made (by sec. 13) the rule of *dāmdupat* applicable to all agriculturists as defined by the Act, whether Hindus or non-Hindus; and the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act (of 1939), sec. 42, the Madras Debt Conciliation Act (XI of 1936, sec. 16) do the same.

A loan has to be returned on demand if no time is fixed for repayment or on the expiry of the time (if one has been fixed by the parties) or when interest ceases on account of becoming equal to the principal (Br. in S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 328 verse 47) Interest stops when on the debtor offering to pay the loan the creditor refuses to accept it and the debtor deposits the money in the hands of a third person (Gaut. XII. 30, Yāj. II. 44). With Yāj. II. 44 section 84 of the Transfer of Property Act (IV. of 1882) may be compared. Vas. II. 49 states the remarkable rule that interest stops the moment the king dies and begins to run only after the coronation of the successor.⁶⁹⁵ Nār. II 39

694 Vide *Balkrishna v Gopal* I L R 1 Bom. 73 (where it was held that the rule of *dāmdupat* should not be extended to apply to the amount recoverable in execution of the decree of a civil court), *Nanchand v Bapusaheb* I L R 3 Bom. 131 (held that the rule of *dāmdupat* does not apply when the defendant is a non-Hindu), *Gopal v Gangaram* I L R 20 Bom. 721 F B (the rule is excluded from mortgages the terms of which necessitate the existence of an account between the mortgagor and the mortgagee in possession about the rents and profits), *Sundarabai v Jayawant* 1 Bom L.R. 551, 555 (rule applies between all Hindu debtors and creditors both in respect of simple as well as mortgage debts), *Khumsy v Chumilal* 21 Bom. L. R. 419 (by agreement interest which does not exceed the principal may be capitalized) It is interesting to find that in ancient Egypt the legal maximum rate of interest was thirty per cent and it was forbidden to allow interest to increase beyond the double of the principal Vide Wilkinson's 'Manners and Customs of the ancient Egyptians' (First Series), 1842, vol. II p. 50. Usury was condemned in ancient Egypt, among the Jews (vide Psalm XV. 5, Ezek XVIII 8 and 17, Lev XXV. 36-37) and by the ancient Greeks (as more heinous than even the murder of a brāhmana, H. of Dh. vol. II. p 124 n 269).

695. राजा ह सुतभावेन द्रष्टव्यं विनाशयेत् । पुनः राजाभिषेकेन द्रष्टव्यं च वर्धते ॥ बसिष्ठ II. 49.

(S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 33) provides that no interest runs on the price of commodities, on wages, on a deposit, on a fine, on what has been idly promised (to bards and the like) and on the stake won in gambling, unless there is a special or express agreement to pay interest.⁶⁹⁶ Kāt. (508) has a similar verse,⁶⁹⁷ but adds hides, crops, liquor, bride-price and suretyship debts to some of those mentioned by Nār. Kaut. (III. 11) provides that no interest runs where the debtor is a person engaged in a Vedic sacrifice of long duration, or is suffering from a disease or is staying at his teacher's house (*gurukula*) for study or is a minor or is a man without any substance. As regards some cases where originally a thing is lent to a person out of friendship or because he asked a loan of it, Nār. (IV. 108) and Kāt. (502-505) lay down certain rules which are quoted in the Mṛt. (on Yā, II. 38) and other works. Nār. (IV. 108) prescribes⁶⁹⁸ that no interest ever attaches to things loaned through friendship, unless there is an express stipulation to that effect; but even in the absence of a stipulation interest starts running after the expiry of six months. Nār. IV. 109 and Kāt. (505) both lay down that a loan (of money or an article) made through friendship cannot begin to earn interest as long as no demand is made for its return. If the debtor refuses to return it after it is demanded interest begins to run at the rate of five per cent. Kāt. (502-504)⁶⁹⁹ lays down three propositions about *yācātaka* (a temporary loan of money or of an article). (1) When a person takes such a loan and goes to another country without

696. पण्यमूल्यं भृत्यन्यासौ दण्डो यज्वाह्वारकम् । वृथादानाक्षिकपणा वर्धते नावि-
बाक्षिताः ॥ नारद II 36, मिता on या II 38, परा मा III p 224, य न p 169
read दण्डो यज्वा प्रकल्पितः वि चिं p 7 reads यज्वाभिहारिकम् (what is appropriated
by fraud or force), अवहारकम् is translated by Jolly as 'what is abandoned
by one and found by another' (S B E 33 p 33).

697. चर्मसस्यासवद्यत्ते पण्यमूल्ये च सर्वदा । स्त्रीछुल्लकेषु न वृद्धिः स्वात्मातिमा स्या-
नतेषु च ॥ कात्या. (508) q. by स्मृतिच II, p 157, परा मा. III p 225, वि. र p. 20.
दीर्घसत्रस्याधिगुह्यकुलोपपदं बालमसार वा नर्णमदुर्वर्तत । कौ III 11

698. न वृद्धिः प्रीतिदत्तानां स्यादनाकारिता कश्चित् । अनकारितमप्यूर्ध्वं वत्सराध-
दिवर्धते ॥ नारद IV 108, which स्मृतिच II p 156 explains 'अनाकारिता अकुत्रा ।
प्रीतिदत्तानां प्रतियत्नमतिदानदिननिर्देशादुत्पन्नानामिति शेषः ।' प्रीतिदत्तं तु यत्किञ्चित्
सहर्षपयाचितम् । याच्यमानमदुर्ध्वं वेद्वर्धते पञ्चकं शतम् ॥ नारद IV. 109

699. यो याचितकमादाय तमदत्त्वा द्विजं ब्रजेत् । ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्तस्य तद्वनं वृद्धिमाप्नु-
यात् ॥ कृत्वोद्ध्वामदत्त्वा यो याचितस्तु द्विजं ब्रजेत् । ऊर्ध्वं मासत्रयात्तस्य तद्वनं वृद्धिमाप्नु-
यात् ॥ स्वदेशेऽपि स्थितो यस्तु न दद्याद्याचितः कश्चित् । न ततोऽकारिता वृद्धिमनिरुक्त
च दाययेत् ॥ कात्या. (502-504) q. by मिता. on या. II. 38, वि. र. pp 15-16,
स्मृतिच II. p. 156.

returning it, that loan begins to acquire interest after a year from the date of the loan (though no demand be made); (2) if a person after taking a loan goes to another⁷⁰⁰ country without returning it even when pressed by the lender to return it that loan begins to acquire interest three months (after demand); (3) when the borrower of a thing does not return it even though he is pressed to return it, the king should make him pay interest from that day (i. e. day of demand), though it was not agreed upon, though he remained in the country and though he be unwilling to pay interest. The Madanaratna says that in these cases where no interest is settled beforehand and where the texts do not specify the rate (as Kāt. 505-506 do viz. what is lent through friendship, a deposit, balance of interest, unpaid purchase money, if not returned on demand, begin to carry interest at five per cent per month), the rate of interest would be the one stated by Yāj. II. 37 (viz. 1/80th per month) and Visnu VI. 4. (*akrāmāpi vatsarāṭhikramena yathāvhitām*).

*Ādhi*⁷⁰¹ means pledge of a movable or mortgage of immovable property. Nār. IV. 117 remarks⁷⁰² that in lending money an *ādhi* and surety are the two sources that inspire confidence (in the creditor that his money will be safe) and a document and witnesses are the two modes of proof that will establish (the existence of a debt). An *ādhi* is so called because the creditor is authorised to wield power over it or it is placed within his power (Nār. IV. 124 and Mit. on Yāj. II. 58)⁷⁰³. The

700. Compare Visnu Dh S. VI. 4. with the first proposition. Pāṇini (IV 4. 21) derives *yācitaka* (in the sense '*yācitena nirvṛttam*') In *Saundaranāṭha* v. *Shivbasava* 31 Bom. 354 Mr. Justice, Chandavarkar translates (at p. 361) Nār. IV. 108 and Kāt. (502-504), discusses the explanations of those passages by the Mit on Yāj. II. 38 and holds that these incidents are even now applicable to contracts of debts by Hindu debtors and that neither the Interest Act (XXXII of 1839) nor the Indian Contract Act affects the ancient Hindū Law. It should be noted that 31 Mad 250 and 53 Mad 549 at p. 579 dissent from this view.

701. For an illuminating discussion on pledges, vide Dr Sen's 'Hindu Jurisprudence' chap VI pp. 176-206

702. विश्रम्भहेतुं द्वावत्र मतिभूताभिरिव च । लिखितं साक्षिणश्च द्वे प्रमाणे व्यक्ति-
कारके ॥ नारद IV 117.

703. आधिर्नाम गृहीतस्य द्रव्यस्योपरि विश्वासार्थमधमर्णेनोत्तमर्णोऽधिक्रियते आधी-
यत इत्यपि । यथाह नारदः—अधिक्रियत इत्याधिः इति । त्रित्तः on या. II. 58.

word *ādhi* occurs in Āp. Dh. S I. 6 18, 20⁷⁰⁴ (which includes among those who are unfit to be invited at a *śrāddha* 'one who subsists on *ādhi*'). Gaut. XII. 29 also refers to *ādhi*. Kaut. (III. 12) briefly deals with *ādhi* and after stating some rules extends the principles of *upanidhi* (deposit) and debt to it. Manu VIII. 165 employs the word '*ādhamana*' in the sense of 'mortgage'. According to Br.⁷⁰⁵ (S B E. vol. 33 p. 323 verse 17) an *ādhi* is of four kinds viz. of movable property, of immovable property, *gopya* (to be kept in custody of the pledgee only), *bhogya* (to be enjoyed). Nār. IV. 124 first divides *ādhi* into two sorts, viz. one that is to be redeemed within a certain time fixed (by agreement at the time of contracting the debt) or to be retained till the debt is paid off and Nār. IV. 125 again subdivides each of these two into *gopya* and *bhogya*. This latter division was known to Gaut. XII. 32, Manu VIII. 143, Yaj II. 59, Kat. (576). The subdivisions of *ādhi* are made from several points of view viz. the nature of the property, the form of the pledge, the mention or non-mention of a period and the evidence to establish it. The Mit. on Yaj. II. 58 explains⁷⁰⁶ that the first kind of *ādhi* mentioned in Nār. IV. 124 contains the conditions that the money will be repaid at a fixed time and that if the money be not so paid at the time fixed the thing pledged or mortgaged will belong to the creditor. Yaj. II. 58 sets out three provisions viz. (1) when a time is fixed for payment, the thing pledged or mortgaged is lost to the debtor if the time fixed is allowed to pass without there being any repayment (whether it be an *ādhi* that is to be merely kept or whether it is one to be enjoyed); (2) but if no time be fixed the thing given as security is not lost

704. ये च शस्त्रमजीवन्ति । ये चाधिष् । भिषक् । बाधुषिकः । आप. ध. सू. I. 6 18 19-22 हरदत्त explains *आधि* here 'as rent of a house,' because *बाधुषिक* occurs a little later. But that sense is very rare and besides hardly any *smṛtikāra* has condemned the letting out of one's house for rent. It is better to take *ādhi* as pledge or mortgage and hold that *vārdhnsika* refers only to those who lend corn in order to take 1½ times as much (or more) after the rainy season as defined by Nār. IV., 110 quoted above (on p. 417).

705. आधिर्बन्धः समारुपातः सं च शोक्तव्यत्तुर्विधः । जङ्गमः स्थावराश्चैव गोप्यो भोग्यस्तथैव च ॥ बृह. प. by चयव. नि. p. 233, चय. म. p. 171; आधिक्रियत इत्यधिः स विज्ञेयो हिलक्षणः । कृतकालोपनेयश्च पावद्देयोद्यतस्तथा ॥ स पुनर्हि विधः शोको गोप्यो भोग्यस्तथैव च । नारद IV. 124-25.

706. कृते काले आधानकाले एवास्तु विमृत्वा काले दीपोत्सवादौ मयावमाभिर्नोक्तयोऽन्यथा तत्रैवाभिर्नोक्तयोऽस्ति । एवं निरूपिते काले उपनेयः आत्मसमीपं नेत्यो मोक्षमीय इत्यर्थः । देयं दानं देयमनतिक्रम्य पावद्देयमुद्यतो निवृतः स्थापितः इत्यर्थः । पावद्देयमुद्यतो पावद्देयोद्यतः दुहीतदनमर्त्यपेणावधिरनिरूपितकाल इत्यर्थः । मित on 'वा. II. 58.

to the debtor at all, when it is an *ādhi* that is to be enjoyed; (3) if no time is fixed and the *ādhi* is only to be kept (*gopya*) then it is lost to the debtor only if it is not redeemed even when the debt has grown to double of the principal by non-payment of the interest agreed upon. There is a period of fourteen days' grace after this, as stated by Br. (S. B. E.⁷⁰⁷ vol. 33 p 324, verses 27-28) that when the principal has been doubled or the stipulated period in the case of a pledge delivered for a certain time only has expired, the creditor becomes the owner of the pledge, after waiting for a fortnight during which the debtor may repay the debt and redeem his property. Gaut. XII. 29, Manu VIII. 143, Yaj. II. 58, Visnu Dh. S. VI. 5 provide that an *ādhi* which is mortgaged with the condition that the fruit or profits are to be enjoyed bears no interest nor can the creditor, even after keeping such an *ādhi* for a long time, make a gift of it or sell it. Medhatithi on Manu VII. 143 holds that a mortgagee with possession who is to enjoy the produce cannot, by virtue of the last quarter of Manu VIII. 143, make a sub-mortgage (called *anvādhi*). Kullūka on⁷⁰⁸ the other hand says that it is common practice in all countries for a mortgagee to execute a sub-mortgage of land and the like and that Manu VIII. 143 does not forbid it. Prajāpati⁷⁰⁹ (q. by Par. M. III. p. 242) defines a deed of sub-mortgage: 'if the creditor pledges to another the thing already pledged to him for the same amount (for which it was pledged to him) he should pass a fresh deed of pledge (or mortgage) and should hand over the former deed to his own creditor.' It appears that sub-mortgages came to be recognized rather late. Bharadvāja states that if a sub-mortgage be effected without the mortgagor's consent, the mortgagee would lose his money.

707. हिरण्ये द्विगुणीकृते पूर्णे काले कृतावधेः । बन्धकस्य धनी स्वामी द्विसप्ताहं प्रतीक्ष्य च । तदन्तरा धनं दत्त्वा ऋणी बन्धमवाप्नुयात् । बृह. q. by मित्त. on वा. II. 58 Compare the description of mortgage by conditional sale in sec. 58 (c) of the Transfer of Property Act (of 1882).

708. अत इह निसर्गोऽन्यत्राचारं विक्रयसाहचर्यात् । सङ्गुप्तौ हि नै केनाधिपक्षेन । मेधा० on मनु. VIII. 143, मेधातिथिरोविन्दराजौ तु आधेयश्चिरकालेऽवस्थानेपि न निसर्गो बान्धव बन्धकेनार्पणमिति स्यात्प्रकृते । अत्र तु सर्वदेशीयशिष्टाचारविरोधः, बन्धककृत-दूष्यादेरन्यत्रार्पणसमाचारात् । कुल्लूक on मनु. VIII. 143.

709. धनी धनेन तेनैव परमार्थं नयेद्यदि । कृत्वा तदाधिलिखितं पूर्व चास्य सम-पयेत् ॥ प्रजापति q. by स्वामिच. II, 143, परा. मा. III. 242, स्व. म. p. 26; 'अयं बान्धवार्थिनस्य द्वेगुण्ये सति संप्रतिपत्तौ तु द्वेगुण्यादुर्बाण्ये दृष्टव्यः' परा. मा. III p 242; स्वामिना बान्धवज्ञात आधेयार्थं करोति चेत् । स्वधनात्स तु हीनः स्वात्करोत्यापदि पूर्ववत् ॥ भरद्वाज in स. वि. pp. 234-235.

The general rule was that an *ādhi* (whether of movable or immovable property) that was *bhogya* carried no interest but the profits were to be taken in lieu of interest (vide *Kāt* 516)⁷¹⁰ and the debtor would in this case get back his property on paying the principal. *Kaut* (III 12) states⁷¹¹ that immovable property mortgaged may be such that it can be enjoyed only by expending labour over it or without expending one's own labour the creditor may enjoy the fruits or income thereof. But as noted by *Vyāsa* and *Bharadvāja*⁷¹² the stipulation about a *bhogya ādhi* may be that the income from the property is to be taken as in payment of the whole interest and part of the principal. This latter is called *sapratyaya-bhogyādhi* and the other variety where the income is taken in lieu of interest only is called *apratyaya-bhogyādhi*. The *Mit.* on *Yāj.* II. 64 after citing a text of *Brhaspati* refers to these two varieties (though it does not use these terms) and adds that if the income is not sufficient to meet the interest wholly then the debtor may have to pay the principal and the unpaid part of the debt before redeeming his property. The *Mit.* (on *Yāj.* II. 64) states that the appropriate name '*ksayādhi*' is given by the people to what is called (above) as *sapratyaya-bhogyādhi*. *Bharadvāja* states that on taking an account (where there is an agreement to apply the income towards interest and reduction of the principal) if the creditor has been overpaid he is to restore the overpaid amount to the debtor and that if a portion of the principal remains unpaid the debtor has to repay it.

If a man first mortgaged his property and then sold it, the purchaser took it subject to the rights of the mortgagee (*Vasistha* quoted by *Sm. C* II. p 145). If a person executed a mortgage, a sale and a gift of the same thing on the same day, then the

710. इत्थं गृहीत्वा वृद्धस्य भोगयोगं वृद्धाति चेत् । जङ्गमं स्थावरं वापि भोग्याधिः स तु कथ्यते । मूल्यं तद्विलिखित्वा स्वक्षेत्रादिकमाप्नुयात् । कात्या. 516 q. by स्वयं, नि. p. 242, स वि. p. 234, which says that this is अमृत्ययभोग्याधिः.

711. स्थावरस्तु प्रयासभोग्यः फलभोग्यो वा । कौटिल्य III. 12.

712. अत्र भोग्यो द्विविधः समृत्ययभोग्याधिः अमृत्ययभोग्याधिश्चेति । सवृद्धिकं मूल्यापाकरणार्थं यः स समृत्ययभोग्याधिरित्युच्यते । वृद्धिमात्रापाकरणार्थं च. सोऽमृत्ययभोग्याधिरित्युच्यते । तत्र समृत्ययभोग्याधिमाह व्यासः । काञ्चिद्वृद्धिं समाभास्य द्रव्यमादाय तत्रतः । मल्लोर्ध्वं शुद्धं वृद्ध्यर्थमधिकं मूलनाशनाम् । इत्यधिः प्रत्ययाधिः स्याद्वैद्येन निष्क्रयो भवेत् । ... अत्र भरद्वाजः । ... यत्तु तत्राधिकं वृद्धेर्द्वयं वृद्धिर्न द्वयः । दीनं यावत् तद्वृद्धे तावत्सम्भूयेद्विणी ॥ स. वि. pp. 233-234. vide स्वयं नि. pp. 242-243 from which S. V. appears to have borrowed.

donee would take one-third of the thing and the mortgagee and purchaser would share the remaining two-thirds in proportion to the money paid by each⁷¹³. If a person was liable to pay several debts, some secured by a pledge or mortgage and some taken on personal security, the latter were to be paid first and redemption of the mortgage was to be ordered afterwards, according to Bharadvāja (q. by Vy. Nir p. 245).

The restriction that more money should not be taken from the sub-mortgagee than what was advanced to the mortgagor was for the benefit of the latter. The Par. M. (III. p. 242) provides that a sub-mortgage can be made only when the amount due has risen to double the principal, but that if the owner consents a sub-mortgage may be made even before that contingency arises.

Kāt. (522) requires that an ādhi becomes valid when such particulars as the boundaries of the field or house and the village (in which it is situated) are specified⁷¹⁴. Kāt. (518) further provides that a writing of pledge or sale or gift is superior to a similar transaction made in the presence of witnesses only. If the same field or other thing is mortgaged or pledged to two persons separately, Visnu Dh. S. V. 185⁷¹⁵ and Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 326 verse 34) prescribe⁷¹⁶ that the one who got possession first (without force) is entitled to preference. This shows that under ancient Hindu Law possession was nine points of law and that hypothecation without delivery of possession was known to Kāt. and other smṛti writers, even if earlier smṛtis did not recognise an hypothecation without possession. Yāj. II. 60 and Nār. IV. 139 emphatically assert that a pledge or mortgage becomes perfect or effective only if there

713. यं पूर्वतरमाधाय विक्रीणाति तु तं पुनः । किमेतयोर्बलीयः स्यात्प्राक्तनं बलवत्तरम् ॥ कुर्वन् यत्रैकादिवसे दानाधमनविक्रयम् । अयाणामिति सन्देहे कथं तत्र विचिन्तयेत् । अथोपि तद्धनं धनैर्विभजेयुर्यथाशक्तः । उभौ क्रियास्तारेण विभागेन प्रतिग्रहः ॥ इति । वसिष्ठ q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 145, स वि. p. 238-239, Br quoted by both has similar verses

714. मयादाचित्कृतं क्षेत्रं गृहं वापि यदा भवेत् । यामादयश्च लिख्यन्ते तदा सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् । कात्या q. by स. वि. p. 236. Compare sections 21 and 22 of the Indian Registration Act

715. ययोर्निक्षिप्त आधिरस्तौ विवदेतां यदा नरो । यस्य श्रुतिः फलं तस्य बलात्कारं विना कृता ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 185; परा मा. III. 233 reads जयं for फलम्.

716. क्षेत्रमेक द्वयोर्बन्धे यद्धत्ते समकालिकम् । येन श्रुतं भवेत्तुर्वै तस्य तत्सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् । बृह. q. by परा मा. III. p. 233, स्मृतिच II p. 144; vide a similar verse of वसिष्ठ quoted in मय स. p. 173.

is enjoyment and not otherwise. This is to be taken along with Yāj. II. 23 and so the first in time shall prevail only if the first is accompanied with possession. If a sale or mortgage be made before witnesses to one man and in writing to another, the latter prevails over the former⁷¹⁷. If a debtor were to pledge or mortgage the same thing to another after pledging it to one and without redeeming the first debt, Visnu Dh. S. (V. 181-182) prescribed⁷¹⁸ the drastic measure of corporal punishment (whipping or imprisonment) if the land mortgaged was a *gocurma* or more in extent or a fine of 16 *suvarnas* if it was less. Kāt (517) in similar circumstances made the debtor liable to the fine imposed on a thief. Kāt. (519-521 q. in Sm. C. II pp 144-145 and V. P. pp. 240-241) states that in a competition between a document of pledge which does not give particulars of the thing pledged or which refers to a thing not existing at the time and a document in which the thing pledged is described with particulars or in which the thing existed at the time the deed was executed, the latter is entitled to preference; similarly the pledge of a thing specifically described is superior to a prior pledge of all the debtor's property mentioned in general terms.

If an *ādika* deteriorates⁷¹⁹ in value (i e. becomes inadequate to meet principal and interest) or if it be lost or destroyed though proper care be taken thereof by the creditor, then the debtor must either pledge another adequate thing (in substitution) or the debtor should return the amount due (Yāj II. 60, Kāt 524). The Mit on Yāj. II. 60 remarks that it follows from this that it is the duty of the pledgee to take proper care of the thing pledged. Br. (S B E 33 p. 323 verse 19) expressly says

717 आधानं विक्रयो दानं लेख्यसाक्ष्यकृतं यदा । एकक्रियाविरुद्धं तु लेख्यं तत्राप-
हारकम् ॥ कात्या (518) q. by परा मा III 235, स्मृतिश्च II p 144, स वि प. 237.
Compare Kāt. 518 with sec 48 of the Registration Act which provides that
a document relating to movable or immovable property shall prevail over an
oral agreement or declaration unless the latter is accompanied or followed
by delivery of possession.

718 गोचर्ममात्राधिका शुभमन्यस्याधीकृतो तस्मादनिर्मुक्त्यान्वयस्य च प्रयच्छेत्त
वध्यः । ऊना चेत् षोडशसुवर्णान् दण्ड्यः । विष्णु V. 181-182 गोचर्म is variously defined:
समहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद्वन्धा निवर्तनम् । दश तान्येव गोचर्मं दत्त्वा स्वर्गे गहीयते ॥ बृहस्पति-
स्मृति 8 q. by मिता on या I 210 and अपराकं p. 367. विष्णु V 183 एकोऽश्वीयाद्
यदुत्पन्नं नरं संवत्सरं फलम् । गोचर्ममात्रा सा क्षौणी स्तोका वा यदि वा बहुः ॥ Vide also
पराशर XII 49, बृहद्गीतम् p 539, अपराकं p. 1225 for other definitions.

719. अधीकृतं तु यत्किञ्चिद्दिनं दैवराजतः । तत्राग्रे सोढ्यं दाप्यो धनिनामधनार्थकः ॥
न चेद्भूतनिकदोषेण निपटेद्वा श्रियेत वा । आधिमन्यं स दाप्य. स्वाह्वान्मुच्येत नृणिकः ॥
कात्या 523, 524 q. by स्मृतिश्च II. pp. 137, 138, वि र p. 26-27.

that the pledge has to be kept carefully like a deposit, as otherwise interest is forfeited in case of its being damaged. If a pledge which is to be kept only is enjoyed by the creditor, then the interest stops and if it deteriorates or is lost the creditor has to restore it to its former condition or substitute another of equal value; if a pledge to be enjoyed is lost or deteriorates by use then also the interest stops; and the creditor has to restore it, otherwise he will lose his principal (Yāj II. 59 and the *Mit* thereon, Nār. IV. 125, 127). If a pledge is lost without any fault or negligence of the creditor, but through fate (i. e. accidents like fire or flood) or the action of the king, the debtor has to furnish another pledge or to pay the amount due (Kāt. 523, Nār. IV. 126, 130, Yāj. II. 59, Visnu Dh. S. VI. 6, Gaut. XII. 39, Br., S. B. E. 33 p. 323 verse 21). From the time of Gautama⁷²⁰ (about 500 B. C.) onwards the rule about the care required of a pledgee, bailee, depositee was the same viz. that he is to take of another's property kept with him as much care as he would take of his own. Nār. (*nikṣēpa* 14) and Yāj. II. 67 lay down the same rule for all kinds of bailments. Manu VIII. 189 (=Nār., *nikṣēpa*, verse 12) illustrates what is meant by accidental loss.

The debtor cannot redeem the pledge or mortgage before the time fixed by mutual agreement, but by mutual agreement he can redeem even before (Br. S. B. E. p. 325 verses 32-33). If the creditor does not allow redemption when the debtor has a right to redeem and is ready to do so, the creditor may be liable to be fined as a thief (Yāj. II. 62). Acc. to Kaut. (III. 12) the fine is 12 panas⁷²¹.

It has already been stated above (p. 429) that in certain cases (i. e. when it is a *gopya ādhu*) the ownership is lost to the mortgagor (i. e. in the language of modern law there is a foreclosure), if the amount has risen to double of the money lent without payment (even after the period of grace) or if the period fixed has passed away without there being repayment (whether the

720. निष्पन्नाधियाचितान्क्रीताधयो नष्टाः सर्वाननिन्दितान्पुरुषापरारधेन । गौ XII. 39, on which हरदत्त says. पुरुषापरारधस्तु यदि धारयितारः स्वद्रव्यवत् रक्षयेयुः, यद्यभिभयादौ स्वद्रव्यं ग्रहीत्वा निष्पाद्युपक्षेपस्व स्वद्रव्यं वा गुप्तं निधाय बहिर्निध्यादि स्थापयेयुः । एतस्मिन्पुरुषापरारधे सति द्यूरेव ॥; दैवराजोपपातेन यदि तज्ज्ञाशमाप्नुयात् । ग्रहीतुद्रव्यसहितं तत्र दोषो न विद्यते ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच II p. 179, च न p. 192, अराजद्वैविकेनापि निश्चितं यत्र नाशितम् । ग्रहीतुः सह भाण्डेन द्रुतिर्नष्टं तद्रूप्यते । कात्या q by स्मृतिच II. p. 179. Compare sections 151 and 152 of the Indian Contract Act, where the same propositions about the care to be taken by the bailee are laid down.

721. उपरिधत्तस्याधिमप्रयच्छतो द्वादशपणो दण्डः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 12.

amount has risen to double of that lent or not, acc. to Mit on Yāj. II. 58) But if at the time of contracting the debt the stipulation is to repay the sum lent with interest and there is no stipulation about loss of the ownership of the thing mortgaged (i. e. it is like a simple mortgage of modern times), then there is no loss of ownership. There is then only a power of sale in the mortgagee. So also in the case of a *bhogyādhi* the mortgagor or his heirs can redeem the property at any time by paying the principal and there is no loss of ownership to the mortgagor. According to Yāj. II. 63 and Br.⁷²² (S B E vol 33 p 325 verse 29) the creditor can sell in the presence of (the debtor's relatives) and witnesses the *ādhi*, when the amount has grown to double of that lent or when the period fixed has passed, if the debtor has not redeemed and is absent or dead. After meeting his own dues the creditor has, as said by Kāt. 529, to hand over the balance of the sale price to the king (i. e. probably to the court of the locality). Kaut.⁷²³ (III. 12) provides that if the debtor is present and the creditor is afraid of the loss of his money because it may exceed the market value of the *ādhi* he may sell it with the permission of the judges (*dharmaśtha*) or he may demand a surety for assurance. It appears from these passages that a sale through court and a right of private sale were both recognised in the case of mortgages in ancient India (as in modern times under sections 65 and 69 of the Transfer of Property Act).

There were two other special kinds of *ādhi* described in Yāj. II. 61 viz. *cartrabandhaka*⁷²⁴ and *satyanikāra*. The first

722 हिरण्ये द्विगुणीभूते सुते नष्टेऽधमार्गिके । द्रव्यं तदीयं सगृह्य विक्रीणीत ससाक्षिकम् ॥ बृह ५ by व्य स p 174, परा मा III p 240 which remarks 'आधीकृतं द्रव्यं ससाक्षिकं विक्रीय ऋणादुरूपं द्विगुणीभूतद्रव्यपर्याप्तं गृहीतं ततोऽपशिष्टं बजयेत् । राजे समर्पयेदित्यर्थः ; विना धारणकाद्वापि विक्रीणीत ससाक्षिकम् । या II 63, धारणकादधमर्गादिना । मिता

723 धारणकसन्निधाने वा विनाशमयादुद्धृतये धर्मस्थापज्ञातो विक्रीणीत । आधिपालप्रत्यये वा । अर्थशास्त्र III 12 Acc. to the Sm C II. 150 *ādhipāla* was a surety in case of *gopyādhi* (quoting पितामह) . राजस्ततः स विख्यातो विक्रेय इति धारणा । सद्रुद्धिकं गृहीत्वार्थं शेषं राजन्यथापयेत् ॥ कात्या ५. by अपराकं p 658, परा मा III. p 241, स. वि p 245, विवादचन्द्र p. 9. यदा तु न सकुल्या स्युर्न च सम्बन्धिवाधवा । तदा दद्यात् द्विजातिभ्यस्तेष्वसत्त्वच्छ निक्षिपेत् ॥ नारद IV 113. तथा च सग्रहकार । सुतादिनाह्वयान्ताना रिक्थभाजामसभवे । पलाशस्य पलाशेन लुडुयान्मध्यमेन तु । यत्कुसीदमिति ग्रस्येदयवाप्तेन तद्भनम् ॥ स्मृतिच II p 177

724 चरित्रबन्धककृतं सद्रुद्ध्या दापयेद्धनम् । सत्यङ्कारकृतं द्रव्यं द्विगुणं प्रतिपादयेत् ॥ या II 61, on सत्यकारकृतं the मिता. says सत्यस्य कार सत्यकार-कारे सत्यागदस्य इति ध्रुम् । सत्यकारेण कृतं सत्यकारकृतम् Two meanings are given of चरित्रबन्धककृतं and सत्यकारकृत 'कारे सत्यागदस्य' is पाणिनि VI 3 70.

occurs either when the creditor being known to be very honest the debtor gives as security a property of very great value for a small debt or where a debtor being known to be very honest a property of very small value is accepted as security for a large debt. In such a case there is no forfeiture or foreclosure of the property in any case but the king (or judge) should award only double the principal lent. Another meaning is that in a *caritrabandhaka* it is the merit (*apūrvā* or *punya*) arising from bathing in the Ganges or from performance of *agnihotra* that is given as security (i. e. he will forfeit merit on non-payment). In this case the creditor will receive double and there is no loss or forfeiture of *ādhi*. A pledge made with *satyāṅkāra* occurs when at the time of making a pledge the stipulation is 'I am liable to pay only double but there will be no loss of the thing pledged' or (a second meaning of) *satyāṅkāra* is that 'when an earnest (a ring or the like) is given at the time of a sale and the vendor breaks the promise he has to pay double of the earnest'.

If the mortgagee is dead or absent abroad, and the debtor wants to redeem he may take back the *ādhi* after paying the amount due to the family i. e. to his sons and other agnatic relations or to his cognates and in the absence of these (if the creditor be a *brāhmaṇa*) to other *brāhmaṇas* (and if no *brāhmaṇas* be available) he may cast the money into water (Yāj. II. 62 and Nār. IV. 112-113). The *Kauśika-sūtra*⁷²⁵ (46. 36-40) contains provisions about casting the debt in the cemetery or where four roads meet if the creditor is dead and there are no heirs. The *Sangraha* says that it may be thrown into water with a *palāśa* leaf to the accompaniment of Tai S. III. 3. 4. 1-2 quoted above (n 671). Another alternative is that the debtor may have a valuation of the *ādhi* made at the time when he wants to redeem (and the creditor is absent), and allow it to remain with the creditor but without interest (and redeem it at the valuation when the creditor comes or secure the price from the creditor if the *ādhi* be afterwards lost or destroyed, acc. to Mit. on Yāj. II. 63).

Pratibhū A *pratibhū* or *lagnaka* (Br. quoted in n. 681 and Kāt. 530) means 'surety'. *Pratibhāvyā* (being a surety) was known to Gautama (XII 38) and *pratibhū* was known to Pāṇini

725. उत्तमर्णे सुते तदपत्याय मयच्छति । सगोत्राय । इमंज्ञाने निवपति । चतुष्पथे च । कक्षानादीवपति । कौशिकसूत्र 46 36-40.

(II. 3. 39). Suretyship requires the concurrence of three persons viz. the creditor, the borrower (called the principal debtor) and the person who agrees, for inspiring confidence in the creditor⁷²⁶, to pay or indemnify if the principal debtor commits default. Manu VIII. 160 speaks of surety for appearance and for repayment of debt. According to the purpose of the transaction a surety is of three kinds (Yāj. II. 53 = Visnu Dh. S VI 41 and Nār. IV. 118) viz for appearance, for payment and for honesty. The first undertakes to produce a person before a court and assures the court that the person concerned will not abscond from the country ; the surety for payment agrees that in case the debtor does not pay the principal and interest, he will himself pay both ; the surety for honesty assures the employer or other person with whom another man deals that the latter is an honest and good man, that he would not deceive and that reliance may be placed on him (vide Mit. on Yāj II 53 and Sm. C II. p 148 for these explanations). Br (S. B. E ⁷²⁷ vol. 33 p. 327 verses 39-40) speaks of four (including the three of Yāj II. 53), his fourth being one who promises to deliver or restore the assets that are with the debtor (such as household furniture or ornaments). Yāj. and Nār. must be deemed to include this last under the surety for payment. Kat. (530)⁷²⁸ says that a surety (*lagnaka*) may be caused to be given for repayment (of a debt), for appearance (*upasthāna*), in lawsuits, for honesty and for taking oaths (or ordeals). Acc. to Hārita a surety is taken for five purposes viz. for keeping the peace (*abhaya*),

726. प्रातिभाष्य नाम विश्वासार्थं पुरुषान्तरेण सह समय । मितं on या II 53. द्य. प्र p. 247.

727. दर्शने प्रत्यये दाने ऋणिद्व्यर्पणे तथा । चतुष्प्रकारं 'प्रतिभू' शब्दे दृष्टो मनीषिभिः ॥ आदौको दर्शयामीति साधुरित्यपरोक्षीत् । दातादमेतद्द्विविधमपयामीति चापर ॥ बृह q by अपरार्क p 655, स्मृतिच II p 148 and न्य प्र p 247

728. दानोपस्थानविश्वासविवादशपथाय च । लग्नकं दापयेद्देव यथायोगं विपर्यये ॥ कात्या. 530 q, by अपरार्क p 655, पर. मा. III 249, स वि. p 247 When a special oath or ordeal was to be taken or undergone at some future date, a surety was taken from the party. A surety was also to be taken from both parties to a litigation (Yāj II 10). अग्रे प्रत्यये दाने उपस्थाने प्रदर्शने । एज्जत्वे प्रकारेण ग्राह्यो हि प्रतिभूयै ॥ हारीत q by स्मृतिच II 148 and न्य प्र p 248 'उपस्थानमत्र बन्धद्व्यर्पणमभिमत न दर्शनम्, तस्य स्वपदेनैवोपात्तत्वात्, पञ्चस्तिरस्यायदनाच्च । स्मृतिच All the above kinds of sureties are taken in modern civil and criminal proceedings. Vide sec 145 of the Civil Pro Code (for sureties for the performance of a decretal order or repayment of money ordered by a Court to be paid, for restitution of property taken in execution), sec 55 (4), Order 25 rule 1, Order 38 r 5, Order 41 rules 6 and 10 of the Civil Pro. Code and Cr. Pro. Code, chap. VIII, sec 426, 499 &c in criminal matters.

for honesty, for repayment of debt, for delivering the debtor's property to the creditor, for appearance V. P. p 248 quotes Vyāsa (who mentions seven kinds of sureties) and remarks that all can ultimately be reduced to three varieties.

If the surety for appearance cannot produce the person at the time and place agreed upon, he should in that case pay to the creditor what he has bound himself to pay except where the debtor is prevented from appearing by act of God or of the king. But a period of a fortnight, a month or three fortnights at the most should be allowed to the surety to find out the absconding person⁷²⁹. If he can produce him within that time the surety would be free from liability (Kāt 531, 532, Br. in S. B. E vol 33 p. 327 verse 42). If the surety for appearance cannot (even after time is given) produce the debtor or the debtor dies then the surety has to pay from his own pocket the money due from the debtor (Manu VIII. 158 and Kāt. 532-33). All this is subject to the proviso of the act of God or of the king.

Sureties of all kinds are personally liable to make good the loss arising from the non-appearance of the debtor, or from his dishonesty or non-payment (Yāj. II. 53, Visnu VI. 41, Br. in S. B. E 33 p. 327 v. 41); but the sons of the surety for appearance or honesty were not liable, if the surety died⁷³⁰. Yet if the surety for appearance or honesty stood surety only after taking some security from the debtor for so doing, then even the son would be liable to reimburse from such security the person losing. The liability of sons and grandsons for the suretyship debt of the father or grandfather will be discussed a little later on. If there are several sureties, then each will have to pay a proportionate part of the debt; but if each of the sureties has undertaken the whole liability of the debtor (i. e. if the liability of all is joint and several) then the creditor may at his will recover the whole debt from any one of the several sureties

729. नहस्यान्वेषणे कालं दयात्यतिशुभे धनी । देशाद्वरूपतः पक्षं मासं सार्धमथापि वा ॥
 नृदः । नहस्यान्वेषणार्थं तु देयं पक्षत्रयं परम् । यद्यसौ दर्शयेत्तत्र मोक्षव्यः प्रतिदुर्भवेत् । काले
 मतीति प्रतिधुर्यदि तं नैव दर्शयेत् । स तमर्थं प्रदाप्यः स्यात्वेति नैव विधिः स्मृतः ॥ कार्या ; both
 q by स्मृतिच. II. p 149, व्य म. p 249, निता on या II. 57,

730. आद्यौ तु वितथे दाप्यौ तत्कालावेदितं धनम् । उत्तरौ तु विसंवादे तौ विना तत्सुतौ
 तथा ॥ नृदः q by स्मृतिच. II p. 150, व्य म p 250 ; गृहीत्वा बन्धकं यत्र दर्शनेऽस्य
 स्थितो भवेत् । विना पित्रा धनात्तस्मादाप्य स्यात्तद्वर्णं सुतः ॥ कार्या. 534 q by निता on
 या II 54, अपराकं p. 656, व्य म p 251.

(Yāj II 55, Nār. IV. 120) Kāt 538 states⁷³¹ a special rule that whichever out of several sureties that have incurred joint and several liability is found present at the place (of the agreement) should be made to pay the debt, if such a surety has gone abroad his son may be made to pay the whole, but if the surety be dead the son should be made to pay only the share of his father (there being several sureties) If a surety being pressed or harassed by a creditor pays openly (before all people) the debt (wholly or in part)⁷³² then the debtor will be made to pay after three fortnights double of what the surety has to pay (Yāj II 56, Nār. IV. 121, Viṣṇu Dh S. VI 44, Kāt 539) But if the surety pays without being pressed he would get only what he paid and if the debtor reimburses the surety without loss of time then he has not to pay double These rules apply to money lent, but in the case of grain, clothes and liquids the debtor must pay to the surety three, four or eight times respectively (Yāj II 57) Who could not be accepted as sureties has already been stated (on pp. 291-292).

Several were the modes of the recovery of debts Manu (VIII. 47-48) requires the king to make the debtor repay his debt to the creditor in whatever way he can do it There is a difference in the modes of recovery according as the liability is admitted by the debtor or not. If liability is denied then the only method is to file a suit for the recovery of the debt. But if the liability is admitted by the debtor, then Manu VIII 49 (=Nār IV 122), and Br (S B E vol 33 p 329 v. 54) mention five means of recovery viz *dharma* (persuasion), *vyavahāra* (legal proceeding), *chala* or *upadh* (trick), *carita* (sitting down at his door) or *bala* (compulsion to do work or confinement) It appears from Āp Dh S (I 6 19 1) that the method of sitting at the door for recovery of debts was known to Āp (the creditor so doing is designated *pratyupavista*). In a Marwad Inscription

731. बहवश्चेत्यतिशुभो द्युस्तेऽर्थं यथाकृतम् । अर्थोऽविशेषिते श्रेष्ठे धनिनश्चन्दः किम् ।
नारद IV. 120, विष्णु VI 42, एकच्छायामविष्टानां दाप्यो यस्तत्र दृश्यते । प्रोपिते तन्नुत
सर्वे पित्र्यं तु सुते समम् ॥ कात्या 538, q by निता on या II 55, न्य प्र p 251 एक-
च्छायाभित्त or एकच्छायामविष्ट is a technical expression meaning the same as
'undertaking joint and several liability' and is explained by the निता.⁷³²
'एकस्याधमर्णस्य छाया सादृश्यं तामाभित्त एकच्छायाभित्त अधमर्णो यथा कृतनद्रूपदानाय
स्थितस्तथा दाने प्रतिशुभोऽपि प्रत्येकं कृतनद्रूपदानाय स्थिताः'.

732 प्रतिभाष्यं च यो दद्यात्पीडितः प्रतिभावित । त्रिपक्षापरतः सोऽर्थं द्विगुणं दध्य-
मर्हति ॥ कात्या 539, q by अपरार्क p 657, परा मा III p 252, वि र p 45, न्य प्र
p 253 ascribes it to both कात्यायन and बृहस्पति

dated *samvat* 1198 (1141-42 A. D.) this practice is called *kāya-vrata* (*yadā brāhmanah kāyamalam krtvā mṛijate*). Vide E. I. vol. XI p. 37 at p 40 These modes of recovery except *vyavahāra* are explained by *Bṛhaspati* as follows :⁷³³ The method of *dharma* consists in sending messages (to the debtor) from his friends and relatives, in persuading him to pay with sweet words, by following the debtor (i. e. by persistent dunning) and by frequent requests. Trick consists in the creditor borrowing from the debtor some ornament or other article under the pretext of its being required in a festival and not returning it or in retaining what the debtor has handed over to the creditor for being delivered to another, that is compulsion when the debtor is brought to the creditor's house, is then confined or beaten and thus induced to repay the debt; that is *ācarita* where the creditor keeps tied his own wife or son or cattle at the debtor's house or sits down at his door (fasting) All these methods could not be employed in the case of all debtors *Kāt.* (477-480) has already been cited (on p. 383) to show how the king is to employ the various methods in the case of *brāhmanas*, traders &c. If the creditor employs any one of the methods (other than *vyavahāra*) and harasses a debtor when the latter claims judicial investigation and there is a doubt or dispute between the two as to the amount, the rate of interest, the liability to pay, the creditor would lose his claim and would have to pay a fine equal (to the claim)⁷³⁴ *Kāt* 589 and *Br* ⁷³⁵ (S. B E vol 33, p. 331 verses 63-65) lay this down But when the debtor admits his liability and yet does not pay and when the creditor therefore employs one of the means (other than a suit) appropriate to the caste and position of the debtor, then, if the debtor complains to the king

733 प्रतिपन्नस्युर्ण दाप्य सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः । धर्मोपधिबलात्कारैर्गृहसंरोधनेन च ॥ सुहृत्सम्बन्धिसन्दिष्टैः सामोक्त्यालुगमेन च । मयेण वा कृणी दाप्यो धर्म एष उदाहृतः ॥ छद्मना वाचिन्त चार्थमानीय कृणिकाङ्क्षनी । अन्वाहितादि बाह्य दाप्यते तत्र सोपधि ॥ यदा स्वगृहमानीय ताडनाद्यैरुपक्रमैः । कृणिको दाप्यते यत्र बलात्कारः स कीर्तितः । दारपुत्रपशून् बद्ध्वा कृत्वा द्वारोपवेशनम् । यत्रणी दाप्यतेऽर्थे स्व तदाचरितमुच्यते ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच II. p 164, परा मा III p 255-256, कुल्लूक on मनु VIII 49, न्य म pp 256-257.

734 न रोद्धव्यः क्रियावादी सन्दिग्धे कथञ्चन । आनेधर्पस्त्वनल्लेधं दण्डो भवति पतत ॥ प्रदातव्यं यद्भवति न्यायतस्तद्दाम्यहम् । एवं यत्रणिको ब्रूते क्रियावादी स उच्यते ॥ रूपसंख्यादिलामेषु यत्र भ्रान्तिर्होभवेत् । देयानादेययोर्वापि सन्दिग्धोऽर्थः स कीर्तितः ॥ अनावेद्य तु राज्ञे यः सन्दिग्धेऽर्थे प्रवर्तते । प्रसह्य स विनये स्यात्स चाप्यर्थो न सिध्यति ॥ बृह. in स्मृतिच. II p 166, न्य म pp 259-260

735. पीडयेद्यो धनी काश्चिद्विधिकं न्यायवादिनम् । तस्मादप्योत्त इतिेत तत्समं चाप्युपाहमम् ॥ कात्या 589, q. by मिता on या II 40, अपराक p 645, न्य. म p 260.

against the creditor, the debtor would be compelled by the king to pay the debt and a fine for unnecessary complaint (Yāj II 40, Manu VIII 176, Visnu Dh S VI 19) Kāt (580-584) provides that where⁷³⁶ it is the custom of the country, the creditor may hold the debtor in restraint openly before an assembly of people until he pays what is due, that when a man so restrained has an inclination to answer calls of nature, he should be followed behind by the creditor or he should be allowed to go alone but fettered, that he should be allowed to go home for his meals and at night if he furnishes a surety, and that the surety will have to remain in restraint (while the debtor is absent), that if the debtor cannot secure a surety or does not accept the proposal of furnishing one he should be confined in jail or should be kept guarded by men, but that a respectable man who is trust-worthy and pure in conduct should not be put in jail, that he should be allowed to go without fetters or after being bound by an oath. Manu VIII 177, Yāj II 43, Nar. IV 131 lay down that if a debtor is unable to pay a debt then he should be made to do work suitable to his caste in the house of his creditor of the same or higher caste in order to gradually liquidate the debt (but without detriment to his own family) and a brāhmaṇa debtor should be made to pay by easy instalments⁷³⁷. Kaut. III. 11 provides⁷³⁸ that agriculturists and king's servants should not be seized (for debts) at the time when it is the season for them to work, nor a woman for her husband's debt unless she has promised to repay her

736. धार्योवरुद्धस्त्वणिकः प्रकाश जनससादि । यावत् दद्यादेष च देशाचारस्थिति-
र्यथा ॥ निष्मूत्रशङ्का यत्र स्याद् धार्यमाणस्य देहिने । पृथ्वी वायुगन्तव्यो निबद्ध वा ससुख-
जेत् ॥ स कृतमतिमूर्खैव भोक्तव्य स्याद्धिने दिने । आहारकाले प्राप्ते च निबन्धे प्रतिभुः स्थित ॥
यो दर्शनमतिशुर्व नाधिगच्छेत् चारयेत् । स चारके निरोद्धव्य स्यादयो बावेद्य
रक्षिणः ॥ न चारके निरोद्धव्य आर्य मात्ययिक क्षुचिः । सोनिबद्धः प्रभोक्तव्यो निबद्ध-
ज्ञापयेत् वा ॥ कात्या 580-584 q. by स्मृतिच II p 165, वि र pp 69-70,
च्य प्र p 257-258 वि र p 67 says that the mode in the first verse is a
method of व्यवहार. In modern times a debtor who owes a decretal debt
can be kept in civil jail under Order 21 rules 37-40 of the Civil Pro-
Code. In most European countries imprisonment for debts was abolished
only in the 2nd half of the 19th century. Even now in England under
certain circumstances a judgment debtor may be imprisoned for 42 days
For चारके निरोद्धव्य. vide दशकुमारचरित I p 36 'सा च दुष्टकन्या .. चारके
निरोद्धव्येति'

737 निर्धनसृणिकं कर्म गृहमानीय कारयेत् । शौचिकाद्य ब्राह्मणस्य दापनीय शनैः
शनैः ॥ बृह q. by वि र. p 71, च्य प्र. p 261.

738. अग्रग्राह्य. कर्मकालेषु कर्षका राजपुरुषाश्च । स्त्री वाप्रतिश्राविणी पतिकृतमृणमप्यत्र
गोपालकार्षसितिकेन्य. । अर्थशास्त्र III. 11

husband's debt, but wives of cowherds and those who take a lease of lands for half produce may be arrested for non-payment by the husband. As compared with the harsh legislation against debtors in most ancient and medieval systems of jurisprudence the rules laid down by the *smṛtis* are very mild and humane⁷³⁹. If there were several creditors there was priority among them i.e. the earlier debt prevailed over the later one; a *brāhmaṇa* creditor however (whatever the date of his advance) was preferred to a *ksatriya* or other creditor (Yāj II. 41, Kāt. 514). Kāt⁷⁴⁰ states that the debts owed to the Crown and a *śrotriya* take precedence over other debts and that unless the debtor is going to abscond several creditors should not simultaneously proceed against one debtor. Section 56 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code makes Government assessment a paramount charge on the land. But acc. to Kāt. (513) if several debts were contracted in writing on the same date, they should all be treated as equal and paid off *pro rata* from the debtor's assets if insufficient; but, if a creditor established that a particular article belonging to a debtor was manufactured by the debtor with his money only, that creditor alone got the money recovered by sale of the article (Kāt. 515). Bharadvāja states⁷⁴¹ that if a debtor has no cash then the creditor should be paid by sale of the debtor's other property in order viz. grain, gold, iron, cattle, clothes, land, slaves, and conveyances, (in the absence of fields) his garden and lastly his house and in the absence of even a house time should be granted to debtors of the three higher castes.

739. Under the law of the Twelve Tables in Rome a creditor could put the debtor to death or sell him to a stranger beyond the Tiber or, if there were several creditors, they could divide the body of the debtor among themselves after the third market day (Table III in Ortolan's Roman Law p. 106). Vide Sen's 'Hindu Jurisprudence' pp. 316-17 for later Roman and Irish rules.

740. नानर्णसमवाये तु नैकं द्वौ युगपदभिवदेयातामन्यत्र प्रतिष्ठमानात् । तत्रापि गृहीता-
स्तुह्यर्णः । राजश्रोत्रियद्वयं वा पूर्वं प्रतिपादयेत् । कौटिल्य III. 11, नानर्णसमवाये तु यथत्वं कृतं
भवेत् । तत्तदेवायतो देयं राज्ञः स्याच्छ्रीत्रियादह । कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 167,
स वि p. 255.

741. कणिकस्य धनाभावे देयोन्योर्थस्तु तत्कमात् । धान्यं हिरण्यं लोहं वा गोमहिष्या-
दिकं तथा ॥ वस्त्रं भूदांसवर्गं च वाहनादि यथाक्रमम् । धनिकस्य तु विक्रीय प्रदेयमनु-
पूर्वकम् । क्षेत्राभावे तथारामस्तस्याभावे गृहक्रयः । हिजातीना गृहाभावे कालहारो विधीयते ॥
भट्टहज q. by व्यव नि. p. 254, परा मा III. 259, व्यवहारसार p. 116. In view of this passage the remark of Mr. Golap Chandra Sarkar in his
'Hindu Law' (7th ed. of 1933) p. 432 'Hindu Law nowhere contemplates a compulsory sale of immovable property in execution of decrees' seems
hardly correct.

When a debtor was not able to return the entire debt in a lump, he should write on the back of the document of debt the sums paid by him from time to time or the creditor may pass a receipt (*upagata* or *praveśapāṭi*, as the Mit designates it) to the debtor signed by himself (Yāj II 93, Nār IV. 114, Visnu Dh S VI 26). If the creditor, though requested by the debtor, would not pass a receipt he was to lose the balance of his debt (Nār. IV. 114) Nār. IV 115 and Br (S B E vol 33 p 332 verse 66) further provide that if the creditor does not write down (either on the bond itself or in a separate document) the money recovered by *dharma* or some other method then the debtor himself will be entitled to interest on the amount paid by him ^{741a} When the whole debt is paid off, the creditor should tear off the bond of debt or he may execute another document in order to show that the debtor is freed from the debt (if the original is lost or is not within easy reach) and when a debt is borrowed in the presence of witnesses, it should be returned in the presence of the same or other witnesses (Yāj II 94, Visnu Dh S. VI. 24-25) Nār IV 116 requires the creditor to return the document when the whole debt is paid off or to announce openly to others that it has been paid ⁷⁴²

It has now to be seen who (other the man himself) are liable to pay a man's debt The liability to pay another's debt may arise on three grounds, (1) religious, (2) equitable and moral, (3) legal, such as agency (express or implied) or authority. That the sons and grandsons of the original debtor are liable to pay on religious grounds the debt of the father is expressly stated by numerous writers such as Kaut ⁷⁴³ III 11, Yāj. II 50, Nār. IV. 4, Br. (S. B. E vol 33 p. 328 verse 49), Kāt (560), Vṛddha-Hārta VII 250-51, Visnu Dh. S VI 27.

741a धर्मादिनोदयाद्य धनं यस्तूपरि न लेखयेत् । न चैवोपगतं दद्यात्तस्य तद्दृष्टिमा-
प्नुयात् ॥ बृह. q. by नि र p. 80, व्य. प्र p 277

742 लेखं दद्याद्विमुक्त्यर्थे तदभावे प्रतिश्रयम् । धनिकर्णिकयोरेव विमुक्तिः स्यात्परस्परम् ॥
नारद IV 116 असहाय explains 'प्रतिश्रयं विमुक्तिपत्रम्', while the स्मृतिच. II p 162 and व्य. प्र p. 277 read प्रतिश्रयम् and explain 'प्रतिदानं कृतमिति साक्षिभिः आवणम्'

743. जीवितविवाहश्चमृतिमात्रमावश्यमसंख्यातदेशकालं तु पुत्राः पौत्रा वा वदेयुः । अर्थ-
शास्त्र III 11, क्रमादव्याहृतं मासं पुत्रैर्यक्षणेमुद्गृह्यतम् । द्यूः पैतामहं पौत्रास्तच्छतुर्थान्निव-
र्तते ॥ नारद IV. 4, ऋणमात्मन्यवत्पिण्डं देयं पुत्रैर्विभावितम् । पैतामहं समं देयमदेयं
तत्सुतस्य तु ॥ बृह. q. by the मिता on या II 50, पुत्राभावे तु दातव्यमृणं पौत्रेण यन्नत ।
चतुर्थेन न दातव्यं तस्मान्नहिनिवर्तते ॥ कात्या 560 q स्मृतिच II p 171, परा मा III
p 264, नि र p 49, व्य. प्र p. 264.

The important question is whether the *smṛtis* declare the liability of the great-grandson. It is clear that *smṛtis* like that of Br. expressly say that the great-grandson is not liable to pay his great-grandfather's debt. The *Visnu Dh. S. VI. 28* says that the descendants beyond the grandson need not pay if they are unwilling to pay. Others like *Nār. IV. 4* and *Kāt.* say that the obligation to return a debt ceases from the fourth. The question is what is meant by the fourth i. e. is it meant to exclude, in calculating, the original debtor or to include him? It is possible to hold (particularly because the great-grandson is not expressly mentioned in most *smṛtis*) that the fourth means 'inclusive of the original debtor'. But this appears to be in conflict with the rule in *Manu IX. 137* (which is the same as *Baud Dh. S. II. 9. 6*, *Vas. 17. 5*, *Visnu Dh. S. 15. 46*) that the son, grandson, and great-grandson confer the greatest spiritual benefit on the ancestor, the rule (*Manu IX. 186*, *Nār. IV. 6*) that *pṛṇḍas* (in *śrāddha*) are to be offered by three persons in descent and the general rule that whoever takes the inheritance must offer the *pinda* and pay the debts of the ancestor (*Gaut. XII. 37*, *Yaj. II. 51*, *Nār. IV. 23*, *Visnu Dh. S. XV. 40* and *VI. 29*). Therefore, following the canons, viz. the rights to property are co-extensive with the liability to perform *śrāddha* and to pay off debts (which is quite logical and reasonable), that the texts relating to the same subject matter must be harmonized and reconciled as far as it is reasonably possible⁷⁴⁴ to do (*ekavākya-tā-nyūya*), that apparently conflicting texts are to be assigned their appropriate spheres (*viśayavyavasthā*), and that a direct conflict (and so an option) is to be presumed only if no other recourse is open, the *Mitākṣarā* and other commentators put forward the interpretation that the texts stating that the great-grandson is not liable to pay the great-grandfather's debt apply only to cases where the great-grandson inherits no ancestral property, but that he is *liable* if he takes ancestral property. Dr. Jolly in his note on *Nār. IV. 6* (in *S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 44*) remarks: "the doctrine, viz. the liability to pay debts contracted

744 This principle is stated by the *mita* on *ya I. 4-5* as 'एतेषां (मन्वा-दीनां) प्रत्येकं ग्रामाण्येव साक्षाद्शाणामासाद्क्षापरिपूर्णमन्यत. क्रियते विरोधे विकल्पः १.' *मेषातिथि* on *मनु XI. 216* puts it in the same way 'एकशास्त्रत्वात्सर्वेष्टुतीनामसति विरोधे समग्रं योज्यं विरोधे तु विकल्पः'. This view is based on *जैमिनि II. 1. 46* अपेक्षत्वादेकं वाक्यं साक्षाद् चेद्भिन्ने स्पष्ट. The word *एकवाक्यता* occurs in *Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 24*. In *Vithal v. Prahlād* 39 Bom 373 at p. 379 this principle has been judicially recognized

by an ancestor extends to the great-grandson, is opposed to the teaching of such an eminent authority as *Vyāñeśvara*, who maintains in the *Mitākṣarā* that the great-grandson⁷⁴⁵ is not liable for debts contracted by his great-grandfather, and conversely that he does not inherit his property' He makes similar remarks in his Tagore Law Lectures for 1885 (on 'adoption, partition' &c. p. 171). Dr. Jolly is under some misapprehension since the *Mit.* in two places deals with this matter and expressly states that the great-grandson is liable to pay debts contracted by his great-grandfather if he has taken ancestral estate but not otherwise. The following propositions are deducible from the *smṛti* texts and authoritative commentaries like the *Mit* and the *Viramītrodaya* (*Vyavahāraprakāśa*). The⁷⁴⁶ first proposition is that the debts of a man must be paid by his three descendants (son, grandson and great-grandson) if they have ancestral estate in their hands (*Mit* on *Yāj* II 51 quoted in note 745, *Sm. C* II p 171, *V. P.* p. 264). The 2nd proposition is that even when no ancestral estate was taken by the descendants the son was liable to pay his father's debts with interest, the grandson was liable to pay his grandfather's debt but without interest and the great-grandson was not liable to pay even the principal, if he was unwilling to pay. This proposition is enunciated by *Viṣṇu Dh S VI 27-28*, *Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 328*

745. On *ऋणमात्मीय* &c. of *बृहस्पति* referred to above the *मिता* (on *या* II 50) remarks, 'सम यावद्गृहीतं तावदेव देयं न वृद्धिः । तत्सुतस्य प्रपौत्रस्य अदेयं नगृहीतघनस्य । एतच्चोत्तरश्लोके स्पष्टयिष्यते' On the words *गुत्रहीनस्य* *रिक्थिनः* (on *या* II. 51) the *मिता* explains *इत्येतदपि गुत्रपौत्रहीनस्य प्रपौत्रादयो यदि रिक्थं गृह्णन्ति तदा ऋणं दाप्याः नान्यथेत्येवमर्थम् । गुत्रपौत्रौ च रिक्थग्रहणाभावेपि दाप्यावित्युक्तम् ।'* Dr Jolly probably misunderstood 'अगृहीतघनस्य' and held it to mean 'that a great-grandson does not take the ancestral estate', but it really means 'if he has not taken &c.' The *सुतिच.* II. p 171 says, 'एव च अयितामहादिकृतर्णापकरणानधिकारो चतुर्थादिरगृहीतरिक्थस्यैव न पुनर्गृहीतरिक्थस्येव नन्तव्यम् । .. गृहीतरिक्थानां तु पौत्राणामधिकारो वृद्धिसहितऋणपाकाकरणे ।' देयं पैतामह समन्वितस्यैगृहीतरिक्थविषयत्वात् ।'

746 The first proposition is followed by modern decisions in British India. Vide *Lachman Das v Khunnu* 19 All. 26 (F. B.) which holds that the mortgagee of a man who had mortgaged joint ancestral property can enforce his mortgage against the grandson of the mortgagor for the realization of interest as well as principal, *Ladu Narain v. Gobardhan* 4 Patna 478, *Masit Ullah v. Damodar Prasad* 48 All. 518 (P. C.) where the Privy Council held that the great-grandson is liable for the debts of his great-grandfather as much as he is liable for those of his father or grandfather. In all these cases passages from the *smṛtis* of *Yāj*, *Nār.* and *Br* and from the *Mit.* and the *Viramītrodaya* are quoted and discussed.

v. 49 referred to on p. 443) and Kāt. 556⁷⁴⁷. In *Narasimharav v. Antaji* 2 Bom. H. C R. 61 it was held (probably following Brhaspati, though not quoted in the judgment) that the grandson was liable to pay the debt of his grandfather without interest even if there was no ancestral estate. This was felt to be a great hardship on heirs (taking no ancestral estate) and in order to remove it Bombay Act VII of 1866 (the Hindu Heirs' Relief Act) was passed whereby it is provided that a son or grandson is not liable to be sued for the debts of his deceased ancestor merely by reason of his being such a son or grandson and that the son, grandson or other heir shall be liable only to the extent of the assets that come to his hands. The same is the law laid down in other parts of India by judicial decisions. Br. (S B. E. vol. 33 p. 328 verse 48) recommends that the father's debt must be paid first of all and after that one's own debt; but a debt of the grandfather must always be paid even before the preceding⁷⁴⁸ two kinds of debt. These two propositions of Hindu jurists are very lucidly, but succinctly, set forth by the Viramirodaya quoted below⁷⁴⁹. The third proposition (which is an exception to the above two) is that even a son is not liable to pay certain illegal and immoral debts of his father. This proposition will be discussed a little further on. A fourth proposition is that even when the father is not dead, the son, grandson or great-grandson may be liable to pay the father's or other ancestor's debt under certain circumstances. Yāj. II. 50 provides that sons (and grandsons) must pay the debt of the father when he is dead or has gone to a distant country or is afflicted with an incurable disease. Nār.⁷⁵⁰ IV. 14, Visnu VI. 27, Kāt.

747. पैतामहं तु यत्पुत्रैर्न वृत्तं रोगिभिः स्थितैः । तस्मादेवंविधं पौत्रेर्देयं पैतामहं समम् ॥ कात्या 556 q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 170 and वि. र p 48.

748. पित्र्यमेवाग्रतो देय पश्चादात्मीयमेव च । तयोः पैतामहं पूर्वं देयमेवमुच्यते सदा ॥ बृह. q. by व्य. न p. 185, वि. र p. 47, परा मा. III p 264

749. उत्रेण रिक्थग्रहणाग्रहणयोः सहजिकमेव देयम् । पुत्राभावे पौत्रेण रिक्थग्रहणे सोदयं देयम् । अग्रहणे मूलमेव । मपौत्रेण तु रिक्थग्रहणे मूलमपि न देयम् । व्य. न p 264.

750. धनयादिणि प्रेते यज्जलिते द्विदशसमाः प्रवसिते वा तत्पुत्रपौत्रैर्धनं देयम् । विष्णु. VI. 27, विद्यमानेपि रोगात् स्वदेशात्प्रोषितेपि वा । विंशत्संवत्सराद्विपर्ययं पितृहृतं भूतैः ॥ व्याधितोन्मत्तदृष्टानां तथा क्षीयेमवासिनाम् । ऋणमेवंविधं पुत्राश्च जीवतामपि दापयेत् ॥ सांनिध्येपि पितुः पुत्रैर्नर्यं देयं विभावितम् । जात्यन्धपतितोन्मत्तक्षयश्चिन्नादिरोणिः ॥ कात्या० 548-550 q. by अपराक. p 650, वि. र pp 50-51, परा मा. III 264, स्मृतिच. II. p. 169, व्य. नि pp. 255-56. Some of these ascribe the last to बृहस्पति. The first and third verses of Kāt are quoted in *Peda Venkanna v. Srceivasa* 41 Mad. 136 at p 149. The व्य. नि. (p 256) remarks that these texts indicate that during the father's lifetime only the sons are liable for the father's debts and not the grandsons, but if no sons are alive then even grandsons will be liable.

548-550 state that when the father, though living and near, becomes an ascetic (acc. to Visnu), is afflicted with such diseases or calamities as blindness from birth or loss of caste (due to grave sins), lunacy, tuberculosis, leprosy and other (incurable) diseases or when he has left his country or has gone on a long journey or is very old (above 80) the son will have to pay the debt of the father after the twentieth year (from his going abroad). Acc. to V. R. (p 50) if the father's disease was incurable or if it was certain that he would not return from his journey then the son was bound to pay at once and was not entitled to wait for 20 years. Kāt (552-553) introduces ⁷⁵¹ a further restriction that even when the father is dead, if the son has not attained years of discretion (i e. if he is a minor) he need not pay the debt of his father during his minority; but when the proper time to pay arrives he must pay the debt, otherwise the (ancestors) may remain in hell. Thus the son's liability during the father's lifetime or absence was not absolute but limited according to the smrtis and digests; judicial decisions, however, have brushed all this aside and the son's liability to pay his father's debts during the latter's lifetime is now as absolute as after his death. This will be discussed further on.

According to all smrti writers even the son, though he may have taken the ancestral estate, is not liable to pay certain debts of the father which are compendiously described as 'illegal or immoral' in the decisions of courts. Gaut., ⁷⁵² XII.

751. नाप्राप्तव्यवहारेण पितर्युपरते क्वचित् । काले तु विधिना देय वसेयुर्न केन्यथा । अप्राप्तव्यवहारश्चेत्स्वतन्त्रो हि निर्णयः । स्वातन्त्र्यं हि स्मृतं ज्यैष्ठ्ये ज्यैष्ठ्यं सुगव्यं कृतम् ॥ कात्या 552-553 q by स्मृतिच. II p 164, व्य. म. p 263, The 2nd is नारद IV 31

752. प्रातिभाष्यवणिक्शुल्कमध्यतदण्डाः पुत्राणांभवेऽपि । गौ XII 38, प्राति-
भाष्यं दण्डशुल्कशेषमासिकं सौरिकं कामदानं च नाकामं पुत्रो दद्याद्वा वा रिक्यहरो दद्यात् ।
अर्थशास्त्र III 16, मुराकामयुतकृतं दण्डशुल्कावशिष्टकम् । दद्यादानं तस्यैव पुत्रो दद्यात्
पैतृकम् ॥ दर्शनप्रतिपूत्रेण सृत् प्रात्ययिकोपि वा ॥ न तत्पुत्रा क्रण द्युर्दुर्दुर्दानाय य स्थित ॥
या. II 47, 54, न पुत्रर्षे पिता दद्याद्दद्यात्पुत्रस्तु पैतृकम् । कामक्रोधमुरादयमप्रातिभाष्यकृतं
विना ॥ नारद IV 10, दण्डं वा दण्डशेषं वा शुल्कं तच्छेषमेव वा । न दातव्यं तु पुत्रेण यच्च
न व्यावहारिकम् ॥ उद्गमस् q by मिता on या II 47, कात्यायन explains कामक्रोध-
कृत debts (mentioned in Nār. IV 10 and Br) as follows. 'परपूर्वस्त्रियै यत्तु
विद्यात्कामकृतं दद्यात् ॥ यत्र हिंसां सद्युत्पाद्य क्रोधाद् द्रव्यं विनाश्य वा । उक्तं तुष्टिकरं यत्तु
विद्यात् क्रोधकृतं हि तत् ॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p. 648, स्मृतिच II. p 170, परा मा
III p. 266, वि. र. p 58, व्य. म. p 266, दद्यादानं is explained as धूर्तं बन्दिनि स्ते
च कुर्वै कितवे शते । चादचारणचारेषु दत्तं भवति निष्फलम् ॥ q. by मिता on या II 47,
स्मृतिच II. p 170.

38, Kaut. III. 16, Manu VIII. 159-160, Vas 16. 31, Yaj. II. 47 and 54, Nār. IV. 10, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p 329 verse 51), Kāt. (564-565), Uśanas and Vyāsa provide that the son is not bound to pay the following debts of his father viz. those incurred as a surety (for honesty or appearance), for drinking or in gambling, those arising from idle promises (to bards, wrestlers and the like), debts for promises made under the influence of wrath or illicit love to women, the balance of a fine or toll and those that are not *vyāvahārika*. A debt arising from wrath is explained by Kāt as one where the father causes physical injury to another or destroys another's property through anger and then promises something to pacify the person wronged. As regards the suretyship debts of the father, Yaj. II. 54, Vyāsa and Kāt. (561) provide that when the father was a surety for payment, then the son was bound to pay the principal of the debt for which the father stood surety, but the son of the son was not liable at all to pay the suretyship debt of his grandfather even when the latter was a surety for payment⁷⁵³. These verses about the debts which the son was not bound to pay have been quoted and explained in numerous decisions of the courts. But as this work does not profess to be a treatise on modern Hindu Law those cases are passed over here. What is meant by 'debts that are not *vyāvahārika*' has presented the greatest difficulty to the medieval commentaries and digests and also to modern courts as noted below⁷⁵⁴. Kāt. 534 further notes that

753 ऋणं पैतामहं पौत्राः प्रातिभाष्यागतं स्तुतः । समं दद्यात्तत्पुत्रा तु न दाप्याविति निश्चयः ॥ व्यास ५ by the मित्ता on या II 54; प्रातिभाष्यागतं पौत्रैर्दातव्यं न तु तत्कचित् ! पुत्रेणापि समं देयमुपेयं सर्वत्र पैतृकम् ॥ कात्या ५ by अपराकै p 656, वि र p. 44.

754. यच्च न व्यावहारिकं न न्यायानित्यर्थः । अपराकै p 658, 'सौरिकम्' स्तुतिच II p. 170; न व्यावहारिकं दुरापानादिनिमित्तम् । व्य. प p. 265: न कुदम्भोपयोगीत्यर्थः । बालम्भेही, व्यवहारबहिष्कृतम् । वि चि p 17. Colebrook translates न व्यावहारिकं as 'debt for a cause repugnant to good morals'; other renderings are 'which as a decent and respectable man the father ought not to have incurred' (32 Bom. 348 at p. 351); 'not lawful, usual or customary' (39 Cal. p 362 at pp. 868-869), 'not supportable as valid by legal arguments and on which no right could be established in a court of justice in the creditor's favour' (37 Mad. 458 at p 460); vide *Bai Mam v Usafai* 33 Bom. L. R 130 (at p 133) and *Bai v Maneklal* 56 Bom 36 where the various meanings of '*avyāvahārika*' and the conflict of judicial decisions are set out (at pp 50-53). In the latter case the wide meaning of the words given in 32 Bom 348 has been disapproved of (at p 53). In *Govindprasad v. Raghunathprasad* I. L. R. (1939) Bom. 533 a Full Bench has dealt with the meaning of '*avyāvahārika*'. In *Hemraj v. Khemchand* I L. R. (1943) All. 727 the Privy Council state the various renderings of *avyāvahārika* given by different authors and judges and hold that Colebrook's rendering makes the nearest approach to the real meaning of the word as used in the smritis and that it is the character of the debt that is to be looked to and not the actions of the father.

where the father became a surety for appearance (or honesty) after receiving a pledge from the person whose surety he became, then the son of the surety may be made to pay the money due from that pledge in case the father is dead or has gone abroad⁷⁵⁵.

The case law on the subject of the father's debts and the son's liability to pay them has assumed enormous proportions. This is not the place to discuss the case-law. But as the courts in India profess to follow the Hindu Law of the sages and medieval digests, it is necessary to examine some of the principles laid down by the latest decision of the Privy Council. In *Bry Naram v. Mangla Prasad* 51 I. A. 129 (=46 All. 95) the following five propositions are laid down by the Privy Council (at p 139): (1) the managing member of a joint undivided estate cannot alienate or burden the estate *qua* manager except for purposes of necessity; (2) if he is the father and the other members are the sons, he may, by incurring debt, so long as it is not for an immoral purpose, lay the estate open to be taken in execution proceeding upon a decree for payment of that debt; (3) if he purports to burden the estate by mortgage then, unless that mortgage is to discharge an antecedent debt, it would not bind the estate; (4) antecedent debt means antecedent in fact as well as in time, that is to say, that the debt must be truly independent and not part of the transaction impeached; (5) there is no rule that this result is affected by the question whether the father, who contracted the debt or burdened the estate, is alive or dead. It

755. गृहीत्वा बन्धक यत्र दर्शनस्य स्थितो भवेत् तं विना पित्रा धनं तस्माद् वाप्य स्वात्तद्धणं ह्यतः ॥ कात्या 534, g. by the Mit. on Yāj. II 54, अपराक्षे p 656. Vide *Choudhury Govind Chandra v. Hayagrībā* 10 Patna 94, where it was held that when a father stood surety for the honesty or good behaviour of another as guardian for a minor's property, the son was not bound to pay the suretyship debt of the father. In *Kottaballi v. Kanupark* 58 Mad 375, where the father executed a surety bond that a certain judgment debtor would file an insolvency petition within a specified period and the debtor failed to do so, it was held that the guarantee was one for confidence or honesty and that the sons were not liable on the father's death. Similarly in *Dhr Naram v. Shiva Sahay* A. I. R. 1935 Patna 127 it was held that sons are not liable under Hindu Law where the father stood surety for appearance only. In *Narayan v. Venkatacharya* 6 Bom. L. R. 434 it was held that under the law of the Mitākṣarā a grandson is not liable to pay a debt which his grandfather contracted as a surety unless the latter in accepting the liability of a surety received some consideration for it.

is necessary to see how far these principles agree with or deviate from the law of the *smṛtis* and the digests. The first proposition is in consonance with the law of the *smṛtis* and of the commentaries like the *Mit. Yāj. II. 45* provides⁷⁵⁶ that whatever debt is contracted by the head of the joint-family for the necessities of the family has to be paid by the members who take the ancestral estate when the head is dead or goes to a foreign country. The *Mit. on Yāj. II. 114* quotes and explains a *smṛti* text, "Even one (the head or manager of a joint family) can make a mortgage, sale or gift of immovable property in a time of distress, for the necessities of the family and particularly for religious and charitable purposes". What is meant by 'debts in times of distress' and 'kutumbārthe' is explained by *Kat. (542-43)* quoted in n. 756. This has been the foundation of numerous cases, the first and the most important of which is that of *Humoomanpersaud v. Mussumat Babooe*⁷⁵⁷ 6 Moore's Indian Appeals p. 393 (P. C.). The 2nd proposition laid down

756 अविभक्तैः कुटुम्बार्ये यद्दणं तु कृतं भवेत् । द्युस्तद्विधिनाः प्रेतं प्रेषिते वा कुटुम्बिनि ॥ या II 45, कुटुम्बार्यमशक्तेन गृहीतं व्याधितेन वा । उपपन्ननिमित्ते च विद्यादापकृते तु तत् ॥ कन्यावैवाहिकं चैव प्रेतकार्यं च यत्कृतम् । एतत्तत्र प्रदातव्यं कुटुम्बेन कृतं भवेत् ॥ कात्या q by अपराधार्त्त p. 647, परा मा III p 268 Nār. IV. 3, Mann VIII 166, Visnu Db S. VI. 39 contain similar provisions, all of them employing the word कुटुम्बार्ये (for the purposes or benefit of the family).

757. At pp 423 and 424 of 6 Moore's Indian Appeals the Privy Council employ the following words that have become classical: "The power of the manager for an infant heir to charge an estate not his own is under the Hindu Law a limited and qualified power. It can only be exercised rightly in a case of need or for the benefit of the estate. The actual pressure on the estate, the danger to be averted or the benefit to be conferred upon it in the particular instance, is the thing to be regarded.... They think that if the lender does inquire and acts honestly, the real existence of an alleged sufficient and reasonably credited necessity is not a condition precedent to the validity of his charge and they do not think that under such circumstances, he is bound to see to the application of the money'. The words 'the actual pressure, the benefit to be conferred' and the remarks about inquiry by the lender are a prolific source of litigation and have given rise to a mass of case law. In L. R. 51 I A 129 at p. 137 the Privy Council themselves say that the distinction made between secured and unsecured debts of the father is anomalous. They give an instance 'A father who is manager borrows a like sum from A and B. To A he gives a mortgage on the family estate containing a personal covenant. To B he gives a simple acknowledgment of loan. B sues and gets a decree, on this decree execution can follow and the estate can be taken, A, suing on his mortgage, cannot recover' (because the debt was not antecedent).

above also follows from several *smrtis* (such as *Yāj.* II. 5⁷ *Visnu Dh S.* VI. 35, *Nār.* IV. 2, 4, 6) and the rules about immoral debts cited above. But it is difficult to understand why the Privy Council make a distinction between a simple personal money debt of the father and a debt secured by mortgage (as in propositions 2 and 3). The ancient texts and commentaries make no such distinction. Vide 42 *Mad* 711 at p. 731, 26 *Bom.* 206 at pp. 217-219 (F.B.) and 60 *Bom.* 311 (F.B.), where this is pointed out. With the greatest respect it must be said that the distinction is not only without *dharmaśāstra* authority, but is also anomalous. The distinction between 'antecedent debt' and a debt contracted at the time of executing a mortgage is unknown to the *smrtis* or digests. The Privy Council had used for the first time in a very early case (viz. *Suraj Buns v. Sheo Proshad* 6 I. A. 88 at p. 106 = 5 *Cal.* 148, 171) the words 'antecedent debt'⁷⁵⁸ for which there is nothing corresponding in the Sanskrit authorities and round which elaborate arguments came to be centred in numerous later cases. According to the Privy Council (proposition 5) the son's pious duty to pay his father's debt is as absolute during the father's lifetime as after his death. It has been shown above that the duty was not absolute but qualified and limited during the father's life according to the *smrtis*.

Yāj. II. 52, *Kaut.* (III. 11) provide⁷⁵⁹ that husband and wife, father and son and brothers cannot, as long as they are undivided, stand sureties for each other or be debtors and creditors of each other or be witnesses for each other. The *Mit.* has a long note on *Yāj.* II. 52. It shows that a wife may be divided as to estate from the husband if the latter desires (as laid down in *Yāj.* II. 114) and that in that case there may be the relation of debtor and creditor between them.

758 The proposition laid down in 6 I. A. at p. 106 is 'where joint ancestral property has passed out of a joint family, either under a conveyance executed by a father in consideration of an antecedent debt or in order to raise money for an antecedent debt or under a sale in execution of a decree for the father's debt, his sons, by reason of their duty to pay their father's debts, cannot recover that property, unless they show that the debts were contracted for immoral purposes and that the purchasers had notice that they were so contracted'.

759. अतृणामथ दम्पत्योः पितुः पुत्रस्य चैव हि । प्रातिभाष्यद्वयं साधनमविभक्ते न तु स्मृतम् । वा II 52, दम्पत्योः पितापुत्रयोः अतृणां आविभक्तानां परस्परकृतद्वयमसाध्यम् कौटिल्य III. 11.

The Mit. further explains the sūtras of Āpastamba⁷⁶⁰ (Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 16-19) which lay down 'there can be no division between husband and wife, for since the day of marriage they have to perform religious rites together, they also participate together in the rewards of merit arising from religious rites and also in the wealth acquired; for this reason when the husband has gone abroad if the wife spends on necessary occasions (out of the family wealth) it is not declared to be theft'. The Mit. explains that the absence of division between husband and wife is restricted to religious rites performed with *śrāuta* fires or *smūrta* fire and in the rewards of meritorious acts and not in all actions or as to all property. Therefore in other charities where no sacred fire is required (*pūrta* acts such as constructing a well or a public park) they have separate rights. Vide S. V. pp. 353 for various explanations of Bhāruchi and others on Āp. Dh. S. and V. P. pp. 255-56.

The father is not bound to pay his son's personal debt; the husband is not liable to pay the wife's debt, nor the wife her husband's or son's. But in all these cases if the debt is incurred for the benefit or purposes of the family by the son, the wife or the husband then the father, husband or wife respectively would be liable (Yaj II. 47, Nār. IV. 10-11, Kat. 545, 579)⁷⁶¹. If the father promised to pay his son's individual debt or if he approved or acquiesced in it he was liable to pay it. Manu VIII. 167, Yaj II. 45, Nār. IV. 12, Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 329 v. 50), Kat. (545) provide that a debt incurred for the purposes of the family by any one such as the son, brother, uncle, the wife, the mother, the pupil or a servant or a slave even without the consent of the head of the family when he has gone abroad, should be paid by the head of the family. This liability and the liability when the manager of a family contracts a debt for the benefit or necessities of the family arise from agency (*implied*) or authority. Kaut. (III. 11) holds that the husband may be seized (for work)

760. जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते । पाणिग्रहणादि सहस्रं कर्मसु । तथा पुण्यफलेषु
द्वयपरिग्रहेषु च । न हि भर्तुर्विभवासे नैमित्तिके दाने स्तेयक्षपदिक्षन्ति । आप. ध. सू. II.
6. 14. 16-19.

761. भोक्तृत्वमात्मतेनापि कुटुम्बार्थमृणं कृतम् । दासस्त्रीमातृशिश्वैर्वा दद्यात्पुत्रेण वा
श्वसुः ॥ कात्या (545) q. by अपराकं p. 648, परा. ना. p. 268, नि. र. 56. अपराकं
reads दासस्त्र्यमातृशिश्वैर्वा. अमात्य would mean agnates residing in the house.
This verse is quoted in *Virasvami* v. *Appasvami* 1 Mad. H. C. R p
375, 379n. पितृपुत्रादुपुत्रस्त्रीदासशिष्यादुजीविभिः । यद् गृहीतं कुटुम्बार्थं तद् गृही
दादमर्हति ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 174.

if he starts to go abroad without providing for the return of the debt contracted by his wife ⁷⁶²

The general rule that the husband was not liable to pay the wife's debt had an exception viz the husband was liable for the debts of the wife in the case of cowherds, vintners, actors, washermen and hunters (and the like) whose income depends on their wives and whose household expenses are defrayed by their wives (Yāj II. 48, Viṣṇu Dh S VI. 37, Nār IV. 19) Similarly the rule that the wife was not liable for the husband's debt had certain exceptions, viz a debt of the husband which she promised to pay because he was dying or going abroad or which was contracted jointly with her husband ⁷⁶³ (Yāj II 49, Nār IV 16-17) The Mit. on Yāj. II. 49 answers the objection raised by some that, as according to Manu VIII. 416 (= Udyogaparva 33. 64) the wife, son and slave are without property and whatever they earn is acquired for him to whom they belong, the wife would not be able to pay anything at all. The reply is that this verse of Manu does not mean that a wife or son can own no property at all, but all that it declares is that they have no independent power to dispose of their property.

The order in which persons are liable to pay a man's debts after his death is declared by Yāj II 51, Nār IV. 23, Br. (SBE. vol. 33 p. 329 verse 52), Kāt. (562, 577), Viṣṇu ⁷⁶⁴ VI 29-30.

⁷⁶² पतिस्तु ग्राह्यः क्रीकृतवृणमप्रतिविधाय प्रोषित इति । अर्थशास्त्र III. 11

⁷⁶³ न क्रीपतिकृत दद्यादणं पुत्रकृत तथा । अश्रुपेताहते यद्वा सह पत्या कृत भवेत् ॥ भारद् IV 16, भर्त्रा पुत्रेण वा सार्धं केवलेनात्मना कृतम् । ऋणमेवविध वेय नान्यथा तत्कृतं स्त्रिया ॥ मर्तुकामेन वा भर्त्रा योका देयवृण त्वया । अमपलापि सा दाप्या धन दद्यादभित स्त्रियाम् ॥ कात्या 546, 547 q. by स्मृतिच II p 176, व्य म pp 273-274 In I L R I Bom 121 at p 124 Kāt 546 is cited. In *Narotam v Nanka* 6 Bom. 473 it was held that a married woman who contracted a debt jointly with her husband was liable to the extent of her *stridhana* only and not personally

⁷⁶⁴ धनक्रीहतिपुत्राणां वृणभग्नो धनं हरेत् । पुत्रोऽस्ततोऽपि धीपतिनोऽपि धीहारी धनि-पुत्रयोः ॥ नारदं IV 23, पूर्व दद्यात्तन्ग्राहः पुत्रस्तस्मादुपान्तर्ह ॥ योपिद्वग्राहः सुताभावे पुत्रो वात्यन्तनिर्धनं ॥ कात्या (577) q by स्मृतिच II p 172, व्य म p 271, रिक्थ-हर्त्रा ऋण देय तदभावे च योपि । पुत्रश्च तदभावेनैव रिक्थभारिभयथाक्रमम् ॥ कात्या (562) q by विश्वरूप on या II 47, विश्वरूप quotes a prose passage of बृहस्पति 'धनक्रीहतिपुत्राणां पूर्वभावे यथोत्तरमाधमर्ण्यं तदभावे क्रमशोऽन्ये वा रिक्थभाजम्' ¹, while later works like the स्मृतिच II p 172 and व्य म p 267 quote a verse of बृह 'क्रीहारी च तथैव स्यादभावे धनहारीणः' The वैजयन्ती on विष्णु IV 30 explains Yāj II 51 as अत्र पुत्रो विशेष्यं तस्यैतानि जीपयपि विशेषणानि । तत्रानेकपुत्रसमवाये रिक्थग्राहः पुत्रः । तदभावे कृतद्वाराकृतद्वाराणां समवाये योपिद्वग्राहः । तदभावे अनन्या-भितद्रव्यं । न विद्यन्ते अन्ये पुत्रद्वारादयो यस्य स अनन्यः पुत्रद्वारादिर्हति । न भितं द्रव्यं येनासौ अभितद्रव्यं निर्धनो वा । अनन्यसाहित. अभितद्रव्यं मध्यमपदलोपी समासः । तादृशः पुत्रः ऋणं दाप्य ¹.

Whoever takes the wealth of the deceased (whether a son or a collateral heir) is primarily responsible to pay the debts of the deceased; but if the deceased died without leaving any property, then he who takes his wife has to pay the deceased's debts; if there be no wealth or taker of the deceased's widow, then the son even if he succeeds to no wealth has to pay. This liability may be said to be based on the equitable and moral principle that whoever takes the wealth of the deceased or his widow (over whom the deceased had a sort of dominion) was bound to pay his debts. There appears to be some conflict between the texts; but it is more apparent than real Verses (like *Kāt* 577) where the son is placed after the taker of wealth and before the taker of the widow refer to a son who has separate and independent wealth of his own and is more wealthy than the taker of the widow (though he himself being disqualified did not succeed to, ancestral wealth) When there is no wealth and there are several sons one of whom is congenitally blind or otherwise incompetent to succeed then the other sons are liable. From the fact that the taker of the widow is made liable for the debts of the first husband it should not be supposed that the ancient sages approved of widow-remarriage. On the contrary they condemned it (*vide Manu* V. 162), but, as the *Mit.* (on *Yaj.* II. 51) remarks, remarriages took place by custom among certain castes and nothing could prevent persons from taking widows as kept mistresses. Therefore as the wife was half of the husband (acc. to Vedic and other passages q. in *H. of Dh.* vol. II. pp. 428, 584 n.) she was practically the husband's wealth (*Nār.* IV. 22 expressly says so)⁷⁶⁵ and so the taker of the widow was saddled with the obligation to pay the debts of the deceased. This sentiment continued to modern times and in the Bombay Presidency the Legislature had to declare (by *Bombay Act* VII of 1866, sec 4) that 'no person who has married a widow shall merely by reason of such marriage, be liable for any of the debts of any prior husband of such widow'. The *Vaijayanti* on *Visnu Dh. S.* VI 30 quotes *Yaj.* II. 51 and *Nār.* IV. 23 and

765. अधनस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य वृत्तस्योपैति यः क्षियम् । स आभजेद्वृणं बोद्धुः सैव तस्य घनं यतः ॥ नारद IV 22; योषिद्व्याहो यद्यपि शास्त्रविरोधेन न संभवति तथाप्यतिक्रान्तनिषेधः पूर्वापत्तिरुत्तरापाकरणाधिकारी भवत्येव । योषिद्व्याहो यश्चतुर्णां स्वैरिणीनामन्तिमा गृह्णाति यश्च पुनर्गृह्णां तिसृणां त्रयमाम् । नित्ता. on *या* II. 51. Then नारद (कीर्तुसयोग) verses 45-53 are quoted by the *Mit.*

explains them differently. According to it the word 'putra' (in Yāj II. 51) is qualified by all the three adjectives viz 'rikthagrāha', 'yosidgrāha' (one who is married) and 'ananyā-śritadravya' (one who has no wife nor child and one who has taken no ancestral wealth, either because he does not desire it or because none exists). Therefore according to it among sons, the son that takes ancestral wealth has to pay the debts of the father, on failure of such a son when some of the sons are married and some are not, the married ones have to repay ancestral debts and lastly when there are no married sons the one that is wifeless, childless and also without wealth has to pay them.

Niksepa (deposit). The words *niksepa*, *upanidhi* and *nyāsa* are sometimes said to be synonyms (as done by Amara)⁷⁶⁶, though several ancient works define them separately. According to Yāj II. 65 *upanidhi* is the deposit of an article enclosed in a box or the like made with another without telling him of the contents of the box. Yāj II. 67 holds *nyāsa* and *niksepa* to be different from *upanidhi*. Nārada⁷⁶⁷ as quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. II. 65 defines *upanidhi* as the deposit of an article in a sealed receptacle without counting it in the presence of the person to whom it is entrusted and without telling him what the receptacle contains, while a *niksepa* is a deposit entrusted to a man after counting the articles in his presence. Manu VIII 149 (= Vas. 16. 18), Kaut. III. 12 hold *niksepa* and *upanidhi* to be distinct. A verse quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin on Amara defines *nyāsa* as an open deposit and *niksepa* as the delivery of some goods to an artist or craftsman for being worked up or manufactured. Nār. (V. 1 and 5) defines *niksepa* as 'the deposit of one's articles with another through confidence, while *upanidhi* is defined in the same way as Yāj II. 65. Viśvarūpa⁷⁶⁸ defines *nyāsa* as an open deposit for safe custody and *niksepa* as delivery of one's article to another for handing over to a

766 पुनस्तुपनिधिन्यासं प्रतिद्वानं तद्वर्णयत् । अमरकोशं, स्मार्तं त्वेषां भेदेति । वास-
नस्य .. न्यस्य यद्वर्णितम् । ब्रह्मपुननिधिन्यासं प्रकाश्य स्थापितं तु यत् । निक्षेपः शिल्पिहस्ते तु
भाण्डं सत्कर्तुमर्पितम् । श्रीरत्नामी on अमरकोश

767. यथाह नापदः । अस्तरण्यातमविज्ञातं संसृज्य यज्जिगीयते । तज्जानीयादुपनिधिं
निक्षेपेण गणितं विदुः । मित्रा. on या II 65

768. न्यासो निर्विहस्यस्वरूपं ब्रह्मं यज्जगणार्थं समर्पितम् । निक्षेपोऽयहस्त एव यद्व्यवहारे
क्षेत्रेण निक्षेपितम् । विन्दस्वरूप on या II. 69

third. Kāt. (592) makes ⁷⁶⁹ *upanidhi* a generic term for all bailments such as a sold article remaining in the hands of the vendor, a deposit, a pledge, bailment to one for delivery to another, loan of article for temporary use, goods handed over for sale to an agent. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 67 defines *nyāsa* as handing over to some member in the house an article in the absence of the head of the house for delivery to the head of the house and *nikṣepa* as a deposit in the presence of the depositor himself. The V. P. p. 280 briefly distinguishes the three as noted below.⁷⁷⁰

Nikṣepa or *upanidhi* was a bailment made in trust and differed from an *ādhi* in this that the former was not given by way of security for a debt or for collecting interest but in confidence for safe custody.⁷⁷¹ Br. (SBE vol. 33 p. 332 verse 2) says that such a deposit is made with another when one is leaving one's home, or through fear of the king or for depriving one's kinsmen.⁷⁷² Manu VIII 179 (=Nār. V. 2) says that one should entrust a deposit to a person who is born of a good family, is well-conducted, knows *dharma*, speaks the truth, has a large family, is wealthy and straightforward. The person with whom a deposit is made generally receives no personal benefit from it; hence the *smṛtis* (such as Br. in SBE 33 p. 333 verses 6-8) extol the holder⁷⁷³ of a deposit made in trust to be as meritorious as one who makes gifts of gold or other inferior

769. कथं भेषितनिक्षेपे भव्यान्वाहितयाचितम् । वैश्यवृत्त्यर्थितं चैव सोऽर्थस्तूपनिधिः स्मृतः ॥ कार्या 592 q. by स्मृतिच., II. p. 3, अपरार्क p. 662, निवादचन्द्र (p. 27, reads कथं भेषितनिक्षेपो).

770. ग्राहकस्य समक्षं गणयित्वा स्थापितं निक्षेपः । गृहस्वामिनोऽसमक्षं गणितमगणितं वा तस्मिन्नागते एतद्वातन्यमित्युक्त्वान्यस्य तदुज्जादेऽस्ते दत्तं न्यासः । सुदृष्टिस्तु समक्षमगणितं स्थापितमुपनिधिरिति । व्य. प्र. p. 280

771. पूर्वक्षपचयापेक्षया परहस्ते दत्तमुप तदुपपेक्षया रक्षणार्थमेवान्यहस्ते द्रव्यमुपनिधिरिति ऋणादानान्तरमुपनिधेरवसर । स वि. p. 265

772. स्थानस्यागादाजभयाद् दायादानां च वज्रनादः । स्वद्रव्यमप्येतेन्यस्य हस्ते निक्षेपमाह तम् ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 178, राजचौरातिभयाद्दायादानां च वज्रनादः । स्थाप्यतेऽन्यगृहे द्रव्यं न्यासः स परिकीर्तितः ॥ बृह. as q. by व्य. प्र. p. 279

773. ददतो यद्भवेत्सुखं हेमकुप्याम्बरदिकम् । तत्स्थाप्यालयतो न्यासं तथैव शरणागतम् । भर्तृमोहे यथा नार्थः एतं पुनस्तद्वद्वे । दोषो भवेत्तथा न्यासे भक्षितोपेक्षिते वृणादः ॥ न्यासद्रव्यं न गृहीयात्तन्नाशस्त्वयशस्करः । गृहीतं पालयेद्यत्नात्सकृद्याचितमप्येत् ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 178, परा. ना. III. p. 281, व्य. प्र. p. 281, अपरार्क p. 662 (first two only).

metals or clothes and condemn the misappropriation of a deposit or the losing of it through negligence as very sinful. The idea is that no one is bound to accept a deposit, but when a person accepts it, his primary duty is to preserve it with care and the next duty is to return it at the time agreed or on demand. The obligation arises from the trust reposed in a person. The rights of the bailee are limited as compared to those of the mortgagee or pledgee, but the very fact of his custody in trust clothes him with certain rights. The amount of care required of the depositary is the same as in the case of an *ādhu*, viz he is to take the same care of it as he takes of his own goods and is not liable if the deposit is lost (along with his own property) through act of God or the king or is stolen by thieves (Manu VIII. 189, Yāj. II. 66, Nār. V. 9 and 12, Br. in S.B.E. 33 p. 333, verse 10, Kāt. 593).⁷⁷⁴ In the *Mrechakatika* Cāradatta accepts liability for the loss of the ornaments deposited with him by Vasantasena, though they were stolen, because of his high sense of chivalry and of his idea that proper care was not taken by him or his friend. But Nār V. 9 is careful to add that the loss through *vis major* or through theft must be real and not fraudulently brought about.⁷⁷⁵ Nār. V. 6 and Br. (in SBE 33 p. 334 verse 14) state that a deposit may be made in the presence of witnesses or without them, that it should be returned in the same way and condition in which it was made and that if there is a dispute, it may be settled by ordeal (when there are no witnesses).⁷⁷⁶ The article deposited must be returned in the same condition (as regards seal &c.) in which it was handed over (Yāj II. 65). It must also be returned to the man himself who made the deposit and not to his co-owners (Manu VIII. 185, Br. in SBE 33 p. 333 verse 9).⁷⁷⁷ He is estopped

774. दैवराजोपघातेन यदि तत्ताशमाप्लुयात् । ग्रहीतृद्वयसहितं तत्र दोषो न निघटे ।
बृह. ५ by स्मृतिच II p 179, निक्षिप्तं यस्य यत्किञ्चित् तत्प्रयत्नेन पालयेत् । दैवराज-
कृतादन्यो विनाशस्तस्य कीर्त्यते ॥ कात्या ५ by स्मृतिच II p 179, च्य म p 282

775. ग्रहीतृ सह योर्येन अघो नष्टः स दायिन । दैवराजकृते तद्वन्न चेत्तज्जिह्वाकारितम् ॥
नारद V 9

776. ग्रहो दूषे निधौ यत्र विसर्वादः प्रजायते । विभावकं तत्र दिव्यसुभयोपि च स्मृतम् ॥
बृह ५ by अपराक p 664, च्य म p. 284

777. स्थापितं येन विधिना येन यच्च यथाविधि । तथैव तस्य तद्वेयं न देयं प्रत्यनन्तरे ॥
बृह. ५ by स्मृतिच II p 181, परा मा III p 281 'स्थापकतरस्य यस्य स्थापितद्वये
स्वाभ्यमस्ति स ग्रहः प्रत्यनन्तरं हस्त्युच्यते ॥' स्मृतिच II p 181 च्य म 286 remarks on
मनु VIII. 186 'प्रत्यनन्तरं हस्त्युच्यते' नैकस्मिन् प्रत्यनन्तरे देयम् । किं तु संप्रत्यनन्तर-
संस्थितिं न निषेधयन्तुभिरभियोग्य इत्यनेन सूचयामासुः ।

from recognising the title of any one except the depositor, as in section 116 of the Indian Evidence Act. But if the bailor be dead the bailee can return it of his own accord without demand to the co-owners (Manu VIII. 186 = Nār. V. 10). In doing so however he must not return it to one of several heirs, but to all or in the presence of all. The loss of a deposit may be due to the fact that the bailee consumes it by using it, or to the bailee's negligence or to his ignorance. In these cases the bailee was made to reimburse the bailor for the loss. But Kāt. (597)⁷⁷⁸ makes a difference, viz. when a bailee consumes the deposit by use he should be made to pay the price with interest, when he loses it through negligence he is to pay only the price (but without interest) and if he loses through ignorance, then he is to pay a little less (i. e. less by one-fourth) than the price. Vide Br. (S B E vol. 33 p. 333 verse 11) and Nār. V. 8. If a bailor knowing the proposed bailee to be a careless man deposits his goods with him, the bailee is not liable even if the goods are lost from any cause whatever (Kāt. 599).⁷⁷⁹ If immediately on demand by the depositor the bailee does not return the thing deposited or it is lost after demand from any cause whatever (including act of God or king), the bailee has to return the thing or the price of the thing (when lost) and also is liable to be fined by the king in the same amount (Yāj. II. 66, Nār. V. 7). If the bailee makes use of the article bailed without the permission of the bailor, he should be fined by the king and should be made to return the thing bailed with interest (Yāj. II. 67, Nār. V. 8). In the Rāj. T. (VIII 124-157) occurs the story of a person who had deposited one *lakh* of *dināras* with a merchant and had withdrawn some money from time to time. It further states that, when the balance was demanded, the merchant furnished a statement of accounts giving a list of

778. व्यासादिकं परद्रव्यं प्रभक्षितमुपेक्षितम् । अज्ञाननाशितं चैव येन दाप्यः स एव तत् ॥ भक्षितं सोद्वयं दाप्यः समं दाप्य उपेक्षितम् । किञ्चिन्मूलं प्रदाप्यः स्याद्द्रव्यमज्ञान-नाशितम् ॥ कात्या. 596-597, quoted by परा. मा. III. p. 283 (ascribes 597 to व्यास), व्य. प्र. p. 282 (ascribes 597 to both कात्यायन and व्यास), मित. on या II. 67 (597 only). बृह. q. by परा. मा. III. p. 283 and व्य. प्र. p. 282 has a similar verse भेदेनोपेक्षया न्यास गृहीता यदि नाशयेत् । याच्यमानो न दद्याद्वा दाप्यं तत्सोद्वयं भवेत् ॥ 'किञ्चिन्मूलमिति चतुर्धाश्लिष्टम्' मित. Compare Sec. 161 of the Indian Contract Act.

779. ज्ञात्वा द्रव्यवियोगं तु दाता यत्र विनिरूपयेत् । सर्वोपायविनाशोपि गृहीता नैव दाप्यते ॥ कात्या. q by स्मृतिच. II. p. 179, परा. मा. III. p. 283, वि. र. 89, व्य. प्र. p. 282.

fictitious items of withdrawals for many years with interest and showing that very little of the deposit was left. The king brought home the fraud to the merchant and ordered that the original deposit being used by the merchant should bear interest.

Kāt. (506) provides that when a deposit, a balance of interest, purchase price (not paid though the article be delivered to vendee), or sale price (article sold being retained by vendor though price is paid) is not returned or paid when demand is made, it carries interest at 5 per cent (from the date of demand).⁷⁸⁰ Manu VIII. 191 (which is almost the same as Nār. V. 13) provides that where a bailee does not return the deposit though demanded or where a person without making a deposit claims it from a person, both are to be punished as a thief by the king and to be made to pay a fine equal in amount to the price of the bailed article (claimed). The deposit has to be taken back at the proper time by the depositor and the bailee has to avoid returning it at an improper time; if the latter returns at an improper time he should be made to pay a fine double of the value of the thing⁷⁸¹ (Kāt. 601).

Yāj. II. 67, Nār. V. 14, Br.⁷⁸² (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 334 verse 15) extend these rules about *mksepa* to other kinds of bailments viz. to *yācitaka* (an article such as an ornament borrowed from a man on a festive occasion), *anvāhita* (what is handed over to a third man and is the property of another and has been pledged with a man), *nyāsa*, *upanidhi*, *śulpmnyāsa* (giving an article such as gold to an artisan like a goldsmith for preparing an ear-ring or the like), *pratnyāsa* (mutual deposit). Some of the rules about *yācitaka* are stated above

780. निक्षेपं वृद्धिशेषं च क्रयं विक्रयमेव च । याच्यमानं न दद्याच्चेद्वर्षे पञ्चकं शतम् ॥ कात्या. q by नित्ता on या. II. 67, परा. मा. III. p. 224, वि. र 15. 'यो मूल्यं गृहीत्वा विक्रीतमपि बलादि याचितं न ददाति केता वा क्रीत्वा क्रयसाधनमूल्य याचितं न ददाति स पञ्चकशतक्रमेण वृद्धिं दद्यादित्यर्थः.' वि. र p 15.

781. ग्राह्यस्तूपनिधिः काले कालहीनं तु वर्जयेत् । कालहीनं ददद् दण्डं द्विगुणं च भक्ष्यते ॥ कात्या 601 q. by अपराक p. 663, स्मृतिच. II, p 181, परा. मा III. p 286, व्य. म. p. 285 which remarks (following Sm. C) यद्भवयादुपनिधिरन्यस्य इत्ते न्यस्तस्तद्गतौ काले स ग्राह्य इत्यर्थः । तद्ग्राहीतेपि काले स्वयमेव नायाचितमपनीयम् । सकृदाचितमप्येदिति बृहस्पतिस्मरणात् । तद्ग्राह्ये वर्तमाने स्वयमेवायाचितं क्षीयमानं कालहीनं तस्य दानं दौष्ट्येनैवेति तद्वद्वतोपि दण्डो युक्तः । Compare sec. 159-160 of the Indian Contract Act

782. अन्वाहिते याचितके शिल्पिन्यासे सप्तग्वके । एष एवोदितो धर्मस्तथा च शरणागते ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II, p. 182, व्य. म. 287.

(pp. 426-427). Kaut.⁷⁸³ III. 12 states that a *yūcīlaka* or *avakṛīta* (lent on hire) article should be returned in the same condition in which it was received. If lost through act of God or king or through theft (after taking proper care) the deposittee would not be liable. Kat. (610) provides⁷⁸⁴ that he who having taken the loan of an article for use does not deliver it even on demand should be restrained (by the owner) and forcibly made to return it and fined by the king if he does not return it; he should be made to pay the price with interest (if the thing be lost after demand). If the loan of an article was taken for a specified period or for a particular occasion or purpose and a demand for return be made in the middle and the article is not returned when demanded, the person taking the loan would not be made to pay the price: but if a person who has taken on loan an article does not return it after the period fixed has expired or the purpose is served, the borrower must offer to the owner the price if the article be destroyed or lost and if he does not return even after demand (when the period has ended) the borrower would have to pay the price with interest.

Kat. (609) states a reasonable counter-exception to the rule in 606 viz. 'when the owner of an article borrowed by another is likely to sustain loss if the article borrowed were not returned on demand, then the borrower should be made to deliver it even though the time fixed has not ended or the purpose of the loan was only half fulfilled'.

There are some special rules about *śilpinyāsa* also. Kat. (603-604) provides that if an artisan or craftsman retains an article delivered to him beyond the time that was settled (or

783. याचितकमवक्रीतकं वा यथाविधं दृष्ट्वायुस्तथाविधमेवाप्येयुः । त्रेषोपनिषाताभ्यां देशकालोपयोधि दत्तं नष्टं विनाष्टं वा नान्यामन्वेयुः । शेषस्यपनिधिना व्याख्यातम् । अर्थशास्त्र III 12 On *अन्वाहित* there is difference between the digests The *मिता*. defines 'यदेकस्य हस्ते निक्षिप्तं द्रव्यं तेनाप्यन्य पश्चादव्यहस्ते स्वामिने देहीति निहितं तदन्वाहितम् ।' and is supported by कात्यायन (611 q. by वि. र p 84) 'अनुमार्गेण कार्येषु अन्यस्मिन्वचनान्मम । दद्यात्स्वमिति यो दत्तः स इहान्वाधिकच्यते ॥'. The व्यवहारसार p 144 quotes the very words of the *मिता*. स्मृतिच II. p 182 and न्य. म. p. 287 define *अन्वाहित* as 'स्वस्मिन् स्थितं परधनमन्यहस्ते कृतम्' 'प्रतिन्यासस्य च परस्परप्रयोजनापेक्षया त्वयेदं मदीयं रक्षणार्थं मयेदं त्वदीयं रक्षते इति न्यस्तस्य ग्रहणम् ।' *मिता* on य. II 67

784. यो याचितकमादाय न दद्यात्तथाविधितः । स नियुक्त्य बलाददाप्यो दृग्बन्धनं न दद्याति य. ॥ कात्या 610 q by अपराक p. 664, स्मृतिच. II. p 184, वि. र. p. 92. This shows that he could at once resort to the remedy of बन्ध.

agreed) for finishing the work he should be made to pay (its price) even if the article was lost through act of God, but the artisan shall not be liable to pay the price if the article were to be lost through defects in the article itself; if (however) what is delivered for being worked or polished is destroyed through the fault of the artisan he should be made to pay the price⁷⁸⁵.

From the fact that Kāt. 596 (quoted above in n. 778) employs the expression 'dāpyah sa eva tat' (he alone who misappropriates or causes loss of a deposit by negligence), the words of Gaut. XII 39 (quoted above under *ādā*) and the fact that *niksepa* is a title distinct from *rnādūna* (under which alone the liability of sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons is expressly declared) it follows that sons are not liable for the misappropriation or loss of a deposit or article bailed to their father or other ancestor provided they have not themselves joined or helped in the embezzlement or loss. This is made clear by Haradatta on Gaut. XII 39, the *Vivādacintāmaṇi* and the *Vivādacandra* quoted below⁷⁸⁶.

It is interesting to note that Nār.⁷⁸⁷ V. 15 places on the same level (as to liability for loss) with the deposittee and the like the man who takes in his charge a minor that has a good deal of wealth i.e. the person undertaking the position of the guardian of a minor's property has to take as much care of it as of his own and is liable in the same circumstances as a

785 'यैश्च सत्क्रियते न्यासो दिवसैः परिनिश्चितैः । तद्वर्षे स्थापेयच्छिलपी दाप्यो देव-
होतेय तत् ॥ न्यासदोषाद्विनाशः स्याच्छिलपिन तत्र दापयेत् । दापयेच्छिलपिदोषात्तत्सत्कारार्थं
यदपितम् । कात्या 603-604 g by स्मृतिच. II. p 183, परा. मा III. p. 288, वि. १
p. 98 The example of 604 given in Sm C and others is old clothes
delivered to a washerman and torn in the process of cleaning. Compare
Sec 161 of the Contract Act with verse 604.

786. न केवलं पुत्रानिव नाभ्याभवेयुः किं तर्हि येषां सकाशे निध्यादयः कृतास्तानपि
नाभ्याभवंति । हरदत्त on गौ XII 39, कात्यायन । न्यासादिक .. दाप्य स एव तत् ।
एवकारेण त्वपराधानन्तरतत्पुत्रादिव्यवच्छेदः । तथा च नाभ्याभवेयुरित्यधिकारे गौतम
निधयन्व . राधेन । सर्वान्पुत्रादीन्निगिरयराधान् । नि चि p 26, चित्परोक्षे तु तद्व्यतीतो
न्यासः पुत्रादिना न देयः । कृणातिरिक्तर्णत्वादिति नद्यातिरिक्तमातिभाभ्यातिरिक्तानां बलात्कार-
श्रुतीतानाशुक्तानां सर्वेषामन्यदेयत्वेनान्येन दानेऽतिप्रसङ्गात् । क्षयादिवहिशेषवचनाभावाच्च ।
विषादचन्द्र p 27

787 प्रतिशुद्धाति योगण्ड यश्च समधन नरः । तस्याप्येष भवेद्धर्म षष्ठेति विधय तमा ॥
नारद V 15 नारद IV 35 defines योगण्ड as a synonym of बाल (a minor up to
the 16th year) 'बाल आ योऽज्ञाद्वर्षायोगण्ड इति शक्यते' Gaut XII. 34 and गृह्य
VIII 148 employ the word.

depositee would be for loss of the minor's property. Vide section 27 of the Guardian and Wards Act (VIII of 1890) for the care required of a guardian ⁷⁸⁸.

788. The British India Courts have been very much exercised over the question of the liability of ancestral property in the hands of the son for the obligations incurred by the father by his misconduct or embezzlement either as agent or manager for another or as guardian of a minor's property. It would follow from the passages quoted in n. 786 that ancestral property in the hands of the sons is not liable, acc. to some of our digests, if the father used or lost a deposit or loaned article by his negligence or mismanaged a minor's property. It is firmly established that the son is not liable for a debt incurred by the father in circumstances which would render the father liable to a criminal prosecution. Vide *Toshanpal Singh v District Judge of Agra* 61 I. A. 350. In the latest case on the point, *Govindprasad v. Raghunathprasad* 41 Bom L. R. 589 (F. B.) the exemption is carried further and it is recognized that as to the exemption of the son for '*avyāvahārika*' debts of the father, there are many cases which cannot be reconciled, that it is repugnant to good sense to construe ancient texts in the light of a system of criminal jurisprudence developed long after and that the correct rule is to hold that 'the son can claim immunity when he proves that the debt of the father was of a character which was illegal, dishonest or immoral (p 602)' though difficult cases may arise in the application of this rule. It would be far beyond the scope of this work to cite or discuss the other numerous decisions.

CHAPTER XVII

ASVĀMIVIKRAYA (sale by one not the owner).

The different modes of the sources of ownership have already been referred to (H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 130 ff) and will be referred to again under *dāyabhāga*. According to Nār. VII. 1 and Br. (SBE vol. 33 p. 335 verse 2) when⁷⁸⁹ a person, who holds an open deposit, a sealed deposit, an article bailed for delivery to another, stolen property, an article borrowed for some festival, a pledge, or property lost by a stranger and found (by him), sells it in secret (or behind the back of the owner) it is to be considered as a sale by one who is not the rightful owner. Vyāsa has a similar verse. The word 'sells' is only illustrative and includes gifts and pledges. Similarly as most sales by one not the owner are clandestinely brought about, Br. employs the words 'in secret' but even if the sale is effected openly the same consequences may follow. The same rules will apply to an article lost by the owner and found by a stranger. Kāt. (612) provides⁷⁹⁰ that a sale, gift, or pledge, made by one who is not the owner, should be rescinded (by the king or judge), Manu VIII. 199 and Nār. (q. by Sm. C. II. p. 213, V. P. p. 291) and others say the same thing. Yāj. II. 168, Nār. VII. 2 provide that the owner is entitled to recover his property from the person that purchases from one who is not the owner. If the buyer purchases an article not in the open market, then he is liable for punishment; if he purchases from one who could have no means of possessing the thing sold (such as a slave without the master's consent) or for a very inadequate price or at a very unusual hour (at midnight or

789 निक्षिप्तं वा परद्वयं नष्टं लब्ध्वापहृत्य वा । विक्रीयतेऽतममं यद्विज्ञेयोऽस्वामिविक्रयः ॥
नारद VII 1; निक्षेपान्वाहितन्यासद्वयान्वितवन्धकम् । उपांक्षु येन विक्रीतमस्वामी सोमि-
जीयते ॥ बृह १ by स्मृति-च II p 213 च्य. म. p 290, याचितान्वाहितन्यास इत्या-
द्यान्वस्य यद्वन्धम् । विक्रीयते स्वाम्यभावे स ज्ञेयोऽस्वामिविक्रयः । व्यास १ by च्य. म.
, 195, च्य म. p 290.

790 अस्वामिविक्रयं दानमार्थं च विनिवर्तयेत् । कात्या 612 q by the मिता. on
II. II 168, परा मा p. 291, वि १ p 104. The च्य म p 291 takes अस्वामि-
विक्रयं as one word 'अस्वामिना कृतं विक्रयम् । अस्वामिकृतत्वं दानाभ्योऽपि तत्साह-
चर्यम्', while च्य म. p 195 says अस्वामि is a separate word and an adverb.
he latter had to explain in this way in order to directly connect the absence
of ownership with all the three kinds of transactions.

the like) or from bad characters then he is to be punished as a thief (Yāj. II. 168, Visṇu Dh. S. V. 166, Nār. VII. 3, Manu VIII. 202, Br. in SBE vol. 33 p. 336 verse 11). Such a sale is a fraudulent one. If the buyer purchases (through ignorance) in market overt from one who is not the owner, he incurs no blame (no punishment), but he may have to hand over the article to the real owner (Visṇu Dh. S. V. 164-166).⁷⁹¹ The purchaser from one not the real owner can free himself by producing the vendor (called *mūla* in Manu VIII. 202, Br. and Kāt.) and should not attempt to conceal from whom he came by the thing, otherwise he would be liable to be punished equally with the vendor as a thief (Nār. VII. 4). Br. (SBE 33 p. 335 verse 3), Manu VIII. 201 and Yāj. II. 170 say that when the vendor has been produced by the vendee, then the latter is not to be proceeded against, but the vendor has to litigate with the real owner who has lost his property and when the vendor loses the suit he has to pay the price to the buyer and a fine to the king and the owner gets his property back.⁷⁹² If the vendor has gone abroad adequate time should be granted to the purchaser to produce him (Kāt. 615). The purchaser in order to escape blame (punishment) has to produce the vendor and if that cannot be done owing to the vendor's absence he has to prove that he purchased⁷⁹³ openly (Br. in SBE 33 p. 335 v. 4, Manu VIII. 202, Kāt. 615, 618-619). If he cannot do any of these two, then the purchaser would be liable to pay the price to the real owner as claimed and a fine to the king. Manu VIII. 198 prescribes that one who sells without being the owner but being a member of the owner's family should be fined 600 paṇas, while a vendor unconnected with the real owner's family should be dealt with as a thief. The same rule applies to a

791. अज्ञानानः प्रकाशं य. परद्रव्यं क्रीणीयात् तत्र तस्यादोषः । स्वामी द्रव्यमाप्नुयात् । यद्यप्रकाशं हीनमूल्यं च क्रीणीयात्तदा केता विक्रेता च चोरवच्छास्यौ । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 164-166; अन्तर्ये हि द्रिष्टां माक्षिष्यामसतो जनात् । हीनमूल्यं च यत्क्रीतं ज्ञेयोऽसौ दुपधिक्रयः ॥ बृह q by स्प. म. p. 291, वि. र. 107, परा मा III. 293.

792. मूले समाहृते केता नाभियोज्यः कथञ्चन । मूलेन सह वादस्तु नादिकस्य विधीयते ॥ बृह q. by मित. on या II. 170, while परा मा. III. 295 and स्मृतिच. II p. 215 attribute it to व्यास. विक्रेता दक्षितो यत्र हियते व्यवहारतः । केने राज्ञे मूल्यद्वन्द्वौ प्रदद्यात्स्वामिने धनम् ॥ बृह q. by परा. मा. III p. 295, स्मृतिच. II p. 215.

793. प्रकाशं वा क्रयं कुर्यान्मूलं वापि समर्पयेत् । मूलानयनकालस्तु द्वेयो योजनसंख्यया ॥ कात्या q by मित. on या. II. 170 (reads द्वेयस्तत्राध्वसंख्यया), अपराकं p. 776, वि. र. p. 101, असमाहार्यमूलस्तु क्रयमेव विशेष्येत । विशेषिते क्रये राज्ञा न वक्तव्यं. स किञ्चन ॥ अनुपस्थापयन्मूलं क्रयं वाप्यविशोधयन् । यथाभियोगं धनिने धनं दास्यो वनं च सः ॥ कात्या. 618-619 q. by मित. on या. II. 170, वि. र. pp. 106, 108, स्प. म. pp. 196-197.

vendor selling another's article through ignorance or mistake and one doing so with full knowledge. The person who has lost a chattel and claims it from the finder is described as *nāstika*⁷⁹⁴ in Kaut III, 16, Manu VIII 202, Kāt. (614) and elsewhere, the word being derived from *nasta* (what is lost). The idea is that openly purchasing an article in the presence of a number of people for an adequate price negatives fraudulent intent and leads to the inference of a purchase in good faith and such a purchaser even though he may have to part with the chattel to the real owner when the latter proves his title, incurs no blame and is entitled to recover from the vendor, if he has to surrender the article, the price paid by him. When a person claims a lost article as his he has first to prove his title and possession by evidence- (such as that of his kinsmen or a document &c.) and that he had not sold or donated or abandoned it;⁷⁹⁵ after he has proved his title the purchaser is called upon to prove his purchase as honest by evidence i. e. by producing the vendor or by showing that he purchased openly and for adequate price (Kāt 613, Yāj. II. 170). When this is done the purchaser escapes blame but has to surrender the article to the true owner. Kāt. (616) adds⁷⁹⁶ that in the case of 'asvāmi-vikraya' no other means of proof whether divine or human (except the evidence of witnesses such as kinsmen) is declared to be proper. Acc to the V. P p 293 other evidence and even ordeals may be admissible in sale without ownership, but the Sm. C. p. 216 and the Madanaratna say that on account of the express words of Kāt. this is not possible. If the owner who alleges the loss of an article fails to prove his title and prior possession he has to pay a fine to the king equal to $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the price of the article. Kāt. (620) and Kaut. (III. 16) state that on failure to prove his title the person claiming⁷⁹⁷ the article as his should be fined as a thief, in order to deter (others) from taking undue advantage (i. e. preferring false claims). Kaut⁷⁹⁸ III. 16 and Yāj. II. 169

794. नष्टमन्वेष्टे नादिकः । नष्टमस्यास्तीत्येव ठनि कृते यज्ञादित्वात्स्वार्थिकोऽण्य कर्तव्यः । नष्टं प्रयोजनमस्येति वा । मेघा० on मनु VIII. 202 The sūtras referred to are दामिनि V. 2 115, V 4 38 and V. 1 109.

795 नादिकस्तु मकुर्वीत तद्धनं ज्ञातुमि- स्वकम् । अदत्तव्यक्तविक्रीतं कृत्वा स्व लभते धनम् । कात्या 614 q. by अपराकं p 777, वि. र. p. 104 स वि p 306

796. मकारं च कार्यं कुर्यात्साधुभिर्ज्ञातिभिः स्वकैः । न तत्रान्या क्रिया भोक्ता दैविकी न च मातृवीः ॥ कात्या. 616 q. by अपराकं p 777, परा. मा 296, वि र. p 106

797. यदि स्वं नैव कुरुते ज्ञातिभिर्नादिको धनम् । यसङ्गतिनिवृत्त्यर्थं चोरवद्वन्द्वमर्हति ॥ कात्या. 620 q. by अपराकं p 777, वि र p. 105, परा मा III p 297.

798 नष्टापहृतमासाद्य स्वामी धर्मस्थेन ग्रहयेत् । देशकालातिपत्तौ वा स्वयं ग्रहीत्वो- पहरेत् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 16.

provide that when the real owner finds his lost article in the hands of a stranger he should get him apprehended by the royal officers (such as *chauroddharanika*, acc. to Mit.), but that if the owner thinks that much time will be lost or distance will have to be traversed (for going to officers) he should himself seize the person and bring him before the court. The Mit. explains that the buyer should have the seller arrested and, if the seller is dead or gone abroad, that he should hand over the article to the real owner. Where a purchase has been made in the midst of a row of traders to the knowledge of the king's officers, but from a vendor whose habitation was unknown or where (after the purchase) the vendor dies, the real owner (of the thing sold by one not the owner) will recover his own property after paying half the price to the purchaser, since the rule of justice in such a case so requires, because to purchase from one (whose habitation is) not known is a fault (in the purchaser) and not taking proper care (of one's goods) is also a fault in the real owner (Br. in S. B. E. vol. 33 pp. 335-36 verses 7-9 or Kāt 621-623)⁷⁹⁹. Marici (q by Aparārka p. 775, Sm. C. II. p. 217) has similar provisions. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 335 verse⁸⁰⁰ 6) provides that in a suit where there is no evidence the king shall take into consideration the character of the litigants and give a decision according as the credibility of the parties is equal, greater or less.

As regards articles lost and found by the king's officers, vide above (pp. 175-176).

799. वणिगीधीपणितं विज्ञातं राजद्रुष्यैः। अविज्ञाताभ्यात् क्रीतं विक्रीता यत्र वा सुतः। स्वामी दुर्वार्थमूल्यं तु मथुर्हितं स्वकं धनम्। अर्थं द्रव्योपपन्नं तत्र स्वाद्वयवहारतः॥ अविज्ञात-
कृतो दुर्वस्तुश्च आपरिपालनम्। एतद् द्वयं समाख्यातं द्रव्यहानिकरं द्रुष्यैः॥ बृह., acc. to
अपरार्क p. 775, कुल्लूक on मनु VIII. 202 (the first two only), and कात्या
acc. to स्मृतिच II. pp. 216-217, यतः मा III pp. 297 and 300, यत्र
pp. 295-296 Law helps the vigilant. The rules under 'asvāmivikraya'
are based on the doctrine that no one can confer a better title to the goods
sold than he himself has (vide section 27 of the Indian Sale of Goods Act IX
of 1930). The verses recognise an exception in cases where both purchaser
and the real owner are equally at fault.

800. ममानहीनवादे तु दुरुवापेक्षया द्रुष्यः। समान्यनाधिकलेन स्वयं दुर्वाहितनिर्णयम्॥
बृह. प. ७. by स्मृतिच II. p. 216, वि. र. p. 108.

CHAPTER XVIII

SAMBHŪYA-SAMUTTHĀNA ⁸⁰¹

(A joint undertaking, partnership)

Where traders or others (like actors, musicians or artisans) carry on a business jointly it is termed a partnership (Nār. VI 1 and Kāt. 624).⁸⁰² Br (SBE vol. 33 p. 336 verses 1-2) says that a man should carry on a joint business with other persons of good family, that are clever, active, intelligent (or educated), familiar with coins, skilled in (controlling) expenditure and income, honest and valiant (or enterprising) and that joint undertakings like trade should not be carried on by prudent men with persons (partners) who are weak or lazy or afflicted with disease or are unlucky or destitute (of money).⁸⁰³ The meaning is not that all the above qualities must exist in all partners, but that according to the nature of the undertaking some of these qualities will be absolutely necessary Nār. VI. 2-3, Yāj. II. 259, Br. (SBE vol. 33 pp. 336-337 verses 3 and 4) prescribe that the expenses, loss, profit or work of those who jointly lend gold, grain or liquids shall be according to the capital put in by each.⁸⁰⁴ The duty of each is to act honestly towards the others, whether they are present or absent,

801 सम्भूय is the indeclinable past participle of the root भू with सम् and means 'having formed together or come together' and समुत्थान means 'undertaking'. So the two words mean 'undertaking in which are joined together' (labour, capital or both)

802, समवेतास्तु ये केचिच्छिल्पिनो वाणिजोऽपि वा । अविभज्य दृग्धनं तत्र कल समम् ॥ कात्या 624 q by अपराक p 832, परां मे III; p 304.

803 कुलीनदक्षानलसैः प्राज्ञैर्नाणकवेदिभिः । आयव्ययज्ञैः शुचिभिः शूरैः कर्णसह-
क्रियाम् ॥ अशकालसरोगातमन्दभाग्यनिराश्रये । वाणिज्याद्या सहैतस्तु न कर्तव्या इधे-
क्रिया ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच. II p 184, अपराक pp 831-832 'सहक्रिया वाणि-
ज्यकृषिशिल्पकृतुसगीतस्तेन्यात्मिकामित्यर्थः । तत्र वाणिज्यक्रिया नाणकवेदिभिरायव्ययज्ञैः
सम्भूय कार्या । कृषिक्रिया तु आयव्ययज्ञैः । शिल्पक्रिया सगीतक्रिया च प्राज्ञैः ॥ स्मृतिच
II p 184.

804 अथोर्ध्वतो ये तु हेमधान्यरसादिना । समन्वृताधिकैरज्ञैर्भलेषां तपाविधः ॥
समो न्यूनोधिको वांशो येन क्षिप्तस्तथैव सः । व्यय दद्यात्कर्म कुर्यात्प्राप्तं युजितं चैव हि ॥ बृह.
q. by. स्मृतिच II p. 185, व्य. प्र p. 298 अपराक p 832 ascribes the first to
कात्यायन.

in sales or purchases of various commodities.⁸⁰⁵ Br. (SBE vol 33 p 337 verses 5-7) provides that whatever⁸⁰⁶ property one partner may give (or transfer), being authorised to do so by the rest, or whatever document (or transaction) he may cause to be executed, all that is to be deemed as done by all partners; the partners themselves are declared to be the judges (the deciding persons) or witnesses among themselves in a doubtful case and in case of fraud, provided they are not already at feud among themselves. It follows from this that by entering into an agreement of partnership, each partner agrees that he submits to the decision of the other partners in cases of doubt. If any one from them is found out to have practised fraud on the others in sales or purchases he should clear himself by special oaths or ordeals. Yāj II. 260, Nār. VI. 5,⁸⁰⁷ Br. (SBE vol. 33 p. 337 verse 9) provide that each partner is responsible to make good what has been lost through his negligence or in consequence of his acting against the instructions of the others or of his acting without their authority or consent. If any one of the partners saves partnership property from act of God or the king or thieves (or similar calamity) by his own exertions he is to be awarded (as his special share) one tenth of the property saved (Yāj II 260, Kāt 631,⁸⁰⁸ Nār VI. 6) If any partner is crooked or fraudulent the rest may expel him without giving him any profit; a partner who is incompetent to work (personally) should get the partnership business done through another (Yāj II 265) Yāj. II. 264 and Nār VI. 7 and 17-18 state that if one partner

805. समक्षमसमक्षं वाऽवज्जयन्तः परस्परम् । नानापण्याहसारात् प्रकुर्वुः क्रयविक्रयौ ॥
व्यास q. by स्थितिच II p 185, अपराक p 832. Compare sec. 9 of the Indian Partnership Act (IX of 1932) about the duty to be just and faithful.

806. बहूनां समतो यस्तु द्यादेको धनं नरः । करणं कारयेद्वापि सर्वेरेव कृतं भवेत् ॥
परीक्षाः साक्षिणस्तु त एवोक्तः परस्परम् । सन्दिग्धेयं वञ्चनायां न चेद्दिद्वेषसंयुताः ॥ यः
कथिद्वज्जयन्तेषां विज्ञातः क्रयविक्रये । ज्ञापयैः सोपि शीघ्रः स्यात् सर्ववादेऽप्ययं विधिः ॥
बृह. q. by व्य म p 200, वि र pp. 113, 123, व्य म p. 299, अपराक p 832 has
all these, ascribes the first to काल्या. and reads कर्णं च कारयेः What is meant
is that when one partner raises an objection they have to decide what is
to be done by a majority (and so they are judges in their business) Vide
sections 12 and 18 of the Indian Partnership Act as to the decision by the
view of majority and as to agency of partners

807. प्रमादाकाशितं दाप्यः प्रतिषिद्धकृतं च यत् । असन्दिग्धं यत्कुर्यात्सर्वसम्भूयका-
रिभिः ॥ नारद VI. 5.

808 चोरतः सलिलादग्नेर्द्रव्यं यस्तु समाहरेत् । तस्यागो दशमो देयः सर्वद्रव्येष्वयं
विधिः ॥ काल्या 631 q. by परा. ना III. 305, वि. र. p. 114.

goes to a foreign country and dies, his share should be taken by his heirs (son &c.) or by his agnates or cognates; in default of these the other partners may take it and in default of them the king may take it after waiting for ten years to see whether any heir or claimant turns up. Kātyāyana⁸⁰⁹ states that in the case of artisans who together carry out some work, those among them who are directors of new methods get four shares, those who are adepts in the craft three shares, those who have studied the craft two shares and the apprentices only one share. Whatever is given to strangers by all together (i.e. by the partnership firm) should be claimed back by the firm as such; any single partner should not claim it; if he does so he will lose his share of the profit⁸¹⁰. Some rules are prescribed by Br. that among dancers, singers and musicians, the singers get equal shares, while those who beat the tune only get half share each; similarly in the joint construction of a mansion or a temple the head of the artisans gets two shares. An artisan⁸¹¹ (*śilpm*) is one who manufactures or works upon gold, silver, yarn, wood, stone and hides or one who has mastered one of the (64) arts. If a king has ordered a band of adventurers from among his subjects to make a plundering expedition in enemy country, Br. (in V. R. p. 125) and Kat. (633-635)⁸¹² prescribe that the king gets one tenth ($\frac{1}{10}$ acc. to Br.), the leader gets four shares in the remainder, the valiant among his followers three shares, the more capable two shares and the rest one each and that if any one of them is caught the money for his ransom should be contributed by all according to their shares. When no agreement is made as to shares in property by traders, husbandmen, thieves and artisans similar rules apply⁸¹³.

809. शिष्यकामिज्ञकुशला आचार्यामेति शिष्यिनः । एकद्वित्रिचतुर्मासान्दरेषुस्ते यथा-
त्तरम् ॥ कात्या. 632, q by व्य. म. p. 201, अपराकं p. 838, नि. र. p. 124.

810. समवेतैस्तु यद्वत्तं मार्यनीयं तथैव तत् । न याचेत च यः कथिष्ठान्नास्त परिहीयते ॥
बृह. q. by अपराकं p. 833, नि. र. p. 123, व्य. म. p. 300.

811. हिरण्यरूप्यवस्त्राणां काष्ठपाषाणचर्मणां । संस्कर्ता च कलाभिज्ञः शिल्पी चोक्तो
मनीषिभिः ॥ बृह. q by नि. र. p. 124, व्य. म. p. 304 (reads हिरण्यकुण्डलं)

812. परराज्राज्जन यत्स्याच्चौरैः स्वाध्याज्ञया हृतम् । राज्ञो वृक्षांशसुहृत्सु विभजेत्य-
धाविधिः । चौराणां मुख्यभूतस्तु चतुर्योशस्ततो हरेत् । चतुर्योशोऽर्धं तस्यो
वा ॥ तेषां चैत्यधनानां यो ग्रहणं समवाप्नुयात् । तन्मोक्षार्थं यद्वत्तं बहेषुस्ते यथांशतः ॥
कात्या. q by स्मृतिच. II. p. 189, व्यव. नि. p. 286, परा. मा. III. 311,
व्य. म. p. 305

813. वणिजां कर्षकाणां च चौराणां शिल्पिणां तथा । अनियन्तांशकर्तृणां सर्वेषां न
निर्णयः ॥ कात्या. q by व्य. म. p. 305, परा. मा. III. p. 312, नि. र. p. 126.

It is interesting to note that the ancient Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are silent about partnerships, that Manu (VIII. 206-210) lays down rules about the distribution of fees among the priests at a sacrifice and that in one verse (VIII. 211) he remarks that the same principles are to be applied in all matters where men work conjointly (i. e. each is to be paid according to the importance and volume of the work he does). The rules about sacrificial priests in Manu are: If a priest chosen to do work in a sacrifice abandons his work a share only of the fee in proportion to the work (done) shall be given to him by those conjointly working with him; if a priest leaves after the fees are distributed (as at the time of midday extraction of Soma in the great sacrifices like Jyotiṣṭoma) then he keeps the whole of it and shall cause the remaining work to be performed by another (who will be paid by the sacrificer, acc. to Medhātithi). When specific fees are prescribed to be paid to individual priests at the performance of the several parts in a complicated sacrifice, the individual priests are to receive them and all are not to participate; as for example, the adhvaryu takes the chariot, the brahmā priest takes the horse in Agnyādhana, the hotr also takes the horse and the udgātṛ the cart used in purchasing the soma plant. The four chief priests are entitled to one half of the fees, the first group of their assistants will get half of what the chief ones get, the 2nd group $\frac{1}{3}$ and the fourth $\frac{1}{4}$. Nār. VI. 10 and Br. (in V. R. p. 120) state that sacrificial priests are of three kinds viz. one hereditary and honoured by the ancestors of the sacrificer, one appointed by the sacrificer himself and one who performs the functions of his own accord through friendship and that (VI. 9 and 11) if an officiating priest forsakes a sacrificer who is free from any fault and who has caused no harm or if a sacrificer abandons a priest who is faultless, they both shall be punished but this does not apply to the third kind of priest. Śankha-Likhita, as quoted in V. R. pp. 117 and 120-121 and Sm. C. II. p. 188, give elaborate rules about sacrificial priests dying or leaving work and the fines to be imposed on them. Kaut. III. 14 lays down rules for the receipt of fees by priests when they leave off at different stages of such solemn sacrifices as the Agnistoma and also when the sacrificer dies without completing the sacrifice. The Vy. Nir. (pp. 284-285) quotes a few sentences from Kaut. III. 14.

The above shows that in the times of the ancient sūtras, secular partnerships had not attained sufficient importance and

CHAPTER XIX

DATTĀNAPAKARMA (resumption of gift).

This title is also called *dattāpradāṃka*⁸¹⁵ (lit that which is concerned with the non-delivery or resumption of a gift). Nār. VII. 1 defines it as that title where a man desires to resume what has been given by him because it has been improperly (in a manner opposed to law) given by him. Nār. (VII. 2) divides this title into four topics viz what may not be given, what may be given, what are valid gifts and what are invalid gifts. Nār. VII. 3-5 and Br (SBE vol. 33 p. 342 verse 2) state that there are eight things that cannot be given (*adeya*) viz an *anvāhuta*, a deposit, *yūctaka*, a pledge, property jointly owned with others, a deposit, son and wife, the entire property in the case of one who has offspring, and what has been already promised to another. Vide Kaut. III. 16, Yaj. II. 175⁸¹⁶ for a similar but more compendious statement, and Kāt. 638. These cannot be given either because they are not one's absolute property or because the gift of them is forbidden by the sages. In the case of even those who hold that one has ownership over one's son or wife, the gift of them is not possible because it is forbidden, just as though one owns rice, *yavas* and *māṣa* beans, one cannot make offerings of *māsa* because the veda prohibits their use in the words 'ayajñiṣā vai māsāḥ' (q by Sabara on Jai. VI. 3. 20). So son and wife cannot be given on account of the prohibition in the smrtis. The general rule of what may be given is stated

815 मेधातिथि on मनु VIII. 214 explains it as अपक्रिया क्रियापायः तस्य तत्राप्रतिषेधः । दानमेवं न चर्तितं भवति । एवैव दाने स्थितिविधि यावत् । कथं प्रतिश्रुत्यादीवमाने धर्मो न नश्यतीति नैवा शङ्का कर्तव्या । एव एवान्न धर्मो यत्र दीयते दत्तं च प्रत्यादीयते । So acc. to this दत्तानपाकर्म means 'not improper abstraction of what is given or promised to be given' The mitta on या II. 175 explains both दत्तापदानिक and दत्तानपाकर्म as follows : दत्तस्य अपदानं पुनर्हरणं यस्मिन्दानारूपे तद् दत्तापदानिकं नाम स्वयंहारपदम् .. दत्तस्य अनपाकर्म अनुनरादानं यत्र दानारूपे विवादपदे तद् दत्तानपाकर्म . Acc to this दत्तानपाकर्म means 'that in which what is donated cannot be taken back because the gift is according to law' (also impliedly the converse of it)

816 सर्वस्वं पुत्रद्वारमात्मनः प्रदायालुशयिनः प्रयच्छेत् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 16 सामान्य-पुत्रद्वाराधिसर्वस्वव्यासपाचितम् । प्रतिश्रुतं तथान्यस्येत्यदेवं लब्ध्वा स्मृतम् ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच II. 189, न्य. प्र p. 306; similar verses of Nār. VII. 4-5 and Dakṣa III. 19-20 have been quoted in (H. of Dh. vol II. p. 850 n. 2005).

by Yāj II 175, Nār. VII. 6 and Br. (SBE 33 p 342 verse 3), Kāt 640 viz. whatever is absolutely one's own excepting that required for the maintenance of one's family may be given⁸¹⁷ Manu (XI. 9-10), Nār. VII. 6 and Br. (quoted in H. of Dh. vol II pp. 850-851 n. 2007) condemn those who stint their family or servants in order to be charitable to others and say that he who does so would incur sin. Manu XI. 7 (=Nār. VII. 7), Vas VIII. 10, Yāj I. 124, Visnu Dh S. 59.8 prescribe that he alone who has property sufficient to provide for three years' maintenance for those whom he is bound to maintain or has more wealth than that may drink *soma* i. e. may engage in a soma sacrifice (which costs much)

Nār. VII. 8 states that there are seven kinds of *datta* gifts, i. e. gifts or transfers that cannot be resumed because they are made by a person in full possession of his faculties and of things that belong to him absolutely and are not forbidden. They are: the price paid for goods bought, wages, what is paid for pleasure (derived from dancing, singing, wrestling), a gift through affection, a gift made in gratitude, money paid to a bride's kinsmen, and gifts for spiritual or charitable purposes. Acc. to Br.⁸¹⁸ (SBE vol. 33 p. 343 verse 8) there are eight kinds of valid gifts. Nār. VII. 9-11 mentions sixteen kinds of invalid gifts, which have already been set out (in H. of Dh. vol. II p. 887 where Gaut. V. 22 that specifies some invalid gifts has also been cited). Vide Kāt. 647. The difference between gifts of *adeya* and *adatta* gifts is this. In the first class of cases, the gifts being forbidden are entirely null and void, while *adatta* gifts are those that are voidable and may be set aside by the court on the application of the donor himself, because, of the incapacity of the donor due to intoxication, lunacy, old age, minority, mistake etc. Kāt 646 and Kaut (III. 13) state

817. सर्वस्य बृहद्वर्जं तु कुटुम्बभरणविकम् । बह्वं तत्सकं देयमेव स्यादतो-
न्यथा ॥ कारवा. 640 q. by परा. मा III. 214, वि. र प 129, स वि प 283
Kāt. prohibits the gift of a house if a man owns only one

818. आत्मा तुल्यो वस्तुमूल्यं क्षीयुल्लक्षणकारिणे । अज्ञानमहं भीता दत्तमद्वि-
विदुः ॥ बृह. q by स्मृति- II. p 193. कारवायन 644-645 explain क्षीय and वस्तुकार
occurring in नारद and बृह., the first being a reward for finding out a lost
article or an unknown offender and the second, being a reward for protec-
ting a man from danger or for guarding the donor's property when he
was a minor or effecting some object desired by the donor (such as his
marriage &c)

that if a man⁸¹⁹ is in danger of life and promises the gift of all his property to whomsoever may save him, he may renege from the promise and pay only what an expert or arbitrator may award. Kat. (650-651) defines *utkoca* (bribe)⁸²⁰ as what is obtained in these ways viz. by giving (or threatening to give false) information about a person as a thief or a felon, or as one who breaks the rules of decent conduct, or as an adulterous person, or by pointing out those who are of bad character or by spreading false reports about a person. He further provides that a person offering the bribe should not be fined, but the intermediary may be fined and if the person accepting the bribe has been appointed to an office by the king he should be made to return the bribe and pay a fine eleven times as much to the king. But Kat. adds that where a person, not holding a public appointment obtains some gratification for work done, he would not be held guilty and would not have to return what he received as a reward or in gratitude. *Hārta* holds out⁸²¹ other-worldly evil consequences for not actually delivering what is promised or for resuming what has been already delivered as a gift viz the person doing so falls into Hell and is born as one of the lower animals and adds that what is promised as a gift for a religious purpose in so many words but is not actually delivered becomes a debt in this world and the next i. e. the king should make the promisor give the

819. प्राणसंशयमापन्नं यो मातुसारयेदित. । सर्वस्व तस्य दास्यामीत्युक्तेषु न तथा भवेत् ॥ कात्या. 646 q. by अपराकं p 781, वि. र. p 134, सूत्रिच II. p 193. नद्विगज्ज्वालालेनस्थालोपकृद्. सर्वस्वमुपदारात्मदानेनार्तकृतारमाहूय निस्तीर्णः कुशलमदिष्ट वेतनं दद्यात् । तेन सर्वभारतदानाज्ज्ञया व्याख्याता. ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III. 13.

820. स्तेनसाहसिकोद्भूतपारजायिकशसनात् । दर्शनाद् दूतनदृश्यं तथासत्यप्रवर्तनात् । प्राप्तमेतत्तु पाकिञ्चित् तदुक्तोच्चारणमुच्यते । न दाता तत्र दण्ड्यः स्थानमप्यस्यैव दोषमाह । नियुक्तो यस्तु कार्येषु स चेदुक्तोच्चारणमुयात् । स दाप्यस्तद्धनं कृत्स्नं दमश्चेकादशाधिकम् ॥ अनियुक्तस्तु कार्यायुक्तोच्चारणमवामुयात् । कृतमत्युपकारार्थस्तस्य दोषो न विद्यते ॥ कात्या. 650-653 q. by स. वि. 286, अपराकं 782, परा. मा III 320, इय. प्र. p. 312, इय. स. p. 205 The Indian Penal Code, section 116 (illustration a) read with sec 161, makes one who offers a bribe to a public servant punishable as an abettor. The ancient Indian law exempting the offerer from punishment would appear to be more-reasonable from certain points of view.

821. प्रतिश्रुतार्थादानेन दूतस्याच्छेदनेन च । विविधाश्चकार याति तिर्यग्योनौ च जायते ॥ वाच्ये यत्प्रतिज्ञाते कर्मणा योपपादितम् । कर्णं तद्धर्मसंयुक्तमिह लोके परत्र च ॥ हारीत q. by इय. प्र. p 310, विवाद-चन्द्र p. 36, सूत्रिच. II. p. 192, which remarks 'अणवद्विषमिधानेन अर्थाद्वपदायको दाप्यो दण्ड्यश्चेत्युक्तम्' स. वि. p 285 ascribes the first verse to कात्या. and reads 'कार्यकोदिशते मर्त्यस्तिर्यग्योनौ'.

promised gift and should inflict a fine. Kāt. (642) provides⁸²² that a man who 'having voluntarily promised a gift to a brāhmana does not deliver it should be made to render it as a debt and should be awarded the lowest amercement and further (verse 566) that if a man promises a gift for a religious purpose whether in good health or in disease, his son (or other heir) should be made to pay it if the promisor died without actually delivering it. These verses show that in two cases gifts though not completed by delivery of possession were enforced by ancient Indian courts viz. when the gift was promised to a brāhmana or when the gift was declared to be made for a religious and charitable purpose. The last verse contains the beginnings of the idea of a will, since the mere declaration of the intention of a man to give for a religious purpose is made enforceable after his death against his son or heir. But this germ could not evolve into a full-fledged law of testamentary succession on account of the practice of adoption, the requirement that a gift must be accompanied by present possession and the incidents of the joint family on account of which no single member could alienate family property except for legal necessity and which involved the doctrine that on the death of a member his rights ended and passed by survivorship to other members. Br. expressly states this.⁸²³ But a gift though promised need not be paid or carried out if the promisee turns out to be an irreligious man (Gaut. V. 21). Nār. VII 12 and Br. provide that he who enjoys an invalid gift and he who makes a forbidden gift are both to be punished by the king.⁸²⁴

In H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 841 it has been stated that gift consists in the cessation of the ownership of the donor in a thing and creating ownership in another. This latter is effected by acceptance (*svikāra*) by the donee. Acceptance may be made mentally, vocally or physically. For the formalities accompanying a gift such as sprinkling water on the thing donated and the

822. स्वेच्छया यः प्रतिश्रुत्य ब्राह्मणाय प्रतिग्रहम् । न दद्यादणवदाप्यः प्राप्नुयात्पूर्व-
साहसम् ॥ कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 192, स. वि. p. 285, च्य. प्र. p. 310, स्वधे-
नार्तेन वा देवं आवर्तितं धर्मकारणात् । अदत्त्वा तु द्युते दायस्तत्सुतो नात्र संशयः ॥ कात्या-
q. by सि. वि. p. 16, च्य. प्र. p. 313, स. वि. p. 287, विवादचन्द्र. p. 37, प्रतिश्रुत्या-
प्रदातारं स्वर्णं दण्डयेन्नृपः । मत्स्यपुराण 227. 8 q. by च्य. प्र. p. 310, प्रतिश्रुत्याप्यधर्म-
संशुकाय न दद्यात् । गौ. V. 21.

823. मद्रुर्ध्वमिति यद्वत् न सत्स्वत्वावहं भवेत् । तेनेदानीमदत्तत्वाद्भुते रिषियममापेत् ॥
बृह. q. by च्य. वि. p. 298

824. 'समो' 'दण्डः' स्यात्तथादेयप्रदायकः । बृह. q. by स. वि. p. 288.

offering of a *dakṣiṇā* to the donee, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 855. Some writers like Jimūtavāhana dispute the statement⁸²⁵ that acceptance is necessary to constitute a gift. The *Dayabhāga* states that by the mere relinquishment of a thing by the donor (i.e. by the activity of the donor himself) the ownership of the thing passes to the person intended as the donee, that the ownership of the other man does not arise by acceptance, that though ownership in the donee does arise by the mere activity of the donor, yet acceptance (*svikāra*) which is an activity of the donee makes the thing donated capable of being disposed off by the donee as he likes on account of his idea 'this is mine'. The *Dayabhāga* indulges in casuistical reasoning in support of its view, which it is not necessary to set out here. But the remarks of the *Dayabhāga* are not satisfactory, since it does not adequately explain what is to happen if the intended donee refuses the gift. On its hypothesis ownership has passed to the donee without acceptance being necessary. If the donee refuses, or dies without accepting, who is the owner? Can it be said that the thing becomes the property of whosoever first takes it up and that the donor cannot prevent a third person taking it up? The V. P. pp. 426-428 severely criticizes the *Dayabhāga* for its views.

825. दृष्टं च लोकेऽपि दत्ते हि चेतनोद्देशविशिष्टत्वात्तदेव दातृव्यापारात्सम्पदानस्य द्रव्ये स्वामित्वम् । न च स्वीकरणत्वं स्वत्वं स्वीकृतत्वेन दातृत्वापत्तेः । ... उत्पन्नमपि स्वत्वं सम्पदानव्यापारेण मनेदमिति ज्ञानेन यथेष्टव्यवहारार्थं कियत इति स्वीकारशब्दार्थः । द्वायभाग I. 21-24 pp. 13-15

CHAPTER XX

VETANASYĀNAPĀKARMA, ABHYUPETYĀSŪRŪSĀ AND SVĀMIPĀLAVIVĀDA

(Non-payment of wages, non-rendition of service, dispute
between master and herdsman).

The question about the payment or non-payment of wages to those whose services are hired for work is dealt with under this title (Nār IX. 1) According to Br. there⁸²⁶ are three titles of law in which the question of hiring enters, viz. *abhyupetyā-sūśrūsā*, *vetanasyānapākarma* and *svānpālāvivāda*. Manu and Kaut. do not treat of the first of these three Here *vetanasyānapākarma* will be first dealt with, then *abhyupetyā-sūśrūsā* and *svānpālāvivāda* will be separately treated of. All these three topics are concerned with masters and servants or employers and employees The rules are different according as the contract of service is for a fixed term or for an indefinite period or is for executing a definite piece of work and according as the rate of wages or the hire is fixed beforehand or is not fixed. We have further to remember that the rules are spread over a large period i. e. from about 6th century B. C. to about 500 A. D. (from Gaut. and Āp. to Br. and Kāt) The rules deal with the liabilities of both masters and servants Nār. IX. 2 states that the wages agreed upon may be paid at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the work undertaken. But when no wages are settled beforehand Nār. IX. 3, Yāj. II. 194, Kaut. III. 13⁸²⁷ provide that the (agent of a) trader, the cowherd, the husbandman should receive a tenth part respectively of the profit, of the milk and of the crops. This latter according to the Sm. C. II p. 201 holds good where the crops are raised easily But Br.

826. अद्वेयादिकमास्यां भूतानासुच्यते विधिः । अश्वशूबाभ्युपेत्यैतत्पदमादां निगद्यते ।
वेतनस्यानपाकर्मे तद्वत् स्वामियालयो । क्रमशः कथ्यते वादो भूतभेदत्रय स्थित्यर्थः ॥ इदं. 10
वि. र p 139, वि. चि. p. 41.

827. कर्मकालाद्वरूपमसम्भावितवेतनं । कर्मकं सस्याना गोपालकं सर्पिणां वैदेहकः
पश्यानामात्मना व्यवहृतानां दशभागमसंभावितवेतनो लभेत ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III 13, भूतानि-
क्षितायां द्वादशभागं समाम्युक्तं । लाभगोपीजनसस्यानां कणिमोषकुक्षीरला ॥ नारद IX. 3
This is ascribed to Kaṭya. by स. वि p 298

another servant or that the servant is not to work for another master during the period fixed.

Yāj. II. 197, Nār. IX. 9, Kāt. 659, Visnu Dh. S.⁸³⁴ V. 155-156 provide that if through the fault of a carrier (and not through act of God or the king) goods entrusted to him for carrying are lost or become deteriorated, he should be made to pay for the loss. Vṛddha-Manu specifies that if the goods are lost through the negligence of the servant he has to pay only the price, but if through spite then he should be made to pay double the price. If a hired servant (such as a palanquin-bearer or an armed guard) causes obstruction (by refusing to work) at the time of starting for an auspicious matter (such as a marriage), he should be made to pay double the amount of the wages agreed upon and another servant may be engaged (Yāj. II. 197, Nār. IX. 8, Kāt. 658, Vṛddha-Manu in V R. p. 163). Yāj. II. 198, Nār. IX. 7 provide that if a servant abandons his work (as a bearer or guard) after a start is made (when not seized by illness) he should be made to pay $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ or the whole of the wages according to the distance traversed and a master abandoning a servant in similar circumstances should be made to pay similarly.

If a servant agrees to take a lump sum for some work to be done for a certain period and leaves the work before the period elapses he would lose all the wages, but if he leaves in the middle of the period through the fault of the employer (such as scolding without any fault of the servant) he would be entitled to receive a proportionate part of the wages (Nār. q. by V. R. p. 161).⁸³⁵ Visnu Dh. S V. 153-154 and 157-158 provide that in the same circumstances the servant would have to pay a fine

834. भाण्डं वपसनमागच्छेद्यदि वाहकदोषतः । स दाप्यो यत्प्रणष्टं स्वाहैवराजकुलाद्वदे । नारद IX. 9: न तु दाप्यो हतं चौरैर्दुग्धमूर्द्धं जलेन वा । कात्या 659, q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 203, अपराक p 799, स. वि. p. 300. प्रमादाकाशितं दाप्यः समं द्विद्रोहनाशितम् । वृद्धमह. q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 203, वि. र. p. 162, तद्वेगेण यद्दिनद्वयं तत्स्वामिने । अन्यत्र द्वेषोपघातात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 155-56, विष्णुयन्त्राहको दाप्यः मर्याने द्विगुणं दमम् । कात्या 658 q. by स्मृतिच. II p 203, परा. ना. III. p 327. The provisions for breach of contract of personal service during a journey and the like set out here are very mild as compared with the severe punishment provided for it under section 490 of the Indian Penal Code (repealed in 1925).

835. कालेऽपूर्णं त्यजन् कर्म धृतेर्नाशनवाप्तुयात् । स्वामिदोषादप्यकामन् पावत्कृतमवाप्तुयात् ॥ नारद q. in वि. र. p. 161, व्य. म. p 326. त्यजेत्पाथि सहायं यः आप्तं रोषार्तमेव वा । माप्नुयात्साहसं पूर्वं ग्रामे इयदमपालयन् ॥ कात्या 660 q. by वि. र. p. 665, अपराक p. 800.

of 100 panas and that if the employer abandons the servant before the period fixed has expired he would have to pay the whole of the wages to the servant and a fine of one hundred panas (except in the case of act of God and the king). *Kat* (660) provides that a master deserting on a journey his servant that is tired or falls ill should be fined the first amercement if he does not wait for three days in the village. If a trader after engaging a vehicle or draught animals for carrying his merchandise for hire, does not employ them to carry his goods he should be made to pay a fourth of the hire settled and the whole of it if he discharges them when only a part of the journey has been made (*Nar.* IX. 7) If the merchandise be attached⁸³⁶ (by the king's officers for toll &c.) or be stolen the servant engaged to carry the goods will receive a proportionate amount (out of the lump sum agreed to be paid for a certain journey) according to the distance travelled (*Kat.* 661) If the employer does not pay the wages of a servant even though the latter has done his work the king should make him pay the wages and also a proper fine (*Br* in *S. B. E* vol. 33 p 346 verse 18). If a man⁸³⁷ having hired elephants, horses, bulls, asses or camels does not return them even though the work (for which he hired them) is finished he should be made to restore them together with the hire (up to the day of return) The same rule applies to a man taking on rent a house or water (reservoir) or a market and not giving it up at the time fixed (*Kat.* 662-663) *Nar.* (IX. 20-21) provides that if a person builds a house on another's land by paying rent (*stoma*) for the land, he may take away when vacating the land the bricks, the timber and grass (thatch) of the house built by him, but if a man builds a house on another's land without paying rent and against the owner's wish then he has to leave

836. यदा च पथि तज्जाण्डमासिध्येत क्षियेत वा । यावान्धा गतस्तेन माण्डपासापत्तिं भुतिम् ॥ कात्या 661 q by स्मृतिच II 204, वि र p 164, कुते कर्मणि य. स्वामी न दद्याद्वित्तं भुते । राज्ञा दापयितव्य. स्वाह्निय चातुरूपत ॥ बृह in स्मृतिच II p 204, वि र p 165

837. हस्त्यश्वगोखरोद्गादीन् गृहीत्वा भाटकेन या. । नापियेकृतकृत्यार्थं स तु दाप्य सभाटकम् । गृहवार्यापणादीनि गृहीत्वा भाटकेन यः । स्वामिने नापियेद्यावत्तावदाप्य सभाटकम् ॥ कात्या 662-663 q by स्मृतिच II p 205, वि र pp 168-169, परा मा III pp. 330-331. The word भाटक (which corresponds to the word भोट in Marathi and other vernaculars) appears to be a *prākṛit* equivalent of the old Sanskrit word भुति treated again as a Sanskrit word In Sanskrit वेतन or भुति is used for wages, while भाटक or स्तोम means rent of a house or land or the like

the materials of his house to the owner of the land when he has to give up the land. An important rule is stated by Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 346 verse 17) that when a servant⁸³⁸ employed by an employer does some improper act (such as a theft), to another for the benefit of his master, the latter would be held responsible for the loss. The *Matsyapurāṇa* says that if a teacher having agreed to teach a lore or craft for money which he receives fails to do so, he should be fined the whole of the amount⁸³⁹ of the fee.

From the above it will be clear that contracts of service and letting on hire are lumped together under one head by the *smṛtis*.

Kaut. III. 14 provides that persons may be paid wages by a guild or corporation of workers of which they are members. The earnings of such guilds may be divided equally among all workers or as agreed upon among themselves. Yaj. II. 265 also refers to the fact that rules similar to those of partnerships may apply to guilds of husbandmen and artisans.

Certain rules are laid down in Nār. IX. 18, Yāj. II. 292 and *Matsyapurāṇa* 227. 144-146 about the monetary liabilities of prostitutes and persons visiting them. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 638-39 above. The *Matsyapurāṇa* (227. 144-146) states that a brāhmana who visits a prostitute should be fined as many panas as he paid to her, that if a prostitute after receiving her fee does not receive the visitor and goes elsewhere she should be made to pay to the visitor double of the fee and a similar sum as fine to the king, and that if one, after telling a prostitute that she is to visit a certain person, takes her to a different person, he should be fined one gold māśaka.

The *Matsyapurāṇa* (227. 147) further states that a visitor who has had sexual intercourse with a prostitute and yet has not paid her fee should be made to pay double the (agreed) fee to her and a similar sum as fine to the king. Nārada provides that the chief prostitutes and the voluptuaries that stay with them

838. प्रहृष्टा विनियुक्तः सन् भूतको विदधाति यद् । तदर्थमशुभं कर्म स्वामी तत्राप्राच्ययात् । इह. q by स्मृतिच II. p 204, वि र. p. 162 Compare section 238 of the Indian Contract Act as to the principal's liability for his agent's misrepresentation or fraud

839. मूल्यमादाय यो विद्यां शिल्पं वा न प्रयच्छति । दण्ड्यः स मूलं सकलं धर्मज्ञेन महीश्वरा ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 227. 6 q. by वि. र. p 163.

should help in deciding monetary disputes in which prostitutes are concerned ⁸⁴⁰ (q in Sm. C. II. p. 206 and others). Nār. (IX. 18-19) prescribes the payment of eight times the fee and a similar fine in the case contemplated in Matsya 227. 147.

Abhyupetyāśūs; ūsā (non-rendition of service after making a contract to serve or obey) ⁸⁴¹. Nār VIII. 1 defines it as the title in which after having undertaken to serve or obey one does not act up to it. The ancient dharmaśāstras mention only two kinds of servants viz. agricultural labourers and herdsmen Vide Āp Dh. S. II. 11. 28. 2-3 and Gaut. XII. 16-17 ⁸⁴². Acc. to Nār. VIII. 2 and 3 there are five kinds of servers (or attendants) viz. four that are called *karmakara* (performers of labour) and the fifth class comprehends slaves of fifteen kinds; and the four *karmakaras* are pupil (*śisya*), apprentice (*antevāsin*), a hired servant (*bhṛtaka*) and one who supervises hired servants (*adhikarmakṛt*). Not being free to do as they like is the common attribute of these five kinds of attendants, but there is a distinction among them due to their castes, their peculiar actions and their mode of maintaining themselves (Nār VIII. 4). A *śisya* (pupil) is one who desires (from his teacher) instruction in Vedic learning, an *antevāsin* is one who receives instruction in some craft such as goldsmith's work or dancing, a hired servant is one that does some work for wages, an *adhikarmakṛt* is one who supervises hired servants. Work is of two kinds, *śubha* (i. e. pure, done by the four kinds of *karmakaras*) and *aśubha* i. e. impure (done only by slaves). *Aśubha* acts comprise ⁸⁴³ (Nār. VIII. 6-7 and Kāt. 720) sweeping the doors of houses, pits in which leavings of food are thrown, roads, rubbish heaps; scratching or shampooing the private parts (of the masters); collecting and throwing away leavings of food, ordure and urine and making use of one's limbs (hand &c) at the master's desire for wiping off the master's private parts, all other actions are pure. *Karmakaras* do work for securing Vedic learning or *vyṁāna* (art or craft), some desire or money. The

840 वेद्याः प्रधाना यास्तत्र कासुकास्तद्व्यहोषिता । तत्समुत्थेषु कार्येषु निर्णयं सज्जो विदुः ॥ नारद q by स्मृतिच II p 206, वि र p 167, व्य प्र p 330

841 आज्ञाकरणं श्रुत्वा तामङ्गकृत्य पश्चाद्यो न सम्पादयति तद्विवादपदमभ्युपेत्या श्रुत्वास्त्वयम् । मिता. on या II. 182

842 अवशिन्न कीनाशस्य कर्मन्यासे दण्डताडनम् । तथा पशुपरय । आप ध. II. 11. 28. 2-3.

843. विष्णुज्ञानमार्जनं चैव नग्नत्वपरिमर्दनम् । प्रायो दासीसुता कुर्तुर्वादिग्रहणं च यत् । कार्या 720 q. by वि र p. 144

duties of a vedic student are described by Nār. VIII. 8-15 and have been set out above in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 305-312 viz. to wait upon the teacher, his wife and son, to beg for food, to sleep on the ground, to do the bidding of the teacher, to learn the vedas, to offer fee to the teacher at the end of vedic study. An apprentice is distinguished in his actions and mode of maintenance from a śiṣya. The antevāsin, acc. to Yāj. II. 184, Nār. VIII. 16-21, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 344 verse 6) and Kat. 713, resides with a master craftsman to learn some⁸⁴⁴ art or craft (such as goldsmith's work, singing, dancing, house-building), agreeing to work under him for a stated period, the master craftsman gives him food and teaches him in his own house, does not put him to any other work; if the apprentice leaves the teacher even though the latter is willing to teach him, he (the pupil) should be made to stay with the teacher and may be whipped or confined; the pupil even though he may have become an adept has to stay with the master till the end of the agreed period and the teacher appropriates the fruits of the apprentice's labour. If the master does not instruct the apprentice in the craft and makes him do other work, he would be liable to pay the first amercement and the pupil may leave him⁸⁴⁵.

Hired servants have different grades among them arising from the work they do, the wages they receive and the period for which they are employed and they are distinguished from apprentices in these respects and not as regards caste or mode of maintenance. According to Nār. VIII. 22-23 and Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33, p. 344 verse 8) a hired servant is of three kinds and his wages depend on the work he does and his ability to do it. The three kinds are the highest (viz. a soldier), middling (an agriculturist), the lowest⁸⁴⁶ (a porter). A hired servant may

⁸⁴⁴ अनेकधा तेऽभिहिता जातिकर्माश्रुतपत । विद्याविज्ञानकामार्थनिमित्तेन चतुर्विधाः । एकैकं पुनरेतेषां क्रियाभेदात्प्रच्यते ॥ विद्या त्रीणि समाख्याता अग्नयजुःसामलक्षणा । तदर्थं श्रुतश्रुत्या मन्त्राणां व्याख्येयताम् । विज्ञानश्रुत्यते कालं हेमकुप्यादिसंस्कृति । नृत्तयादिकं च तच्छिक्षणं कुर्यात् कर्म शरीरे हि ॥ बृह. q by वि. र. pp 140-41, स्मृतिच II. p 195, व्य. म. p 314, व्यवहारसार p. 155 (the last three contain only the last two verses)

⁸⁴⁵ यस्तु न ग्राहयेच्छिल्प कर्माण्यन्यानि कारयेत् । माप्नुयात्साहसं पूर्वं तस्माच्छिष्यो निवर्तते ॥ कात्या. q by अपराकं p. 790, परा मा III. 338, वि. र. p 141

⁸⁴⁶ बहुधार्पयुतः श्रोतस्तथा भागधृतीऽपरः । ह्रीन्मध्योत्तमत्वं च सर्वेषामेव चोदितम् ॥ दिनगार्धपन्मासविमासाद्वृत्तस्तथा । कर्म कुर्वात्यतिज्ञातं लभते पारिभाषितम् ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच II p 196, परा मा III. p 339-40.

'be engaged for a day, a fortnight, a month or for longer periods, should perform the work undertaken and get the wages agreed upon.' He may be paid in cash or by giving him a share of crops or a share in the milk of the cattle he tends⁸⁴⁷

A person who is employed and given authority over all servants and also one who looks to the affairs (expenditure &c.) of the household is called 'adhikarmakṛta (or-kṛt), acc. to Nār. VIII. 24. All these four are called workers in clean occupations, while the fifteen kinds of slaves are employed in the lowest and dirtiest work (Nār. VIII. 25) The difference between the hired servants and slaves is this that the latter surrender all their freedom and themselves entirely to another, while the former, though dependent to some extent, do retain some freedom (Kāt 715), but a brāhmana was not to be a slave⁸⁴⁸. In very ancient times the master's liability for the acts of his servant does not seem to have been recognized. For example, Gaut XII 17, states that if cattle entrusted to a herdsman cause loss to crops, then the herdsman is to be held responsible (and not the owner who employs the herdsman). But Manu, VIII. 243, Yāj. II. 161, Nār XIV. 29 appear to hold the master liable to make good the loss caused by the herdsman's default Vide Br. quoted above under *śetamasyū-napūkarma*.

The kinds of slaves and the incidents of slavery have been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II pp 180-189. A few matters not referred to there may be dealt with here 'Buddhist India' p. 55 (by Rhys Davids) shows how slavery in the Buddhist period was not as miserable as under the Greeks The Rājatarangini IV 39 states that king Vajraditya of Kashmir (in the 8th Century A. D.) sold many men as slaves to Mlecchas. One cannot help blaming the British Indian Government for the Assam Labour and Emigration Act (VI of 1901) whereby a modified form of serfdom or slavery was legalised for the benefit of the tea planters of Assam, Bengal and other provinces and by sections 168-169 of which poor indentured labourers who were induced to labour on the sumptuous monthly wages of five rupees were liable to be sentenced to *fino* or in

847 द्विप्रकारो भागभूतः कृषिगोजीविनः स्मृतः । जातसह्यासथा शीरासत रुमेत न सहायः ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II p. 196, व्य प्र p 316, वि र. p 143

848 स्वतन्त्रस्यात्मनो दानादासत्वं दारवद्भूतः । त्रिषु वर्णेषु विज्ञेयं दारवं निरायणं कश्चित् । कत्या 715 q by अपराक p 788, स्मृतिच II p. 197.

default to imprisonment, if they left off the work to which by agreement they were tied down in unhealthy districts and unhealthy surroundings.

Kāt. (725) provides that⁸⁴⁹ if a woman who is not a slave marries a slave she becomes a slave since her husband is her lord and is dependent on his master. If a person buys or sells a brāhmana woman⁸⁵⁰ as a slave the king should annul that transaction and all persons (concerned in it) should be fined by him and the same holds good in the case of a woman of a respectable family who took shelter with a person and was made a slave by him or transferred by him to another as a slave (Kāt. 726-727). The punishment of first amercement is prescribed for a person who has sexual intercourse with the nurse of his child or with another woman who is not a slave and the wife of his attendant as if she were a slave; and a fine of two hundred panas is provided in case a master who is not in difficulties and is well-off desires to sell a female slave who is faithful and weeps bitterly (being unwilling to leave him). Nār. VIII. 40 provides that if a slave leaves his master and goes over to another saying 'I am your slave' that would not help the slave, as his former owner would be entitled to claim him back. Uśanas states⁸⁵¹ that a *guru* (elderly person), a *sapinda*, a brāhmaṇa and persons of the lowest castes (cāṇḍālas &c.) cannot be made slaves, nor can any one (of the higher castes) who is superior in learning be the slave of one of the same caste.

849 दासेनोदा त्वदासी या सापि दासीत्वमाप्नुयात् । परमाज्जतां यमुत्तस्या स्वाभ्यधीनः प्रभूर्यतः ॥ कात्या. १ by स्मृतिच II 201, च प 322, स वि p 294

850 आद्याद् ब्राह्मणी यस्तु विक्रीणीत तथैव च । राज्ञा तद्वक्तुं कार्यं दण्डबाः स्युः सर्व एव ते ॥ कामातु संश्रिता यस्तु दासीं कुर्यात्कुलस्त्रियम् । संक्रामयेत् बान्धवत्र दण्डस्तस्त्वा-
च्छत भवेत् ॥ बालपात्रीमदासीं च दासीमिव शुनक्ति यः । परिवारकपत्नी या माप्नुयात्पूर्वसाह-
सम् ॥ विक्रीशमानो यो भर्ता दासीं विक्रेतुमिच्छति । अनापदिश्य शक्त सच माप्नुयाद् द्विशतं
दम् ॥ कात्या १ by अपराक p 789, वि. र. pp 154-155, च प 323.

851 न शुर्कनं सपिण्डश्च न विप्रो नान्ययोनयः । दासभावं न तेऽर्हन्ति न च विद्या-
धिको द्विजः ॥ उज्जैनस्य १ by स वि p 296, which explains 'ब्राह्मणस्य अन्ययोनिर्न
दास विद्याधिकश्च । एव शत्रियादेर्ब्राह्मण । समवर्णो नु विद्याधिको न दासः ।'

CHAPTER XXI

SAMVID-VYATIKRAMA AND OTHER TITLES

(Violation of compacts or conventions)

Nār. (XIII. 1) employs the expression *samayasyūnapākṣaṇa*. Manu VIII. 5 employs the first expression. Manu (VIII. 218-219) has both names in view, when he says 'I shall now declare the rules applicable to those who violate *samayas* (conventions) He who having entered into a compact (*samvad*) under (the sanction of) an oath with the inhabitants of a village or a district or with a group of traders or other persons breaks it through greed should be banished from the kingdom by the king.' In Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 2 and II 4, 8 13 the word 'samaya' ⁸⁵² is employed in the sense of 'convention or accepted doctrine'. The same word is also used in the sense of 'agreement' as in Yāj. I 61 (*gāndharvāḥ samayānmutāḥ*) In this title it means 'the acceptance of a certain rule or convention arrived at by many', as explained by ⁸⁵³ Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 219. It signifies a local or caste usage or convention made by groups of people (such as guilds and corporations) binding on all members that form or join the several groups. The Amarakosa holds that *ūcāra* and *samvad* are among the several meanings of *samaya*. Medhātithi explains that, if the inhabitants of a village come to a decision that they would oppose the inhabitants of a neighbouring village who were indulging in grazing their cattle in the pastures of the former village or diverting the watercourses, and that if in doing so there was a riot or a suit were filed before the king, all should

852 धर्मज्ञसमय प्रमाण वेदाश्च । आप घ सू I 1 1 2. भट्टानां तु यथार्थसमयदेव
इति व्यापवित्तमयः ॥ आप घ सू II 4. 8 13

853 समवसिद्धि (समय सिद्धि १) सङ्केत द्रष्टे मया भवतानुमते निश्चितं रश्मि-
यश्चुपगम । मेधा on मनु 8. 219. समय, शपथोच्चारणसिद्धान्तविधि । अथवा
Medh on Manu VIII 220 takes the word 'samaya' by itself and translates
(S B E vol 25 p 293) is misled (probably by some corrupt text) in
translating as 'belonging to a corporation inhabiting a village or a d. etc.'
मेधा says 'एवं ग्राममनुदायो देशस्य (देश सङ्घस्य) एकधर्मात्पुनरात्मनो नानाजातीयानामपि प्राणिनां समुद्ये यथा मिहानां सङ्घो वसति । सङ्घस्यस्युदायो
सङ्घस्य इति ।'

be of one mind, that any one of those who encouraged this decision would be liable to be punished if he backed out of it through some inducement offered by the headman of the other village. Nār. XIII. 1 explains that *śamay* means the rules (or conventions) settled among heretics, *naigamas*⁸⁵⁴ and the like. Yāj II. 192 and Nār. XIII. 2 provide that the conventions of guilds, *naigamas*, heretics, *śrenis*, *pūgas*, *ganas* and in towns and districts should be enforced by the king and their traditional mode of conducting their business should be protected. Some remarks have already been made on guilds and corporations above (pp. 156-57 notes 196-198). Vide also H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 66-69 for the guilds and corporations and the meanings of words like *śreni*, *pūga*, *gaṇa* etc. Some further information is added here. The Sm. C. (II p. 223) has a very⁸⁵⁵ interesting note illustrating the various conventions of several groups and its remarks are copied *verbatim* by the V. P. pp. 332-333. It says: 'Even heretics have certain rules made for the benefit of their monasteries. Among *naigamas* there is a practice that those who disregard messages brought by servants wearing a specific jacket (as a uniform) should be fined. *Śrenis* are guilds of craftsmen such as weavers. They have rules that certain articles are to be sold only by a certain guild and by no other. *Pūgas* are groups of elephant riders and horse riders.' *Vrāta* is defined by Kāt. as a body of persons armed with various weapons, while the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini V. 2. 21 (*vrātena jivati*) explains it as a 'group of men of several castes and several occupations who make a living by relying on their formidable bodies'. Acc to the Mit. heretics are those like the Baudhdhas who do not regard the Veda as authoritative. *Gana* means, acc.

854 नैगम is defined by पदविज्ञानम् as follows. पौरुषेयतया वेदं ग्रामाण्य (वेद-ग्रामाण्य ?) प्रवदन्ति ते । तेषां वैशेषिकादीनां नैगमाख्या प्रकीर्त्यते ॥ q by व्यव नि p 13 But this sense is not appropriate here. The same work (p 14) quotes कात्यायन's definition which is more appropriate 'नानापौरसमाजस्तु नैगमाख्यः प्रकीर्तितः'.

855 भूगव्राते चान्योन्यसुखं सन्नेन गन्तव्यमित्यादयः सन्ति समयः । गणेषु पञ्चमेऽङ्गि पञ्चमे वाक्दे कर्णवेध कर्तव्य इत्येवमादिरस्ति समयः । गणादिपञ्चादिशब्देन ब्रह्मपुरीमहाजन. परिशुहीतः । तत्र शुरुदक्षिणाद्यर्थमागतो माननीय इत्यादिसमयोरिति । दुर्गे तु धान्यादिकं शहीत्वा अन्यत्र यावत्यतो न तद्विक्रयान्तिस्ति समयः । जनपदे तु कश्चिद्विकृतृहस्ते दशबन्ध-ग्रहण कार्य कश्चिद्विकृतृहस्ते इत्यादिकोऽस्त्यनेकविध समयः । जनपदे तथेत्यत्र तथाशब्दोऽसु-कथानवोपपुरादीनां प्रदर्शनार्थः । तत्र न गोपचारस्थाने खातव्यमित्यादिकोऽस्ति ग्रामे समयः । आभीरक्षीपुरुषव्यभिचारे न दण्ड इत्यादिकोऽस्ति घोषे समयः । स्मृतिच II p 223 on नारद XIII 2 'पापण्डिनैगमश्रेणीभूगव्रातगणादिषु । सरक्षेत् समय राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा ॥'.

to Mit 'an assemblage of armed persons subsisting by following one occupation', while Kāt (680) says it is a corporation of brāhmanas. In the Rājāt II. 132 reference is made to corporations of purohitas at temples and tirthas (sacred places). The Sm. C states that among pūgas and vrātas there is a convention that they must go to battle all together and not separately. Among ganas there is a usage that the lobes of the ear (of a child) are to be pierced on the 5th day or in the fifth year from birth. Among mahājanas in a settlement of brāhmanas there is a convention that a brāhmana repairing to them for collecting fees to be paid to his teacher (at the close of Vedic study) should be honoured (i e. should be paid some contribution). In certain districts there is a usage that either the seller or the buyer should keep in his hand $\frac{1}{10}$ of the price (probably for finding out whether the article is useful for the purpose in hand and resiling from the bargain if it is not). In forts or capitales there is a rule that corn taken out of it by a person with him when going out elsewhere should not be sold by him. In villages there is a rule that in pastures no digging would be allowed. In the hamlets inhabited by abhīras there is a convention that for adultery by a male or female there is to be no fine. It does credit to the ancient writers on dharmaśāstra that they were tolerant enough to require the king, whatever his own religious persuasion might be, to honour and enforce the usages of even heretics among themselves. The only requirement was that the enforcement of their usages must not be opposed to the interest of the country or the capital and must not cause commotion and must not be plainly immoral⁸⁵⁶ (Nār XIII. 4-5 and 7 and Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 220) Yāj (II 188-192) lays down the following rules : there should be a committee (of two, three or five, acc. to Br.)⁸⁵⁷ to look after the business of the guilds &c (called *kāryacintaka*) who should be religious, pure, not covetous and all members should carry out what they decide upon ; when the committee members approach the king on some business of their guild he should bestow on them gifts and

856 दोषवत्करणं यत्स्याद्विनायकप्रकल्पितम् । प्रवृत्तमपि तद्विनायकं श्रेयस्कामो निवर्तयेत् ॥ भास्व (समयस्यानपाकर्म 7) on which the वयं प्र p 337 has the following instructive note यद्दोषादिदोषवत्करणं श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धं विधवादी वेद्यान्नादिकं पाषण्डादिभिः प्रकल्पितं तद्वद्वकालमवृत्तमपि राज्ञा निवर्तनीयमित्यर्थः ।

857. द्वौ त्रयः पञ्च वा कार्याः समुहहितवादिनः । कर्तव्यं बन्धनं तेषां ग्रामश्रेणिगणादिभिः ॥ बृह० q in स्मृतिच II. p 224, वयं प्र p 334 For the qualities of the committee members (similar to Yāj II. 191) vide Br (S. B. E. vol. 33

... १०) a by वयं प्र p. 334.

honour them. Whatever is obtained by any one sent on the business of the group must be handed over by him to the heads of the group (also Br. in S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 349 verse 22)⁸⁵⁸ and if he does not do so he should be fined eleven times as much. Whoever goes against the heads of the group that are working for its benefit should be punished in the first amercement (by the group itself, acc. to Sm. C. II. p. 224). Kāt. (677) states the general rule that whatever is obtained (by the committee or advisers of the group) or is saved by them or whatever debts are incurred by them for their group and whatever they obtain through the king's favour should be shared equally by all (members of the group). Kāt. (674-675) provides that whatever debt was professedly incurred by the committee for the group but was misappropriated by them or applied to their individual purposes must be paid by them and that those who subsequently join the groups already formed become equally entitled to the property and liable for the debts previously acquired or incurred. Manu VIII. 220 and Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 348 v. 14) provide a fine of six *niskas* of four *suvarnas* each (or six *niskas* and four *suvarnas*) for him who falls out with his associates. Kāt. (671) provides that that member (of a group) who opposes what is reasonable, who gives no scope to (i.e. obstructs or persistently interrupts) a speaker (in a meeting of the group) or who speaks absurdly should be made to pay the first amercement. Yāj. II. 187 prescribes forfeiture of all property and banishment for him, who misappropriates the property of the group or corporation or who violates the conventions made by the group (or the king). As stated by the Mīṭ this and other sentences depended upon the nature and gravity of the offence and the capacity of the offender⁸⁵⁹.

Krayavikrayānusāya (repentance after purchase or sale). Manu VIII. 222 and Kāt. III. 15 regard this as one title of law. But Nār. (XI and XII) splits this into two titles viz. *vikriyāsampādāna* (non-delivery of a thing after it is sold for a price) and *krītvānusāya* (repentance after buying) Manu states the general rule that whenever a person after buying

858. यत्नेः प्राप्तं रक्षितं वा गणार्थं वा कर्णं कृतम् । राजप्रसादलब्धं च सर्वेषामेव तत्समम् ॥ गणसुहृद्व्यं यत्किञ्चित्कृतं भक्षितं भवेत् । आत्मार्थं विनिस्तुतं वा देयं तैरेव तद्ववेत् ॥ गणानां श्रेयिषाणां गतां सुख्यं तु मध्यमात् । प्राक्तनस्य धनस्य समांशाः सर्वे एव ते ॥ कात्या य. by स वि p. 330-331, वि. १ p. 187, स्मृतिच II p. 227, व्य. ५ p. 338

859. मयुषतिपावितदण्डानां निर्वासनचतुः सुवर्णनिष्ककृतमानानामन्यतमो जातिशत्रुत्पाद्य-पेक्षा कल्पनीयः । मिता ०० या II 187.

or selling anything repents of having done so, he may return or take back that thing within ten days Nār XI 2 states that property is of two kinds in this world viz movable and immovable and that all property is designated as *panya* (saleable) in rules about purchase and sale. According to Yāj II. 254, Nār XI. 4-5, Visnu Dh S. V 127⁸⁶⁰, if a man sells property and does not deliver it to the purchaser, he should be made to deliver it to the purchaser together with profits (between the time of sale and delivery) and if it is movable together with the price of profits arising⁸⁶¹ from it (such as milk in the case of a cow) Visnu Dh S V 128 prescribes a fine of 100 panas against the vendor. Kaut III. 15 prescribes a fine of 12 panas against the vendor who after selling a thing does not deliver it and also against a buyer who having purchased does not take delivery of it, except when the thing itself is defective or is lost by act of king or theft or by fire or flood or unless the transaction was for inadequate price or brought about in distress⁸⁶². If the article sold is not delivered by the vendor after demand by the vendee and it is injured, destroyed by fire or stolen, the loss will fall on the vendor (Nār. XI. 6, Visnu Dh. S V. 129, Yāj II. 256). These rules apply when the vendor does not feel repentance for having sold the thing, but if he feels repentance then Manu VIII. 222 will apply and the vendor may pay back the price and recover the article within ten days⁸⁶³ from the sale Kat. (684) provides the same rule. No one, either buyer or vendor, can rescind the sale after ten days and if any one uses force in

860 विक्रीय पण्य मूल्येन क्रेतुर्यो न पश्यच्छति । स्थावरस्योदयं दाप्यो जह्मस्य क्रिया-फलम् ॥ नारद XI 4 The mita on ya II 254, विवादचन्द्र (p 50), व्य. p. 342 and others read स्थावरस्य क्षयं and explain 'विक्रयानन्तरं जात उपभोग क्षय' (व्य. प.) and 'क्रिया साहनादिका फलं दुग्धादि । समाहारीयम्' (विवादचन्द्र p 50)

861 'Udaya' in Nār and Yāj may mean either the profits from the property that the vendor enjoyed or the difference in price between the date of sale and the date of delivery if the property became less in value. This applies when both parties are inhabitants of the same place, but if the purchaser is one who comes from another country then he may be awarded the profit that he would have made in the other country by selling it if it had been delivered to him at once

862. क्रीतमक्रीणतो या हानि सा क्रेतुरेव स्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V 129, विक्रीय पण्यमपश्यच्छतो द्वादशपणो दण्डोऽन्यत्र दोषोपनिपाताविबहोम्यः । क्रीत्वा पण्यमपश्यच्छतो द्वादशपणो दण्डोऽन्यत्र दोषो . होम्य । कौटिल्य III 15.

863. एवं धर्मो द्वाहाहो परतोऽनुशयो न तु । कात्या 684 q. by स्मृतिच II p. 218, वि र p 192, परा मा III p 367

recovering the article sold or bought after that period the king should fine him 600 panas. *Manu* VIII 228 extends these rules about repentance and recovery within ten days to all transactions whatever. *Kāt.* (685) prescribes that the period of ten days for repentance is allowed to vendors and vendees only in the case of land, and that the period is 12 days when the parties to sale of land are sapindas of one another and that in other cases the period is even shorter.⁸⁶⁴ *Yāj.* II. 257, *Nār.* XI. 7-8, *Br.* (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 350 verse 4) provide that when a vendor having sold a thing to one man for a price received sells it to another or having concealed the defects of an article sells it as free from defects he should be made to return double the price to the purchaser and a fine equal to double the price to the king.⁸⁶⁵ The above rules apply where the purchaser has paid the price, but if there is a mere agreement and no price is paid, then the vendor or vendee is guilty of no wrong if he resiles from the bare agreement to sell or buy unless they have made an express stipulation that the agreement cannot be rescinded (*Nār.* XI. 10). When at the time of the agreement for sale, the vendee pays something by way of earnest, then if the sale goes off through the fault of the vendor, the latter has to return to the vendee double of the earnest;⁸⁶⁶ but if the purchaser does not finally take it he loses the thing and also the earnest. *Nār.* XII. 1 prescribes that when a vendee after having purchased a thing for a price repents of the purchase that is the title of law called 'rescission of purchase.' *Nār.* XII. 2 prescribes that if the purchaser thinks that he has made a bad bargain he may return the thing purchased to the vendor on the same day in an undamaged condition (and may receive back the price paid); but if he returns it on the 2nd or 3rd day after the purchase (including the day of purchase) he will have to lose respectively one-thirtieth or one-fifteenth of the price and after the third day he cannot return the thing at all (*Nār.* XII. 3). But *Yāj.* II. 177 and *Nār.* XII. 5-6 lay down

864. धुमेर्दशाहे विक्रेतुरायस्तक्केतुरेव च । द्वादशाहः सपिण्डानामपि चाल्पमत परम् ॥
कात्या (685) q. by परा. मा. III p. 364

865. ज्ञात्वा सदोष यत्पण्य विक्रीणीते विचक्षण. । तदेव द्विगुणं दाप्यस्तत्सम विनश्यं
तथा ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच II p. 220, परा. मा III. p. 370.

866. सत्यङ्कारकृतं द्रव्यं द्विगुणं प्रतिदापयेत् । याज्ञ. II. 61. vide the mita thereon
सत्यङ्कारं च यो दत्त्वा यथाकालं न दृश्यते । पण्यं भवेत्क्षिप्तं तद्धीयमानमशुद्धत ॥ व्यास q. by
स्मृतिच II. p. 220, परा. मा III p. 370 क्रीते सत्यापनं सत्यङ्कार. सत्याकृतिः क्षियाम् ।
अमरकोश, on which क्षीरस्वामी says 'अवश्यं मयैतद् विक्रयमिति सत्यस्य करणं
सत्यापनम्' and for सत्यङ्कार relies on पाणिनि VI. 3. 70 'कारे सत्यागदस्य'.

the following periods for examination of things purchased, viz one, three, five, seven, ten days, half a month and one month respectively in the case of iron (and clothes), milch cattle, beasts of burden, jewels (precious stones, pearls and corals), all sorts of grain, a male slave and a female slave. It must be supposed that these verses contain exceptions to the general rule in Manu VIII 222 cited above. Kaut. (III. 15) allows only one night, three nights, five nights and seven nights for repentance to traders, husbandmen, cowherds, the mixed castes and higher castes and provides that where the articles sold are perishable a very short time only may be allowed. The above rules apply only when the purchaser made no examination at the time of purchase. Nār.⁸⁶⁷ XII 4 and Br. (S. B. E vol 33 p. 350 verse 3) recommend that a purchaser should himself closely examine an article before buying it and also show it to others in order to find out its defects and good qualities and provide that when he has approved of an article after close examination he cannot return it to the vendor. Vyāsa provides that hides, fuel, bricks, yarn, grain, intoxicants, fluids, gold, inferior metals (like lead and tin) and other wealth should be carefully examined then and there i. e. when once bought after close examination none of these can be returned even if some defect⁸⁶⁸ is found therein. Nār. (XII. 5-6) cited above contains exceptions to this. Nār. XII. 7 gives an example of a purchase being not liable to be rescinded when a defective article is purchased with open eyes viz. a worn garment which is soiled with dirt and is in ragged condition cannot be returned to the vendor if it was in that state at the time of the purchase i. e. the maxim '*caveat emptor*' applies. If a purchaser does not take delivery of the thing sold to him, the vendor may sell it again to another⁸⁶⁹ and if the thing is lost through act of God or the king the loss falls on the buyer alone (Yāj. II. 255, Nār. XI 9). Kāt (692) provides⁸⁷⁰ that what has been sold by a lunatic or an intoxicated

867 परीक्षित स्वयं पण्यमन्येषा च प्रदर्शयेत् । परीक्षितं बहुमतं गृहीत्वा न पुनस्त्यजेत् ॥
बृह. ५ by स्मृतिच II. p 220, वि. १. p 198

868 चर्मकाष्ठेष्टकासृजधान्यासवरसस्य तु । बहुकुप्यदिरण्याना सद्य एव परीक्षणम् ॥
व्यास ५ by स्मृतिच II 220, वि. १. p. 198 (reads वृणकाष्ठ and वज्रकुप्य),
व्य. ५ p 339

869. Compare section 46 of the Indian Sale of Goods Act (III of 1930) for the vendor's right of resale and sec. 26 about the person who has to bear the loss of goods

870 मत्तोन्मत्तेन विक्रीतं हिनस्तुल्यं भवेन वा । अस्वतन्त्रेण शुग्धेन त्याज्यं तस्य पुन-
र्भवेत् ॥ कात्या ५. by स. वि. p 312, वि. चि. p 57, व्यव. नि. p 354 and व्य. ५
p. 345 ascribe it to बृह

person or through intimidation or for an inadequate price or by one who is dependent or by an idiot should be relinquished by the purchaser; it still belongs to the seller Kāt. (705-706) lays down a novel rule to find out what is adequate or inadequate price. What⁸⁷¹ is decided by the neighbours assembled together, who know (the land &c and its value) and who are afraid of committing sin, as the price of fields, gardens, houses and the like, of bipeds and quadrupeds, is declared to be the proper price; a price which is less or more than it by one-eighth is declared to be improper; what is sold for an improper price may be annulled even after a hundred years Kāt. (704) states that when the owner of a field absconds together with the surety⁸⁷² for the payment of the land tax, the judges of the court may order a sale for recovery of the tax and that such a sale may be set aside up to ten years and a compromise or exchange up to three generations, if it is inequitable Bhāradvāja provides that when taxes are not paid both by the tax-payer and his surety even when called upon to do so, then the king may order a charge on the land or sale of the land.

Uktalābha is defined as a conditional sale, where a man borrows only a portion of the proper price of a land and stipulates that he would return the money on a certain day and that if he did not do so his ownership over the land would come to an end⁸⁷³ Kāt (711) adds that a sale of the *uktalābha* kind will be valid if it is for more than half (the proper price of the land), provided more than ten years have elapsed (after

871 समवेतैस्तु सामन्तैरभिज्ञैः पापभीरुभिः । क्षेत्रारामगृहादीनां द्विपदा च चतुष्प-
दाम् । कल्पित मूल्यमित्याहुर्भागं कृत्वा तदृष्टया । एकभागातिरिक्तं वा हीनं बाहुचितं स्मृतम् ॥
समाशतमतीतेऽपि सर्वे तद्विनिवर्तते । हीनमूल्यं तु तत्सर्वं कृतमप्यकृतं भवेत् । कार्या q by स
वि p 325, व्यव नि p. 352, vide बृह q. by स वि p 326 'मूल्य द्वात्रिंशत्कं मूल्यं
मूल्यस्याह्वितं स्मृतम् । क्रयसिद्धिस्तु नैव स्याद्वत्सराणां शतैरपि ॥'

872 पलायिते तु करदे करगतिशुभा सह । करार्थं करदक्षेत्रं विक्रीणीतु. सभासद्. ॥
सन्धिश्च परिद्विस्त्रिश्च विपमा वा विभोगतः । आज्ञयापि क्रयश्चापि द्वाशब्दं विनिवर्तयेत् ॥ कार्या
and बृहत्कार्या respectively q by स वि pp 324 and 320, व्यव नि p 348
reads slightly differently, आज्ञाधिस्तत्कपश्चैव करे दण्डो विधीयते । उभावप्यत्र न
स्यातामिति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ भारद्वाज q by स वि p 324.

873 किञ्चिच्च द्रव्यमादाय काले दास्यामि ते कश्चित् । नो चेन्मूलमिदं त्यक्तं केदार-
रयेति य. कप. । स उक्तकालं इत्युक्त उक्तकालेऽप्यनर्पणात् । भारद्वाज q by व्यव नि p 351,
स वि p 324. This is similar to the mortgage by conditional sale defined in
section 58 of the Transfer of Property Act.

the period fixed for repayment) An *avakraya*⁸⁷⁴ becomes valid after possession for over three generations and a (regular) purchase by mutual agreement becomes valid at once Kāt. (712) further⁸⁷⁵ prescribes that the unpaid purchase money carries compound interest after demand if no time is fixed for payment, but, if a time is fixed, then only the balance has to be paid up to the end of that period Br provides that in all sales, the sale deed should mention the wells and trees (on the land), the water and ways and that the crops, trees and fruits, wells, tanks and house standing on the land sold would belong to the vendor if they are not put down in the deed of sale.⁸⁷⁶ According to Hārīta the rules of sales are to be extended to exchanges.⁸⁷⁷

From the Rājatarangini VI. 41 it appears that a fraudulent purchaser, who, by means of the heavy bribe of 1000 *dirhams*, induced the officially authorized scribe to include a well in the sale of a house when it was intended to be excluded from it, was banished from the country by the king, his property being confiscated and given over to the cheated vendor.

874. अर्थाधिके क्रयः सिद्ध्येदुक्तलाभो दृशान्दिक. अवक्रयस्त्रिभोगेन सद्य एव दत्तक्रयः कात्या. (711) q by व्यव नि. p 349 (which reads ऋणक्रिया at the end, that makes hardly any sense) and स वि p 326 The word अवक्रय is explained in various ways The Mit on Yāj. II. 238 defines it as a transaction whereby a bailer (e g a washerman) transfers an article bailed to him (for washing &c.) to another for hire Pāṇini IV 4 50 employs the word 'avakraya', but the Siddhāntakaumudī explains it as the due to be recovered by a king from a market (or the like). Gaut XII 39 employs the word 'avakṛita' which is explained by Haradatta as meaning 'what is purchased, but the price of which is unpaid or only partly paid' This last seems to be the sense intended by Kāt. who provides that a sale of land, the price being wholly or partly unpaid, would become indefeasible only after enjoyment for three generations सुमन्तु as quoted in S V p 321 defines अवक्रय as 'अर्धदत्तमदत्तं तु क्रयमाहुरवक्रयम् अवक्रयो निवर्तते यदि काले न दीयते ॥'

875. मूल्यात्स्वल्पमदानेपि क्रयसिद्धिः कृता भवेत् चक्रवृक्षश्चाप्रदातव्यं देयं तत्समं याहते ॥ कात्या 712 q by स वि p. 327

876. विक्रयेषु च सर्वेषु कूपवृक्षादि लेखयेत् जलमार्गादि यत्किञ्चिदन्यत्तैव ब्रूयन्ति. ॥ क्षेत्राद्युपेतं परिपक्वसरसं वृक्षं फलवाप्युपभोगयोग्यम् कूपं तटाकं गृहमुक्तं च क्रीतं विक्रेतुं विदुः ॥ बृह q. by व्यव नि p 349, स वि p 326 Compare sec 3 of the Transfer of Property Act (Act IV of 1882) as to what passes on a sale. The व्यव नि p. 349 explains as एवमलिखितेषु केतुर्न भवन्तीत्यर्थः.

877 मत्तमुद्धानभिज्ञातमीतैर्विनिमयः कृतः यच्चालिखितमूल्यं स्यात्तर्हि तद् विनिवर्तते ॥ हारीत q by स वि p 326. Compare sec 118 of the Transfer of Property Act.

The Vyavahāranirnaya, after quoting Br. and Vyāsa, very lucidly explains what is meant by sale, purchase, exchange &c. Gold and the like which a man desires to render or pay is called price, while land, house and the like are said to be 'panya' (saleable thing) Purchase means acceptance of a thing preceded by the offering of a price (either paid or agreed to be paid); sale is the acceptance of a price preceded by the offering of a saleable thing *Parivṛth* or *parivartanā* is the acceptance of an article for an article of the same kind; if there is a disparity in value between the two articles exchanged the exchange is called 'avakraya'; when there is an exchange of two articles of different kinds but of the same value it is called *rammaya* ⁸⁷⁸ The Vyavahāranirnaya makes elaborate provisions for sale of land at the order of the king for non-payment of land tax It quotes Prajāpati (p. 350) to the effect that the purchaser at such a sale must offer half or at least one-fourth of the real price of the field and that the original owner could get back his property sold for the royal dues by paying the full price to the purchaser up to three generations. Other elaborate rules on the same subject are passed over here for reasons of space These provisions indicate that ownership in cultivated fields belonged to individuals and that the State had only the right to levy taxes Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp 865-869 and Kāt quoted above (on p. 196) for a discussion of the theory of the State's ownership of all lands. Taking into consideration the Pūrvamīmāṃsā texts, the Vyavahāramayūkha and the verses of Kāt, and others it appears that the State was deemed to be the owner of all lands as a general proposition, but that where individuals or bodies of persons had been in long possession of lands that they cultivated, the ownership of the State was qualified and restricted only to the recovery of a tax or share

878 स (बृहस्पतिः) एवाह—आत्मीयस्य विजातीयं द्रव्यमादाय चान्यतः । क्रयो-
 रस्य (क्रयोरस्य ?) परित्यागः साम्ये तु परिवर्तना ॥ इति । व्यासः । आत्मीयस्य विजातीयं
 द्रव्यमादाय चान्यतः । क्रयो मूल्यस्य संत्यागः स्वत्वहेतुः परस्परम् । परिद्वितिः सजातीयद्रव्ये
 विनिमयः स्मृतः । वैषम्ये विक्रयः प्रोक्तो मिथे विनिमयः स्मृतः ॥ इति । स्वत्वहेतुफलजनका एते
 क्रयविक्रयपरिवर्तनविनिमया इति । तत्र लोके जिहासितं छुवर्णादि मूल्यमुच्यते । उपादित्सितं
 क्षेत्रगृहादि पण्यमित्युच्यते । तत्र मूल्यत्यागपूर्वकपण्यस्वीकारः क्रयः । पण्यत्यागपूर्वको मूल्ये
 स्वत्वजनको मूल्यस्वीकारो विक्रयः । सजातीयत्यागपूर्वकः सजातीयस्य स्वीकारः परिवर्तना ।
 वैषम्ये सति परिवर्तनेवावक्रयशब्देनोच्यते । विजातीयसजातीयमिभ्यपरिवर्तनायां विजातीया-
 धिक्येऽवक्रयो भवति, सजातीयाधिक्ये परिवर्तना भवति । सजातीयविजातीययोः साम्ये विनि-
 मयो भवति । व्यव ति pp 347-348 The definition of sale given by the
 Vyavahāranirnaya looks quite modern Compare sec 4 of the Indian Sale
 of Goods Act (III. of 1930)

of crops and that individuals and groups that had cultivated lands in their possession were regarded practically as owners of the land subject to the liability to pay land tax and to the right of the State to sell the land for non-payment of tax. The Vyavahāranirnaya quotes Br and another smṛti text that sūdras, persons excommunicated for grave sins (*patita*), cāṇḍālas and desperate characters cannot be allowed to possess the lands of a brāhmana by sale, partition or in lieu of wages,⁸⁷⁹ the same work further quotes Vyāsa, Bhāradvāja and Br. that when land is sold there is a right of pre-emption in favour of full brothers, sapindas, samānodakas, sagotras, neighbours, creditors and one's co-villagers in order.⁸⁸⁰

Gifts of immovables were looked upon in very ancient times with disfavour, though they were made even in the times of the Upanisads. Vide H. of Dh vol II, pp 740-41. But sales of land must have been rarer still in ancient times owing to the patriarchal and joint family systems. The Mit on Yāj II 114 quotes a verse forbidding the sale of immovable property;⁸⁸¹ but sales of lands are mentioned in many copperplate grants. Vide Paharpur plate grant of Gupta year 159 i.e. 478-79 A.D. in E. I. vol 20 p. 59 (where one kulyāvāpa of land is stated to have been sold for two *dināras* to a brāhmana and his wife named Rāmi by the city council for the provision of the worship with sandal-wood paste &c of the divine *arhats* at a *vihāra*), E. I. vol 17 p 345 (grant of the time of Kumāragupta I in Gupta year 113), the Damodarpur plates (E I vol. 15 p 113), Faridpur plates (Ind Ant. vol. 39 p 193), E I vol 18 p 74. From these records of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. it appears that land was owned by private individuals or by

879 शुद्धाश्च पतिताश्चैव चण्डालाश्चाततायिन । नार्हन्ति विपक्षेणैव क्रयविक्रय-
कर्मणि ॥ बृह ; विभागेन क्रयेणापि वेतनग्रहणेऽपि वा । शुद्धः केनापि रूपेण न विपक्षितिर्नार्हति ॥
स्मृत्यन्तर ११ by व्यव नि p 354 With these provisions prescribed at least 1500
years ago one may compare the South African legislation passed in the
midst of the Second World War (alleged to be fought for different kind
of freedoms) against Indians preventing the purchase by them of lands in
areas reserved for Whites

880 व्यासः । ज्ञातिसामन्तधनिका क्रमेण क्रूरहेतवः । तत्रासत्तया पूर्वं सविप्राय
चक्रे मता ॥ घृष्टरूपति । सोदराश्च सपिण्डाश्च सोदकाश्च सगोत्रिण । सामन्ता धनिका भ्रातृ
संज्ञिते शृङ्खले मता ॥ ११ by व्यव नि pp 355-56

881 स्थावरे विक्रयो नास्ति कुर्यादाधिमहज्जया । ११. by मिता ७७ पृ ॥ ११४

joint families or by the village community or by the king and there was a fixed procedure when land was to be sold, that the purchaser approached the District Officers who consulted the *pustapūlas* that kept a record of titles and that the villagers and headmen were consulted and asked to mark off the land to be sold. It appears that the *smrtis* recommended that sales should be clothed in the formalities of gifts, probably because gifts were frequent and sales were not. A *smṛti* quoted by the *Mit* (on *Yāj. II 114*) states 'land passes (i. e. is transferred) with the assent of the villagers, the agnatic relations, the neighbours, the co-sharers and with the offering of gold and water'. The *Mit* explains that these⁸⁸² are not absolutely necessary formalities of a sale, but that they are recommended for the sake of greater caution and convenience, that the assent of the villagers is to be secured for the publication of the transaction of sale, as a text says that acceptance, particularly of immovables, should be made openly, that the neighbours' assent should be secured for preventing boundary disputes, that the assent of agnates and co-sharers is desired for making it easy to complete the transaction, that it does not follow that without the assent of these the sale of land is not valid or complete. Water and gold are to be offered because gifts being highly commended, a sale should be clothed outwardly with the same formalities. Vide Dr. P. N. Sen's 'Hindu Jurisprudence' pp. 76-78 for the opposite procedure of the ancient Roman Law that gifts were to be clothed with the formalities of sale. For water and gold in the case of gifts vide above under *dattapradānīka*.

Śvāmṣpālanaśāda (disputee between the owner of cattle and herdsman who is engaged to look after them) In ancient times this must have been a prominent source of litigation in a predominantly agricultural country like India. *Nār.* appears to have included this title under *śatanasjānapākauma*. *Yāj. II 164*, *Nār. IX 11* provide that the cowherd has to bring back to the owner in the evening the cows (and other domestic animals) handed over to him in the morning by

882. यदपि स्वग्रामज्ञातिसामन्तदायादाद्युत्तमेन च । हिरण्योदकदानेन बहुभिर्गच्छति
भेदेन ॥ इति तत्रापि ग्रामाद्युत्तमिति-प्रतिग्रहः प्रकाशः स्यात् स्थावरस्य (स्थावरस्य ?) विज्ञेयत-
इति स्मरणाद् व्यवहारप्रकाशानर्थमेवापेक्ष्यते न पुनर्ग्रामाद्युत्तमस्या विना व्यवहारसिद्धिः ।
विक्रयेऽपि कर्तव्ये सहिरण्यमुदकं दत्त्वा दानरूपेण स्थावरविक्रयं कुर्यादित्यर्थः ।
मिता on या II. 114, प्रतिग्रहः &c is या, II 176

the owner, after grazing them in the pastures and making them drink water. Manu VIII. 230 says that during the day the responsibility for the safety of the cattle rests on the herdsman and during the night on the owner provided they are in the latter's house. When there is no express agreement as to wages Nār IX. 10 and Br (S. B. E. 33 p. 346 verse 19) prescribe that a cowherd⁸⁸³ will get as his wages all the milk of the cows tended by him on every eighth day plus a heifer (two years old) every year out of every one hundred cows tended by him or a milch cow with her calf every year for every two hundred cows looked after by him. Manu VIII 231 provides another method when no wages are fixed by agreement viz. a hired herdsman, who is paid with milk, may milk as hire the best cow out of ten with the consent of the owner. It is the duty of the cowherd to struggle as much as in him lies to protect the cows from accidents and if he is unable to do so he must quickly inform the owner (Nār. IX. 12). Br (S. B. E. 33 p. 346 verse 20) states⁸⁸⁴ that the cowherd shall save cattle from the danger of worms (or reptiles), robbers, tigers and from caverns and pits and that he should try to protect them to the best of his ability, should call out for help or inform his master. If the herdsman does not struggle to protect the cows, nor raise a hue and cry nor inform his master he must make good the value of the cow lost and must pay a fine to the king (Nār. IX. 13). Manu VIII 232 and 235, Yaj II 164-165, Visnu Dh S V⁸⁸⁵ 137-138, Nār (IX. 14-15) provide that if a cow or other domestic animal strays or is killed by worms (or reptiles) or slain by dogs (and wild animals) or dies by falling into a pit or by any negligent act of the herdsman, he himself shall make good the loss, if he did not exert himself to prevent this happening or if goats and sheep are surrounded by wolves and carried away while the herdsman does not hasten to their help he shall bear the responsibility for the loss. In these cases the herdsman has also

883 तथा घेडुधृतः क्षीरं लभेताह्नयदमेऽखिलम् । बृह. १ by the स्मृतिक II p 207, व्य प्र p 346

884 कुमिचोरव्याम्रभयादसीश्वभ्राञ्च पालयेत् । व्यापच्छेच्छकितं क्रोशेत्त्वामिने श लिङ्गयेत् ॥ बृह. १ by वि र p 172, व्य प्र p 347, the स्मृतिक II p 208 ascribes it to नारद

885 दिवा पशूना वृकाण्यं शते पाले त्वनायति पालदोष । विनष्टपशुमूल्यं च स्वामिने दद्यात् । निष्णु V 137-138

to pay a fine of 12½ panas⁸⁸⁶ to the king (Yāj. II 165) Ap. Dh. S II 11. 28. 6 makes⁸⁸⁷ the herdsman liable to pay the price if an animal in his charge dies or is lost (by theft &c.). Manu VIII. 233, 236, Nār IX 16, Vyāsa state exceptions to the above viz where an animal is carried away⁸⁸⁸ by robbers though the herdsman raised a cry, he would not be liable to make good the loss provided he gave information to his master at the proper time (immediately after the animal is carried away) and proper place; or when the herdsman himself is seized or the village is attacked or the country is invaded, the herdsman would not be liable for loss or seizure of any animal under his charge; and also where, while the herd is grazing in a proper order near a forest, a wolf suddenly kills an animal. Manu VIII 234, Nār. IX. 17 state that when cattle die through act of God or king or die without any fault of his while in charge of a herdsman, he has to free himself from liability or from the suspicion of himself having⁸⁸⁹ carried away surreptitiously the animal by producing before his master their ears, skin, tails, bladders, tendons and yellow bile or by showing their limbs (viz. their characteristic marks). Vyāsa states that if a herdsman, who has received his wages, abandons cattle in an untenanted forest and moves about in the village he should be fined by the king.⁸⁹⁰

Yāj. II. 166 provides that a portion of land should be set apart at the discretion of the villagers or that of the king as pasture for cows Manu VIII. 237, Yāj. II. 167 prescribe

886 अर्धत्रयोदश in या. II. 165 means, acc to the Mī, Sm C. II. p 208 and अपराकं p. 773, 13½, while पा. III. p 375 and व्य. प्र. p 348 say that it means 12½, 'अर्धत्रयोदशणः अर्धरहितत्रयोदशणः सार्धद्वादशण इति यावत् । ता- (क) स्तृतीयपूर्वपदाः समानाधिकरणेन समस्यन्ते उत्तरपदलोपश्च इति वार्तिकादुत्तरपदलोपी कर्मधारयः । यत्तु केनचिद्वर्धाधिकत्रयोदशणो दण्ड इति व्याख्यातं तत्सार्धद्विमात्रादिषु अर्धत्रिमात्रादिमहाभाष्यकारज्ञान्दमयोगदर्शनादुपेक्ष्यम् ।' व्य. प्र. p 348. The वार्तिक seems to be सिद्धिं तु समानाधिकरणाधिकारे कस्तृतीयपूर्वपद उत्तरपदलोपश्च on या II 1 34 (Kielhorn's ed.), where the महाभाष्य cites दृष्टोदन (दध्ना उपसिक्तो दृष्टुपसिक्तो ओदन.) as an example Vide p 140 and note 182 above on अर्धतृतीय.

887. अवश्यं पशून् मारणे नाशने वा स्वामिभ्योऽवृजेत् । आप ध सू II 11 28 6

888. पालयान्ते ग्रामपाते तथा राष्ट्रस्य विभ्रमे । यत्पण्ड हत वा स्यात् पालस्तत्र किलिपी । व्यास in स्मृतिच II p 207, वि र p 172, अपराकं p 772

889 सुतेषु च विशुद्धिः स्याद्बालछद्मादिदर्शनात् । नारद IX 17.

890. गृहीतमूल्यो गोपालस्तास्यक्त्वा निर्जने बने । ग्रामचारी वृषेर्गर्ह्य. शलाकी च वनेचर ॥ व्यास प. by व्य. प्र. p. 347. शलाकी means 'barber'.

that on all sides round a village, a *kharata* and a town an uncultivated space for pastures (between it and the fields) shall be kept respectively of 100, 200, 400 *dhanus*⁸⁹¹ in extent. *Kāt* (666) prescribes that the owner of a field (which is near a forest) should construct a high paling before the crops have grown, for animals (or deer) when they have once tasted the sweet⁸⁹² (crops) can be warded off with difficulty. *Manu* VIII. 239 = (*Matsya* 227 25), *Nār.* XIV. 41 prescribe that a hedge should be constructed for a field that is near a public way so high that a camel cannot look inside over it or a horse or cattle cannot jump over or so thick that a dog or boar should not be able to thrust its head inside it through holes. *Manu* VIII. 238 (= *Matsyapurāṇa* 227 26), *Yāj.* II. 162, *Nār.* XIV. 40 provide that if a field situated near a village or a pasture or near a public road is not protected by a hedge and cattle straying into it cause loss, the herdsman is not to be held guilty. It is provided by *Āp. Dh.* S II. 11 28 5, *Manu* VIII. 240, *Nār.* XIV. 28, *Kāt* 664-665 that if cattle enter into fields,⁸⁹³ parks or pastures that are situated near a village or a public road and are enclosed by a hedge, they may be seized or beaten off, the herdsman is to be fined (a hundred *panas*). *Yāj.* II. 159-161, *Manu* VIII. 241, *Nār.* XIV. 28-29, *Kāt.* 667 and others lay down that where cattle enter fields (not near a village or road) and cause loss, the herdsman is to be fined or whipped, the owner of the cattle is to make good the loss and

891 A *धनुः* is 4 cubits (nr about 6 feet) *Manu* VIII. 237 ordains having a space of 300 *dhanus* round a city, it also says that the space round a village for pastures should be three throws of *śamyā*. *Āp. Dh.* S I 3 9 6 and 23 employ the expression *शम्यामास* for stating distance. *शम्या* means yoke-pin (युगकीलक). Vide p. 145 note 185 above for *dhanus* and other measures of distance. In *E. I.* vol. I, pp. 154-155 a *पारमेस्वरीय हस्त* (the king's hand) is mentioned in an inscription dated *sahavat* 933 at Gwalior. A *दण्ड* was 4 *हस्त* but there were *दण्ड*s of 7 or 10 *hastas*. Vide *Manu* on *च* II. 106. It was but natural that in ancient times man relied upon his own fingers nr hand nr height as a measure of length. Vide *H.* nr *Dh.* vol. II p. 209 n. 485 and n. 2021 (for *हस्त*, *दण्ड* and *निर्वर्तन*), p. 1034 (for *Vedī* being as much in length as the height of the sacrificer) and *purusa* as a measure of length in *तै. स.* V 2 5 1 and *कार्यायनश्रौत* 16. 8. 21-25. Vide also *H.* of *Dh.* vol. II p. 989 n.

892 अजातिष्वेव सस्येषु कुर्यादावरणं महत् । दुःखेनेह निवार्यन्ते लब्धस्वादुरता मृगा ।
कार्या 666 q by अपराकं p 770, *सूत्र* ति. II p. 209

893 क्षेत्रारामविधितेषु गृहेषु पशुवादिषु । ग्रहणं तत्प्राविष्टानां तावत् वा बृहस्पतिः ।
कार्या 664 q by *सूत्र* ति. II 208, ति. र p. 241 *हित्वा* ब्रजमादिन. कश्चिदेव पशुः ।
आप. ध II 11 28. 5.

pay the fine prescribed and the fines vary e g Yāj II. 159 prescribes fines of 2, 4 and 8 māśas respectively when a goat or a cow or a she-buffalo strays and causes loss of crops, while Āt. (667) prescribes only $\frac{1}{2}$ pana in the case of cows and heep and $\frac{1}{2}$ in the case of she-buffaloes Vide Gaut. XII 19-22 and Kaut III. 10 also. Those who purposely set cattle to eat or destroy crops were to be punished as thieves (Nār XIV. 34)

Ancient India entertained tender feelings for certain animals and in certain circumstances Nār. XIV 30, Yāj II. 163, Manu VIII. 242, Kaut III 10⁸⁹⁴ and Usanas provide that cows within ten days after calving, a stud bull, a horse, an elephant, animals let loose in honour of ancestors or deities, and cattle that have strayed from the herd or that have no herdsman to look after them and have met with an accident are to be warded off when causing harm to crops, but the owner is not to be fined. Usanas⁸⁹⁵ states that the reason for this leniency is that horses and elephants are protectors of people Aparārka (p 771) explains that this exemption applies only to the king's horses and elephants. Usanas adds that (owners of) cows should not be fined when they cause some loss at the time of festivals and śrāddhas. The great veneration for cows led Usanas to lay down that he who requires the owner of a cow to re-imburse the loss of crops that are eaten up or destroyed by a cow will find that his *pitrs* and the gods do not receive the offerings made⁸⁹⁶ by him This is explained by the Par. M. III. p 385 as referring to crops in fields near a village not enclosed by a hedge and by the Madanaratna to crops eaten at the time of śrāddha Br., Yāj II 161 and Nār. XIV. 38 require the owner of the cow to re-imburse the owner of the crops for the loss as settled by the neighbours. Vide under 'steala' for cases in which there is no offence of theft even if a person takes certain things belonging to another without his permission.

894 ग्रामदेवद्वया वा अनिर्दिशाद्वा वा धेनुवृक्षाणो गोवृषाश्चादण्ड्याः । अर्थशास्त्र III 10

895 अदण्ड्या हस्तिनो ह्यश्वाः प्रजापाला हि ते स्मृता । अदण्ड्यौ काणकुञ्जौ च ये शश्वत्कुतलक्षणाः ॥ अदण्ड्यागन्तुको गोश्च क्षत्रिका वामिसारिणी । अदण्ड्याश्चोत्सवे गावः श्राद्धकाले तथैव च ॥ उशनस् ५ by मिता on या II 163, वि. र p 240 Compare नारद XIV 31-32 where two half verses are the same as in Usanas Manu VIII. 242 mentions देवपशून्, which Sm C II, p 212 explains as 'देवपशवो हि देवतमतिमादीनां क्षीरस्नानार्थं तदुद्देशेन दत्ता'

896 गोभिर्विनाशितं धान्यं यो नरं प्रतिपाच्छते । पितरस्तस्य नाश्नन्ति नाश्नन्ति त्रिदिवीकसः ॥ उशनस् ५, by अपराक p. 770, वि. र p. 232.

CHAPTER XXII

SĪMĀVIVĀDA (boundary disputes).

This is called *ksetrajivivāda*⁸⁹⁷ (disputes relating to fields) by Nārada XIV. 1, who defines it as 'dispute with regard to land in which questions about dikes or embankments, the boundaries of fields, ploughed land and fallow land have to be decided' Nārada's idea appears to be that the word 'sīmāvivāda' in Manu is only illustrative and is a compendious way of mentioning disputes about land in general. According to Kāt (732) there are six causes⁸⁹⁸ of land disputes viz claiming more land, claim that a person is entitled to less than he possesses, claim to a share, denial of a share, seizing possession when previously there was none, boundary. In all these cases boundaries have directly or indirectly to be settled and therefore all these are included under the topic of *sīmāvivāda*. A boundary dispute may relate to the boundaries of a district (janapada), a village, a field and a house. Boundaries, acc. to Nār., may be of five kinds.⁸⁹⁹ They are described as follows: *dvagṇī* is what is indicated by trees which are like a flag-staff. Manu (VIII. 246-247) prescribes that trees such as *aśvattha*, the silk cotton, *śāla*, *tāla* (palmyra palm), that have milky juice (like *udumbara*) should be planted to indicate boundaries and also bamboo clumps, bushes, reeds &c. A *matsyṇī* (lit. having fish) boundary is provided by rivers flowing naturally and full of fish and tortoises or by tanks and reservoirs of water (Manu VIII. 248). A *naidhānī* boundary is one indicated by concealed signs (just as *nidhāna* i.e. treasure is concealed in the earth), such as pots filled with chaff, coal, bricks, bones and similar things that the earth does not corrode

897 सेतुकेंदरमर्यादाविकृष्टाकृष्टनिश्चये । क्षेत्राधिकारो यस्तु स्याद्विवादः क्षेत्रजस्तु स ॥ नारद XIV 1. वि र p 201 takes केदारमर्यादा as one word, while च्य प्र p 353 holds *kedāra* and *maryādā* separate. विकृष्टो लाङ्गलपहतो देशः, अकृष्टस्तद्वदिति । च्य प्र p. 353

898. आधिक्यं न्यूनता चाज्ञा अस्तिनास्तित्वमेव च । अभोगभुक्तिः सीमा च वद्वृत्तादस्य हेतवः ॥ कार्या 732 q by मिता on या II. 150, वि र p 201, अपराकं p. 759, च्य, प्र p. 353. Vide the मिता and च्य प्र for explanations

899 ध्वजिनी मत्स्यिनी चैव नैधानी भयवर्जिता । राजशासननीता च सीमा पञ्चविधा स्मृता ॥ नारद q by मिता on या II. 150.

and are buried inside the earth. Manu (VIII. 250-251) enumerates those objects that should be buried in the earth, which would serve to indicate the boundaries of a village or field and which are therefore called concealed (*upacchannu*) by him. A *bhayaṃgālū* (free from danger) boundary is settled by the agreement of the parties. The fifth kind is the one that is laid down by order of the king. B. (S. B. E. 33 p 351 verse 2) prescribes⁹⁰⁰ that at the time of founding a village definite boundaries should be erected or constructed by means of visible or patent (*prākāśa*) and concealed (*upāśu* or *upacchanna*) signs and the Sm C II. 228 explains that a row of big stones should be employed to indicate the boundary. Brhaspati (S. B. E. vol 33 p 351 verses 3-7) states what patent and concealed boundary marks should be and requires elderly persons to point them out to youths and children who in their turn when old are to point out the boundaries to other youths and in this way traditional knowledge of boundaries may be kept up. Manu (VIII. 252-253) states that in disputes boundaries should be settled in accordance with the visible and concealed signs described above, by reliance on long former enjoyment and by the constant flow of water and that if there be doubt even after observing the signs then the dispute has to be decided on the evidence of witnesses. Witnesses could either depose to the marks of boundaries or to the boundaries themselves. Those who could not point out the marks but were to define the boundaries themselves were to follow a certain procedure. Manu VIII. 254 states that the witnesses should be asked about the marks of boundaries in the presence of the litigating parties and groups (or families) of the villagers. The witnesses on being asked were to trace, point out and settle the boundary unanimously, being clad in red garments, wearing red chaplets and being exhorted to depose truly by their spiritual merit⁹⁰¹ and carrying clods of earth on their heads, by reference to mounds or depressions, coals, bones and chaff (buried underground,

900. निवेशकाले कर्तव्य. सीमाबन्धविनिश्चय. । प्रकाशोपांशुचिह्नैश्च लक्षितः संज्ञायाम् ॥ बृह १ by स्मृतिच II p 227, which says ग्रामादिप्रवेशकाले तत्क्षीमानियामक-स्थूलयुग्मक प्रकाशयुगललिङ्गपित. सीमासन्धौ स्थापनीय इति ।

901. On मरुतैः ज्ञापिता. स्वैः स्वैः, वि २ p 211 remarks: धर्मा अस्माकं क्षीणा भवन्ति यदि मिथ्या वदाम इति वादिता इत्यर्थः, सीमाविवादं ग्रामयोरुभयोः सामन्ता. पञ्च-ग्रामी दशग्रामी वा सेतुभिः स्थावरी. कुत्रिमेवा कुर्वन्त । कर्षकगोपालशूद्रकाः पूर्वशक्तिका वा, अवाप्ता. सेतूनामभिज्ञा बहुष एको वा निर्दिश्य सीमासेतुल विपरीतवेष्टा सीमानं नयेत् । सेतुविवादं सामन्त्यामवृद्धाः कुर्वन् । अर्थशास्त्र III 9

in a vessel), embankments, anthills, platforms of stones or bricks (Manu VIII 255, 256, Yāj II. 151, Nār XIV 4-6). Vas 16 13, Kaut III 9, Yāj II. 150, Manu VIII. 258, 260, Nār (XIV 2-3) prescribe that on failure of witnesses of the adjoining villages, neighbours (*sāmānta*),⁹⁰² old men, cowherds, husbandmen who plough the fields near the one in dispute, hunters, fowlers, fishermen, snake catchers and foresters should settle the disputed boundary in the presence of the king. The Mit. on Yāj⁹⁰³ II. 153 quotes Kāt (743-745, 51) to show that witnesses were divided into *sāmānta*, *maula*, *uddha* and *uddhita*, each preceding group being superior to the succeeding. The Mit. further says that the neighbours as witnesses are to be arranged in the form of the layers of the petals of a lotus viz. the nearest ones (*samsaktaka*) are those most preferred, (but if this group has faults) then a second but a more removed group and then a third group still more remote may be examined. Sankha-Likhita and Vas.⁹⁰⁴ 16.13-15 prescribe that in boundary disputes the decision depends on neighbours, in the case of conflict of witnesses on documents and then on the old men in the town or village and the guilds. Yāj. II. 152 and Manu VIII. 258 require that the neighbours who are to settle the boundary should be four, eight or ten (even in number) and inhabitants of the same village (if possible). Br. (S B E 33 p 352 verse 14) requires that the witnesses⁹⁰⁵ should know the source of title (to the disputed land), the measurement (in *marutanas*, *dandas* &c.), the length of enjoyment or possession, the names of persons (in possession) and the characteristic geography or lie of the land. The general rule was (as stated by Nār XIV 9)

902 समन्ताद्भवा. सामन्ताः । चतसृषु दिक्चनन्तरग्रामादयस्ते च प्रसिद्धीम् एव-
स्थिता-ग्रामे ग्रामस्य सामन्तः क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रस्य कीर्तितम् । ग्रहं ग्रहस्य निर्दिष्टं समन्तात् परि-
रभ्य हि ॥ इति कात्यायनवचनात् । ग्रामादिकान्देन तत्स्था पुरुषा तत्स्थानं । मित्रा
on या II 151.

903 तेषामभावे सामन्तमालङ्घ्योद्घृतादयः । श्यावरे यद्व्यकारेण कार्या नात्र विचार-
णा । कात्या 737, q by मित्रा on या II 152, वि. र. 206

904. ग्रहक्षेत्रविरोधे सामन्तप्रत्ययः । सामन्तविरोधे लेख्यप्रत्ययः । ग्रामभित्तेरपिरोधे
ग्रामनगरद्वन्द्वभेदप्रत्ययः ॥ बसिष्ठ 16. 13-15. ग्रहक्षेत्रविरोधे सामन्तप्रत्ययः । सामन्त-
विरोधे अभिलेख्यप्रत्ययः अभिलेख्यविरोधे ग्रामनगरद्वन्द्वभेदप्रत्ययः । ग्रामनगरद्वन्द्वभेदप्रत्यये
द्वन्द्ववर्णयुक्तमन्त्रं राजविप्रस्वात् । शङ्खलिखितं q in वि. र. p 208 स्वार्थसिद्धौ नृपे
सामन्तेष्वयमेवार्थात् । तत्सप्तकैस्तु कर्तव्यं उद्धारो नात्र सशयः । संतकस्तत्तदपि न कर्तव्यम्
प्रकीर्तितम् । कर्तव्या न प्रदुष्टास्तु राज्ञा धर्मं विजानता । कात्या q by मित्रा on या II 152

905 आगमं च प्रमाणं च भोगकालं च नाम च । नृभागदत्तस्य चैव रे दिग्गोप-
साक्षिणः । बृह q by मित्रा. on या. II. 152, परा सा III p 392, एव म. r 315
Some works read भोगं कालं च

that a single witness however confident he might be (or how-ever reliable) should not take upon himself to point out and settle the boundary, since this (boundary) dispute being a very important (difficult) matter, its decision should rest with many. The *Mit.* (on *Yāj. II. 152*) explains that this prohibition holds good only if the single witness is one not accepted by both sides as reliable. But *Nār.* (XIV. 10) and *Br.* (S. B. E.⁹⁰⁶ 33 p. 352 verse 11) hold that where a single witness accepted by both sides has to settle the boundary (in the absence of more witnesses and in the absence of reliable patent or concealed signs) he should do so after placing a clod of earth on his head, after being dressed in red robes and wearing red flowers and after observing a fast. If it was a *śūdra* who was to trace or lay down a boundary *Viśvarūpa*⁹⁰⁷ on *Yāj. II. 156* quotes a prose passage of *Brhaspati* that he was to be decked in red pieces of cloth, his face was to be smeared with ashes from a cemetery, a mark was to be made on his chest with five fingers dipped in the blood of a goat and the entrails of the sacrificed goat were to be tied round his neck and he was to hold a clod of earth in the right hand. All this was to impress upon him the gravity of the work and the necessity of doing his best impartially. If no knowing witness or no patent or concealed signs are available the king has himself to settle the boundary between the two villages at his own discretion (*Yāj. II. 153*, *Nār. XIV. 11*, *Manu VIII. 265*). He may divide the land between the two villages equally and construct new marks of boundaries, but if the disputed land will be of greater benefit to one village than to the other the king may assign the whole of the disputed land to the former *Manu VIII. 245* prescribes that when there is a boundary dispute between two villages the king should decide it in the month of *Jyestha* when the embankment (marks) become quite clear (owing to water being dried up in summer). The decision made by the witnesses or neighbours became final only after the lapse of three weeks if no calamity (from act

906 जातृचिद्वैर्विना साधुरेकोप्युभयसंमत । रक्तमाल्याम्बरधरो मुदमादाय मूर्धनि ।
सत्यव्रत. सोपवास सीमानं दर्शयेत्तर । बृह. q by स्मृतिच II. p. 231, परा. ना. III.
p 393, च्य. प्र p. 359 Ms of मदनरत्न reads सीमान्तम्

907. शूद्राणां तु यथाह बृहस्पति । यदि शूद्रो नेता स्यात् क्लेश्येनालङ्कारिणालङ्कार्य
शवभस्मना मुखं विलिप्स्याद्येयस्य पशोः शोणितेनोरसि पञ्चाङ्गुलानि कृत्वा शीवायामान्त्राणि
प्रतिमुच्य सत्येन पाणिना सीमालोष्ट मूर्धनि धारयेदिति । रक्तकर्पटवसनान्दि. क्लेश्योलङ्कारः ।
विश्वरूप.

of (god or king) befell the witnesses (Kāt 751).⁹⁰⁸ Manu proscribes (VIII. 261) that the boundary settled by witnesses should be fixed by the king (or recorded in a document containing the names of witnesses). An ancient instance of the fixing of boundaries by two feudatory chiefs is recorded in the Bhumara stone Pillar inscription of the Parivrajaka Mahārāja Hastin and Mahārāja Śarvanātha, who erected a pillar at Ambloḍa to show the boundary between their territories about 510 A. D. (vide Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions No 24 p. 110). Vide also E. I. vol. 24 pp. 32-34 for inscriptional evidence about the carrying out of all the details laid down in dharmasāstra works on the settlement of boundaries. Manu VIII, 263, Yāj II. 153, Nār. XIV 7 prescribe the middle amercement for each one of the *sāmantas* that falsely settle the boundaries, while Manu (VIII. 257) and Nār XIV. 8 prescribe the first amercement only for other witnesses such as members of corporations and elderly villagers. If through friendship, greed or fear the witnesses who know the facts do not come forward to settle the boundary they are each to be fined in the highest amercement (Kāt.⁹⁰⁹ 750).

Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 353 verses 19-21) lays down certain interesting rules about alluvion and diluvion. Where a river is the boundary between two villages and the river carries away soil from one village and attaches it to another, the accretion belongs to the village to which it becomes attached, but this is so when the soil carried away has no crops growing on it; if however soil with growing crops is separated from a village and joined to another by a river in flood, the former owner can reap only the crops and the land will belong to the village or field to which it has become attached.⁹¹⁰

908. सीमाचङ्क्रमणे कोशे पादस्पर्शं तथैव च । त्रिपक्षपक्षसप्तहं दैवराजिकगिर्यते । कात्या 751 q. by मिता. on या II 152 V. P (p 359) adds 'यथासंख्यमिति शेषः'.

909. बहूनां तु गृहीतानां न सर्वे निर्णयं यदि । कुर्बुयाद्वा लोभाद्वा दाप्यास्तुतमसाहसम् ॥ कात्या. 750 q. by मिता on या II 152, अपराकं p 763.

910. ग्रामयोः भूभोर्यत्र मर्यादा कल्पिता नदी । कुरुते दानहरणं भाग्याभावाद्वाणाम् । एकत्र झूलपातं तु भूमेरन्यत्र सन्निधितम् । नदी तीरे ऋकुरुते तस्य ता न विचालयेत् । शेषं सशस्यसमुल्लङ्घ्य भूमिच्छिन्ना यदा भवेत् । नदीस्रोतःप्रवाहेण पूर्वस्वामी लभेत ताम् । शुष्ट. q. by स्मृतिच. II p 234, परा मा. III pp 398, 399, वि र 217, व्य. प्र. p 362, the latter explains तस्य नदीत्रशास्त्रासभूमिकस्य ता प्राता भूमिं न विचालयेत् नान्यथा कुर्यात् पूर्वस्वामी नापच्छिन्द्यादिर्यर्थः । एतदुल्लङ्घ्यतीरविषयम् । उभतीरविषये तु न स एव-क्षेत्रम् । ता सशस्या भूमिम् । उभशस्यफललाभपर्यन्तमेतत् । तत्फललाभानन्तरं तु न पूर्वस्वामी तां भूमिं लभेत इत्यवगन्तव्यम् । The वि र p 217 holds a different view. 'यत्र तु नदी क्षेत्रादिकं समुल्लङ्घ्य याति तत्र पूर्वग्रामस्यैव सा भूमिरित्यर्थः ।'

Manu VIII. 262, Yaj. II. 154, Nār. XIV. 12, Kāt 749 prescribe that the decision of disputes about the boundaries of fields, wells, tanks, groves and parks, palaces, houses, cottages, temples and channels carrying rain water is to be similarly arrived at by the testimony of witnesses (*sāmanas* and others)

Several rules are laid down by Nār., Br. and Kat. about easements and water-courses

Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 354 verse 24) prescribes that no⁹¹¹ interference should be caused to the manner of the enjoyment of houses (as regards doors, compounds &c.), to the enjoyment of water and markets in the way in which they had been enjoyed from the time the village or house was established or built. This means, acc. to the Sm. C. II. p. 234 and V. P. p. 363 that if a new mode of enjoyment is started in the case of these after the village was established or the house was built then interference may be allowed. Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 354 verse 25) further says that ancient windows,⁹¹² watercourses, balconies (pegs?), raised platforms on the borders of streets, waterspouts carrying rainwater from a square of houses (and cottages) enjoyed from former days should not be allowed to be interfered with, even if they might cause some inconvenience to the neighbouring house. Kāt (752-753) similarly provides 'one should not interfere with the base of the wall, a drain (or waterspout), a balcony, window, watercourse and dwelling house of another. These are not to be added to one's house after the first building of it (so as to cause obstruction or annoyance to another), one should not open a window⁹¹³ (so as to command a view) in the interior of another's house or open a spout (that will drain off

911 निवेशकालादारम्य गृहवार्यापणादिकम् । येन यावद्यथा युक्तं तस्य तत्र विचालयेत् । वातायनं यणाली च तथा निर्व्यूहवेदिका (निर्व्यूह ?) । चतुःशालस्यन्दनिकाः प्राह्निविष्टा न चालयेत् ॥ बृह. q. by अपरार्क p. 764, स्मृतिच. II. p. 235, व्य. प्र. p. 363. 'एवं निवेशनकाले कल्पितं गवाक्षादिकं प्रातिवेद्यानिष्ठकार्यणि न केनचित्चालनीयमित्याह स एव' स्मृतिच. II. p. 235; निर्व्यूहो द्वारनिगताद्यविशेष इति कृत्यकालपत्रो निर्व्यूहो गृहकोण (गृहयोणा ?) इति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकायाम् । वेदिका रथ्यादिप्रवेशसंस्तोत्ररा भूमि । व्य. प्र. p. 363 These words are taken from the मदनरत्न

912 Compare section 15 of the Easements Act (Act V of 1882) for the acquisition by prescription of easements of light and air for a building, of support or of right of way &c

913. 'One should not open a window &c.'—This right of privacy is recognized even now by the courts as enforceable in Gujerat Vide *Nathubhai v. Chhaganlal* 2 Bom L R 454, *Maneklal v. Mohanlal* 22 Bom L R 226.

water) on to another's house. One should construct places (pits) for depositing ordure, urine and filthy water, a fireplace and a pit at a distance of at least two cubits from the walls of other people (his neighbours) and should not construct these very near to another's house' (vide also Br. S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 354 verses 25-26).

Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 354 verse 27) defines a *samsarana*⁹¹⁴ as the road by which men and beasts pass to and fro without let or hindrance. Kāt. (755) calls it *catuspatha* and defines *raja-mārga* as the road by which people are allowed to pass at certain times (and not at all times). Several rules are prescribed by Kautilya and others for obviating nuisances on public roads or near private houses. Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 354 verse 28) and Kāt. (756) provide that roads should not be obstructed by parking⁹¹⁵ carts and the like thereon, that no one should plant anything on a public road, that a man who puts obstruction on the public road, makes pits or plants trees or wilfully voids excrement thereon should be fined a *māsaka*, and one who does not give⁹¹⁶ precedence on the road to his *guru*, preceptor or the king should be fined. Manu IX. 282 prescribes the fine of two *kāśāpanas* for voiding or dropping ordure on the public road in the absence of distress and requires the wrongdoer to clean the road, but Manu (IX. 283) makes an exception in the case of persons diseased, very old men, a pregnant woman and a child, who are not to be fined but only reproved for voiding ordure on the road. Vide Matsya 227. 175-76 for the same two verses Kaut. II. 36⁹¹⁷ prescribes the fine of $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *pana* for throwing dust on a cart-road and $\frac{1}{4}$ for obstructing it with mud and a fine double of these

914. यान्यायान्ति जना येन पशवश्चानिवारिताः । तदुच्यते ससरणं न रोद्धव्यं ह केनचित् । बृह. q. by अपराक p. 765, स्मृतिच II p. 235, सर्वे जना सदा येन प्रयान्ति स चतुष्पथ । अनिविद्धा यथाकालं राजमार्गं स उच्यते ॥ कार्या 755 q. by स्मृति II p. 235, वि. र. 221

915. यस्तत्र सङ्करं श्वभ्रं वृक्षारोपणमेव च । कामात्युरीयं कुर्वीच तस्य दण्डस्तु माषकः । बृह. q. by अपराक p. 765, स्मृतिच II p. 235, वि. र. p. 221 ascribes this verse to कार्या and notes that हरिहर and others ascribe it to प्रजापति, न तत्र रोपयेत् किञ्चिन्नोपहस्यात् केनचित् । शुर्वाचार्यद्वपादीनां मार्गवानात्तु दण्डभाक् ॥ कार्या 756 q. by वि. र. p. 221.

916. For precedence on the road, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 146-147.

917. पाह्नव्यासं रथायामष्टभागो दण्डः । पङ्कोदकसनिरोधे पादः । राजमार्गे द्विगुणः । पुण्यस्थानोदकरथानदेवयुद्धराजपतिग्रहेषु पणोत्तरा विष्टादण्डाः । मूत्रेणघ्नदण्डाः । अदण्डव्याधिभयनिमित्तमदण्डाः । अर्थशास्त्र II. 36

for doing the same on a royal road; prescribes a fine of one, two, three or four panas respectively for voiding ordure on or near a holy place, or a place whence water is taken, or a temple or the king's buildings and exempts from fine such persons as those mentioned in Manu IX. 283. Kāt. (758-759) provides⁹¹⁸ that he who defiles a tank, a garden or holy water (or *ghats*) by throwing filthy matter (ordure &c.) therein should be made to remove the filth and fined the first amercement and also one who pollutes by washing soiled clothes in holy and purifying sacred places (*ghats* &c.) established by great or saintly persons. Yāj. II. 155 prescribes the first, the highest and middling amercements respectively for making breaches in the boundary (between two or more fields), for ploughing a field beyond the boundary of one's field and for depriving a man of his field by intimidation and the like. Vide also Visnu Dh. S. V. 172 and Śankha-Likhita⁹¹⁹ who prescribe a fine of 1008 panas for transgressing (the whole of) the boundary (of a field). Manu VIII. 264 (= Matsya 227. 30) provides a fine of 200 panas for seizing another's field, garden or house through inadvertance, but 500 for seizing any one of these by intimidation. Nār. XIV. 13-14 and Kāt. (760-761) state⁹²⁰ that the fruits and flowers of those trees that grow on the boundary between two fields should be declared (by the Judge) as joint between the owners of the two fields and that if the branches of trees growing in one man's field spread over another man's field that man should be understood to be the owner of the trees and branches (together with fruit &c.) in whose field the trees are born (have taken root). The first proposition implies that if one owner

918. तद्वागोद्यानतीर्थानि योऽग्नेध्वेन विनाशयेत् । अमेध्व शोधयित्वा तु दण्डयेत् पूर्व-साहसम् ॥ दूषयेत्सिद्धतीर्थानि स्थापितानि महात्माभिः । दुष्यानि पावनीयानि मामृयात् पूर्व-साहसम् ॥ कात्या १ by अपराक p 765, स्मृतिच II. 235, च्य. प्र p 365

919. सीमाव्यतिक्रमे त्वदसाहसम् । शङ्खलिखित १. by स्मृतिच II. p. 236, च्य. प्र. p. 366; सीमाभेत्तारुत्तमसाहसं दण्डयित्वा पुनः सीमां लिङ्गाग्नित्वा कारयेत् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V 172, which स्मृतिच II p 236 explains as 'तत्र सीमाभेत्तारमित्यस्य सीमाद्वन्द्वं च कर्षकमित्यर्थोऽध्यवसेयः' । सीमावद्वेगे पुनः कर्षणायकरणमेव पुनः सीमाकरणम् । तद्यथा भवति तथा राजा यतेति पुनः सीमां कारयेदित्यस्यार्थः । The text in Mr. Gharpure's ed. is corrupt

920. सीमामध्ये तु जातानां वृक्षाणां क्षेत्रयोर्द्वयोः । फलं पुष्पं च सामान्यं क्षेत्रस्वामिषु निर्दिशेत् । अन्यक्षेत्रे तु जातानां शाखा यत्रान्यसद्विधताः । स्वामिन् तं विजानीयाद्यस्य क्षेत्रेऽसंभ्रिता ॥ कात्या 760-61 १. by अपराक pp. 766-767, स्मृतिच II p 236, वि. र. 223 नारद XIV. 13-14 are almost the same, reading स्वामिनस्ता विजानीयाद्यक्षेत्र-विनिर्गता

alone takes all the fruits he is liable to be fined for taking half the fruits.

A *setu* (watercourse) is said by Nār (XIV. 18) to be of two kinds, viz that which is dug (*lheyā*) into the soil in order to drain off excessive water and that which is constructed (*bundhya*) as an embankment to prevent water from flowing away. Yāj II. 156 and Nār XIV. 17 provide that a *setu* made by the owner of one field in the neighbouring field should not be forbidden by the owner of that field, if the loss of soil it causes (to the latter) is small as compared with the great benefit that it may confer Nār (XIV. 20-21) and Yāj II. 157 prescribe that one should make a dike or watercourse on another's land with the permission of that man or with the permission of the king as otherwise he cannot reap the benefit thereof. Kāt (762-63) provides a similar rule about the repairs to a house or garden or tank made by a stranger without the owner's or the king's permission It is stated by Nār (XIV. 23-25) that when the owner of a field is unable (to cultivate it) or is dead or is not heard of, if a stranger cultivates the field without objection from any body, the stranger shall enjoy the produce of the field, that if the owner (or his son) returns while the field is being tilled by a stranger, he can get his field back on repayment to the stranger of all the money expended on making the land (ready for crops). If the owner is unable to return the expenses, the stranger may retain $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the produce every year for eight years giving $\frac{3}{4}$ th to the owner every year and should hand over the field to the owner when the 8th year arrives Yāj II. 158 and Vyāsa provide that if a person takes a field from the owner on rent for cultivation, but gives up the cultivation after slightly ploughing it and does not employ someone else to complete the cultivation, then he should be made to pay the produce that would have been recovered from the field if properly cultivated and also should be fined and the field may be taken from him and given to another tenant⁹²¹.

921. क्षेत्रं गृहीत्वा यः कश्चिन्न कुर्यान्न च कारयेत् । स्वामिने स शब्दं दाप्यो राजे दण्डं च तत्समम् ॥ व्यास उ by वि चि p 65, व्य. म. p. 368, रघुनिच II. p 238, रत मा. III. p 408 ascribe this to बृह

CHAPTER XXIII

VAKPĀRUSYA AND DANDAPĀRUSYA

(Abuse and defamation; assault)

Vākpārusya, dandapārusya, steya, strisangrahana, sāhasa are five titles out of 18 that are concerned with what may be called criminal matters or crimes in modern nomenclature. Vide under *sāhasa* below.

Nār. XVIII. 1 defines *vākpārusya* as 'abusive words that loudly proclaim censure of another's country, caste, family and the like and that cause mental pain or offence to that man.' Kat. (768) defines it as⁹²² consisting in making the sound 'hum' (of defiance) before another or coughing before him, of imitating or uttering before another whatever is censurable according to popular notions. Nār. (XVIII. 2-3) says that abuse is of three kinds, *usthura* (reproachful such as calling a man a fool or a rogue), *asthila* (obscene or insulting), *livra* (mercilessly severe such as charging a man with such grave sins as brāhmana-murder or drinking liquor) and that the punishment for each later one is more severe than for each preceding one. Examples of the abuse of country, caste and family are respectively 'the Gaudas are quarrelsome', 'brāhmanas are extremely greedy', 'persons of the Viśvāmitra gotra commit cruel deeds'. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 355 verses 2-4) divided *vākpārusya* into three kinds viz. lowest (when the country, caste or family of a person is abused or sinfulness is ascribed without specifying any definite act), middling (speaking that the abuser will have sexual intercourse with the mother or sister of the abused or ascribing the commission of *upapātakas*⁹²³ or minor sins to the abused), highest (charging him with taking forbidden food or drink or mercilessly exposing or ascribing the grave sins to a person). Various fines are prescribed in the *smṛtis* that depend upon the above distinctions and also on the castes of the abuser and the

922. हुङ्कार कासनं चैव लोके यच्च विगर्हितम् । अशुक्रपाददुष्टशूनाद् वाक्पापकृतं तदुच्यते ॥ कात्या (768) q. by अपरार्क p. 805, स्मृतिच II. p. 6

923. For *upapātakas* vide Manu XI. 59-66 (such as *govadhā*, adultery), Yāj. III. 234-242, Viśnudharmasūtra (37) which contain long lists of them.

abused. For example, Manu VIII. 267 (= Nār XVIII. 15 = Matsya 227. 66) prescribes the punishments of 100 panas, 150 or 200 panas, corporal punishment respectively against a ksatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra abusing a brāhmana and conversely Manu VIII. 268 (= Nār. XVIII. 16) provides that a brāhmana calumniating a ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra should respectively be fined 50, 25 or 12 panas. In the case of the abuser and the abused being of the same varna the fine for ordinary abuse is 12 panas, but double of this if the abuse is, according to Manu VIII. 269 (= Nār. XVIII. 17), foul (relating to mother, sister &c.). Vide Yāj II. 206-207, Visnudharmasūtra V. 35. From the remarks of the Sm. C. and the Madanaratna it appears that these discriminating provisions²²⁴ based on the caste²²⁵ and the ascription of minor or grave sins had become a dead letter and were not being enforced by the kings in India by the 12th century A. D. at least. One or two matters, however, may be noted. Manu VIII. 268-272 and 274 are the same as Nār. XVIII. 16-17, 22-24. Even the truth of an imputation²²⁶ afforded no complete exemption e. g. if a person angrily calls a man a thief (who was once convicted of it) or speaks of him as blind or cripple, the former would be fined at least one kārśāpana (Manu VIII. 274 = Nār. XVIII. 18). Kāut. (III. 18) provides in this case three panas²²⁷ as fine and Visnudharmasūtra (V. 27) two panas. When the

924. एव जातिगुणयोर्विधिविशेषदर्शने तथा प्रथममध्यमोत्तमभावेन त्रिधाभिहितं वाक्यारूपान्तर्गतमेव दर्शने तथा निष्ठुराश्रुलीलतीव्रत्वादिवार्त्तारूपविशेषदर्शने तथा श्रुताभिजनदेशकर्मशरीरापितुमातुमुत्तमविशेषविशेषदर्शने तल्लिखन्मनोव्यापचद्वन्द्वनिर्वापितः स्मृतयो यद्यपि वचःसमुच्चयकारिः सद्युचितता अस्माभिस्तु संप्रति तद्वर्त्तमाननिष्ठप्रजासिद्धिभावाद् दृष्ट्या ग्रन्थविस्तरापत्तिर्मा भूदिति न सद्युचितता । स्मृतिश्च II p 327 The words from श्रुताभिजन up to संप्रति occur also in स्. नि p 479, which winds up as 'संप्रति तद्वर्त्तमानभावाद् ग्रन्थविस्तरतः (०२. १) किमर्थमिदमुपपन्नम्', यद्यपि वाक्यार्त्तद्वन्द्ववार्यपावित्वेनान्येपि दृष्टविशेषा स्मृतिभिरुच्यन्ते । अस्ति तथापीदानीन्तनं राजभिः प्रजासोमप्रसङ्गेन तादृशदृष्ट्यै कर्तुमशक्यत्वाद्युपयोगभावेन निरर्थकग्रन्थविस्तरभावात्तस्माभिः संयुहीता । (मदनमोहन at the end of दृष्ट्यारम्भ)

925. Vide ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण 14 G. 6. for an abuse as to varṇa 'नमस्य मया तिथिश्च काण्वावाता त एतस्य मेधातिथिराकोशव्याहणोऽस्ति ब्रह्माणुश्च इति ।'

926. Compare sec 499 of the Indian Penal Code, exception one, which provides that the mere truth of an imputation does not exonerate a person from the charge of defamation, unless the imputation is uttered for the public good.

927. शरीरमक्रुतिश्रुतवृत्तिजनपदानां शरीरोपपादेन काण्वगर्भादीनि नाम्ने विन्द्यन्ते । निरुपपत्तादेव दृष्ट्यो दृष्टः । शोभनशिक्षित इति काण्वगर्भादीनां वृत्तिनिर्वाहः द्वादशपणो दृष्टः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 18.

imputation is false all provide for a fine double of that provided in case the imputation is true. Ironical praise of a man (such as describing one who is blind of one eye as one endowed with a beautiful eye) is made punishable by Kaut. (III. 18). To warn⁹²⁸ a man against associating with a person who is guilty of a grave sin or of theft does not entail punishment if the truth of the imputation be established (Kat. 776). Acc to Kaut and Kāt (775) the king was to award only half the fine prescribed if the accused said 'what I uttered in abuse was done through ignorance, carelessness, rivalry or friendship; I shall not again do so'⁹²⁹. A person who abuses a king doing his duty was to have his tongue cut off or forfeited all his property (Nār XVIII 30, Yāj. II. 302). Āp. II. 10. 27. 14 prescribed for a sūdra that abused any one of the three higher castes leading a religious life the punishment of the cutting of the tongue⁹³⁰.

Dandapārusya (assault). Kaut III. 19 begins his treatment of this topic by saying that it comprises touching, threatening to strike and actually striking another⁹³¹. Nār. XVIII. 4 defines it as injuring the limbs of another with the hand, foot, weapon or other means (such as stones) or defiling or causing pain by (bringing) ashes and similar substances in contact with another. The Mit. on Yāj II. 213 explains that even causing injury to animals and trees would fall under this title Nār XVIII 5-6 provide that assault may be of three kinds viz. mild, middling and highly ✓✓ punishable according as a person merely makes preparations to assault or attacks without any qualm or causes a wound and that this crime can further be divided into three kinds according as the object attacked is low in value or middling or high. A verse from the Parīśista (quoted by Sm. C. II. p. 327 and V. P. p. 370) states 'whoever causes pain or draws blood, wounds, breaks, cuts off, pierces (the limbs or bodies) of living beings is guilty of dandapārusya'. According to Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 357 verse

928. यत्र स्वात्पट्टिहारार्थं पतितस्तेन (पतितस्तेन ?) कीर्तनम् । वक्षनात्त्र न स्वात्तु दोषो यत्र विभावयेत् ॥ कात्या. (776) q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 327, वि. र. p. 258. Compare exceptions 9 and 10 of sec. 499 of the I. P. C.

929. मोहात्पमादात्सङ्घर्षात् श्रुत्या शोके नयेति यः । नाहमेव पुनर्वक्ष्ये दण्डार्थं तस्य कल्पयेत् ॥ कात्या. 775 q. by वि. र. p. 246, वि. चि. p. 70 (both ascribe to कात्या. and उशनस्) स्मृतिच. II p. 327, व्य. न. 229, व्य. प्र. p. 384 ascribe to उशनस् alone. ममादमदमोदादिभिरर्धदण्डाः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 18

930. जिह्वाच्छेदनं शूद्रस्यार्थं धार्मिकमाक्रोशतः । आप. ध. सू. II 10. 27. 14.

931. दण्डपातस्य स्पर्शनमवपूर्वं प्रहतमिति । अर्थशास्त्र III 19.

1) *danḍapāṇasam*⁹³² consists in striking (a person) with the hand, with a stone, a club, ashes, mud, dust or a weapon. The Mit on Yaj II 212 following Nār XVIII 7-12 lays down certain propositions about both abuse and assault. A person who does not return abuse or does not assault when abused or assaulted, deserves to be commended, if he returns the abuse or assaults in return, the person who began the quarrel is to be dealt with more severely than the other. When two persons⁹³³ attack each other and there are no means for finding who began the quarrel equal punishment is to be awarded to both, but when two quarrel he who began the quarrel or he who persists longer than the other is to be fined more than the other party and lastly if men of the lowest⁹³⁴ castes such as *śāpāka*, *meda*, *cūṇḍāla*, hunters, elephant riders, *vrātyas* and *dāśas* (slaves) assault respectable men and *ācāryas* then they are to be punished (whipped) by good men then and there, but if such punishment is not possible, then the king should award corporal punishment (of various kinds according to the nature of the crime) and should not take fines from them, since they are the foulest among men and their wealth also is foul. Kāt (783) and Br (S. B. E 33 p 359 verse 15) are to the same effect. The several *smṛtis* lay down various punishments for various kinds of assaults but no useful purpose will be served by going into details. Kāt⁹³⁵ (786) provides that just as in abuse punishments depend on the castes of the abuser and the abused so also in assaults higher punishment is to be awarded if the attacker is of a lower caste than the person attacked or lower punishment if the person attacked is of a lower caste. Manu VIII 286 and Uśanas⁹³⁶ lay down that the punishment for the offence should be commensurate with

932 हस्तपाषाणलघुद्वैर्भस्मकर्मपांशुभिः । आयुषैश्च प्रहरण दण्डपादव्यसृचये ॥ शुश-
q by वि र p. 259

933 द्वयोः प्रहरतोर्दण्डः समयोस्तु समः स्मृतः । आरम्भकोऽनुबन्धी च दाप्य श्वा-
धिकं दम् ॥ बृह- q by अपरार्क p 812, वि र p 275

934 असुखधूर्तदासना श्लेच्छाना पापकारिणाम् । भतिलोमप्रधृतानां ताडनं नार्थ-
तो दम् ॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p 813, वि. र p 278, भतिलोम्यास्तथा चान्या एव-
वार्या गला स्मृता । ब्राह्मणातिक्रमे वध्या न दातव्या धनं क्वचित् । वि र p. 277.

935. वाक्पादव्ये गयैवोक्ता भतिलोम्यास्तुलोमत । तथैव दण्डपादव्ये गायरा दण्डा-
यथाक्रमम् ॥ कात्या. 786, q. by परा भा III. p 418, वि. र 269,

936 यत्र नोन्तो दम् सर्वेऽनन्यास्तु मृतात्मनि । तत्र कार्यं परिज्ञाय कर्तव्यं दण्ड-
धारणम् । उशनस् q. by स्मृतिच II. p 328 (which explains कार्यं शान्तिषु प्राप्य तरे-
त्यादित् दुःखम्).

the pain or injury caused by the offender to a man or beast. A few examples may be set out. Probably the oldest reference to fines for assault in Sanskrit literature is contained in the Taittiriya Samhita⁹³⁷ II 6 10. 2. 'He who threatens to strike a brāhmana shall be fined with a hundred (cows or niskas?), he who strikes a brāhmana shall be fined with a thousand, he who draws blood from him shall not behold the *pitrs* for as many years as there are particles of dust mixed with the blood that falls on them'. This passage is interpreted in Jai III⁹³⁸ 4 17 as being a recommendatory injunction (*purusārtha*) to all at all times to desist from assaulting a brāhmana. Gaut (21 20-22) and Manu XI. 206-207 appear to take the Tai. S passage differently and refer the figures of 100 and 1000 to years. Kaut III 19 prescribes various fines for various kinds of assaults. Br (S. B. E 33 p 357 verses 2, 3 and 7) says that if a person throws ashes or the like at another or beats him with the hand the fine should be one *māṣa*, but if he strikes with a brick, stone or stick the fine should be two *māsakas*; this however applies when both are of the same caste, but if he assaults a woman who is another's wife or a person of a higher caste, the fine may be higher and higher. For one who bruises the skin of another or draws blood by assault the fine is one hundred *panas*, and for him who causes a wound by removing some flesh the fine is six *māsakas* and he who causes breaking of bones should be banished (Manu VIII 284 = Nār XVIII 29). Kāt prescribes the highest amercement for cutting off the ear, the lip, the nose, the foot, the eye, the tongue, the penis, the hand, and the middle amercement for causing injury (or wounding) (Gaut XII 1, Kaut III 19, Manu VIII⁹³⁹ 279, Yāj II. 215, Br provide the punishment of the cutting of that limb with which a *sūdra* strikes a person of the three higher castes. And the Mī on Yāj II 215 applies by analogy the same rule to a *vaiśya* striking a *kātriya*. Manu VIII 280 extends the same punishment to a *sūdra* for

937 यो ब्राह्मणायापयुरते त इतेन यातयात्, यो निहन्त सत्तमेन यातयात्, यो लोहिते कवचावतमरक्य पाश्व संगृह्णात्तावत् सवत्सरात् पितृन्मोहं न प्रजानादिति । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणाय नापयुरेत न निहन्त्याज्ज लोहितं कुर्यात् । ते स II 6 10 2

938 शयौ च सर्वपरिदानात् । जै III 4 17 जवरः conclusion १० अयमवश्यं ब्राह्मणस्याय प्रतिषेध उक्तः, न दर्शपूर्णमासगतमेव नावगारणादि कर्तव्यमिति ।

939 शूद्रो द्विजातीनभिसन्धायामिहत्य च सप्तदण्डपाठव्यापामनमोक्षो येनापह-
न्यात् । यो XII 1, शूद्रो येनाङ्गेन ब्राह्मणमभिहृत्यात्तदस्य छेदयेत् । अथग्राहं निष्कष्यः ।
रपञ्चोनापदण्डः । अथशास्त्र III 19, येनाङ्गेन द्विजातीनां शूद्रः प्रहरत स्यात् । छेदयेत् सप्तद-
ण्डपर्य तन्मनोरुशसनम् ॥ बृह १ by स्मृत्येव II, p 328

merely raising the hand or a club to strike one of a higher caste. Manu VIII 281-283 (=Nār. XVIII 26-28) provide that a person of a low caste defiantly sitting on the same seat with one of a higher caste was to be first branded on the waist and then banished or his hips were to be gashed (in such a way that he might not die), that a śūdra defiantly spitting on the body of a brāhmana had his lips cut off or a śūdra voiding urine or faeces on a brāhmana had those offending limbs cut off, or a śūdra defiantly seizing a brāhmana by the hair or the feet or beard or neck or testicles would have both his hands cut off. If several conspire and strike a person who is alone, each one was to be sentenced to twice the punishment prescribed for the offence (Yāj II. 221, Kaut.⁹⁴⁰ III 19, Viṣṇu Dh. S. V 73) Kaut. III 19, Manu VIII 287, Yāj II. 222, Br., Kāt 787, Viṣṇu Dh S. V. 75-76 provide that the king should make an offender pay a fine and also the expenses of medical treatment and diet till the wound is healed up and the person attacked is able to do his usual work (vide note 613 above) For mischief to property⁹⁴¹ and for killing or maiming animals, Kaut., Manu, Yājñavalkya, and others provide various fines. For example, Kaut. III. 19 prescribes that when property of small value is destroyed by a man he should be punished with fine equal to the value of the article and should be made to restore the article or its value to the owner; but in the case of articles of substantial value the fine is double of the value. Manu VIII 288 is of similar import. Yāj II. 223 provides varying fines if a person wrongfully causes damage to a wall by knocking it (with a club), or pierces it or divides it into two or demolishes it and makes the offender pay to the owner the cost of restoring it. Manu. VIII. 296-298, Yāj II 225-226 prescribe fines for causing death or injury to animals of small value (such as goats) and big animals like elephants, horses and cows. Yāj II 227-229, Kaut III 19, and Kāt 793 provide fines for causing loss by injuring or felling trees, shrubs and creepers. Yāj II. 214 holds⁹⁴² that if a person throws mud,

940 महाजनस्यैक घनतो प्रत्येक द्विगुणो दण्डः । अर्थशास्त्र III 19.

941 ममापणे माणभृता दद्यात्तत्पारित्यकम् । तस्याहुरूपं दूतय वा दद्यादित्यमरीन्मनु. ॥ कात्या 792 q by परा मा. III p 425, वि. र 284; वनस्पतीना सर्वेषाहपभोगो यथा यथा । तथा तथा दम कार्पो हिंसायामिति धारणा ॥ मनु VIII 285. This last is cited as कात्यायन's in वि. र p. 284.

942 हनिष्वर्धदमो मोहमदादिभिरध्वजम् । वा II. 214, हनिष्वर्धदण्डा परस्त्रीषु द्विगुणा । ममादममोहादिभिरध्वजम् । अर्थशास्त्र III 19.

dust or saliva or filthy things on another or strikes with his feet, he should not be fined if he is under the influence of intoxicants at the time or is not in his right mind or does it through mistake, while Kaut. III 19 prescribes half of the usual fine in such cases.

An important question is how far the right of private defence of person or property was recognised by the dharmaśāstra works. This subject has partly been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 148-151 in connection with an *ātātāyīn* (a desperate man) who is an incendiary or a poisoner or is armed with a weapon, is a robber, one carrying away another's wife or seizing by force (a field). Although there is great diversity of views about killing a brāhmana *ātātāyīn*, there is no difference of opinion as to repelling with force culminating even in death an *ātātāyīn* of any other caste. Gaut. VII. 25 allows even a brāhmana to arm himself when his life is in danger.⁹⁴³ Baud. Dh. S. II.⁹⁴⁴ 2. 80, Manu VIII. 348-349 lay down that brāhmanas and vaiśyas may oppose with force when they are prevented from doing their religious duties by felons or when there are disturbances caused by invasion or the like, for saving their own lives, for preventing the seizure of their cows or other wealth or for protecting women or brāhmanas. The Mit.⁹⁴⁵ on Yāj. II. 286 remarks that these rules of Manu are applicable when there is no time to report to the king or when delay in opposing violence will mean loss or ruin. According to Kāt.⁹⁴⁶ (800) no blame attaches to a man who kills wicked men that are about to kill another, but when they have desisted from their attempt, they should be arrested and not killed. Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 227) remarks that persons are to be regarded as *ātātāyīn* while they are about to set fire or to kill or they are in the act of setting fire or killing and the like, that where it is not possible to prevent them from doing what

943. माणसंशये ब्राह्मणोपि राजमाददीत । गो VII. 25.

944. गवार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे वा वर्णानां वापि सङ्करे । गृहीयातां विभक्तौ राज्ञं धर्मव्यपेक्षया ॥
बौ. ध. II. 2. 80 ; राज्ञे हिजातिभिर्ग्राह्यं धर्मो यत्रोपरुष्यते । मनु VIII 348, which the
मदनरत्न (ms) explains 'धर्मस्तदाकादिरूपो यत्र देसे काले वा भेदमभेदनादिनोपरु-
ष्यते तत्र । ... तथा दक्षिणाना सङ्करे गोयद्वयनिमित्तको रुद्धे । स्त्रीविप्रभ्युपपत्तौ दुर्बलहिंसानि-
वारणे धमस्त्रितोऽर्जुन न दुष्यति ।'

945. यदा तु राज्ञो निवेदनेन कालविलम्बनेन कार्यातिपाताशङ्का तदा स्वयमेव जारादी-
न्हृष्यात् । राज्ञं हिजातिभिर्ग्राह्यं धर्मो यत्रोपरुष्यते । इति । मिता on या II. 286.

946. उद्यतानां तु पापानां हन्तुर्दोषो न विद्यते । निवृत्तास्तु यदारम्भाद्ग्रहणं न बधः
स्मृतः ॥ कात्या 800 q by रसुतिच. II, p. 315

they intend to do except by killing them there only the texts allow killing; but that where it is possible to prevent them by merely wounding them with a weapon or stick, killing them would be an offence ⁹⁴⁷ Medhatithi^{947a} on Manu VIII 348 differs from this and allows the killing of a desperado even after he has carried out his purpose and not only when he is about to carry it out or is in the act of carrying it out. The view of the Mit on Yāj II 21 is that one has a right to oppose and kill another in self-defence, in defence of women and other weak people, who cannot defend themselves against a murderous or violent attack and that even if a wrongdoer of the brāhmana caste was killed in the exercise of such right there is no punishment at the hands of the king and the *prāyasaitta* (for killing a brāhmana) is a light one. Similarly a man can kill with impunity animals having claws, horns or fangs or horses or elephants if they attack a person (Kāt. 805 q by Sm C II. p 316)

947 अत्र च वर्तमानादिनादिव्यापार एवावतायिन उच्यन्ते । तद्व्यापारनिवारणं च यत्र ब्रधमन्तरेण न सम्भवति तत्रैव तद्व्यापारः । यत्र तु दण्डशस्त्रादिप्रहारमात्रेण शत्रो निवारयितुं तत्र तु तद्व्यो दोषनिमित्तमेव । अत एवोक्तं बृहस्पतिना-आक्रुदसु ममाक्रान-स्तावित प्रतितादृश्य-इत्यादि । अपरार्क p 1043 For the right of private defence of person and property compare the above dicta with sections 99 to 105 of the Indian Penal Code

947a आयातमिति वचनादात्मशत्रो दन्तुमभिधानं दारान् वा जित्वा त्वं हन्तव्यं इति नृपे नृपे किमन्यत्करिष्यतीत्युपक्षा उति श्रुते तदपुक्तं यत् प्रकाशमप्रकारं चेति कथा । ममानौ संतां करिष्यन् कृतशश्च सृष्ट (? दृष्ट) श्रेयसि । तस्मादायान्तमित्यनुगद् फलमाप्त कृत्वा वागतमिति । आतनायित्वाचक्षामः हन्वते न च कृतशश्च आतनायित्वामुपति । न च कृतशश्च आतनायित्वामुपति । मेधा on मनु VIII 348, अतश्च ब्राह्मणादयः शत्रुनाशिनश्च आतनादिब्राह्मणे हिंसानभिस्तन्विना निवार्यमाणा प्रमादादि विपरिणाम्य हन्तव्यमिति राज-दण्डमावश्चेति निश्चयः । मिता. on या II. 21 The मदनराज quotes both the above texts and also that of स्मृतिच II p 315.

CHAPTER XXIV

STEYA (theft).

In the Rg. there is frequent mention of *taskara*, *stena* and *tāyu*. In Rg. VI. 28. 3 the sage⁹⁴⁸ says 'may the cows not disappear from us, may a thief not injure them'. In Rg. VIII. 29. 6 it is said 'Pūsan guards the ways and knows of concealed treasures as a thief does'. From Rg. X. 4. 6 it appears that thieves were desperate and bound people with ropes and (from Rg. I. 191. 5) that thieves (*taskaras*) appeared at night. *Tāyu* (thief) occurs in Rg. I. 50. 2, IV. 38. 5, VI. 12. 5 and is an Indo-Iranian word. The word 'stena' occurs in Rg. VI. 28. 7 and means 'one who is a cattle-lifter'. Rg. VIII. 67. 14 indicates that a *stena* was bound with ropes (when caught). In Rg. VII. 55. 3 the dog is asked to run after a *stena* and a *taskara*, the first being probably a thief (who secretly carries away property) and the second a thief who openly carries it away. In the Vāj^{948a} S. XI. 79 (= Tai. S. IV. 1. 10. 2) we have the *mahimlu* in addition to *stena* and *taskara*. Atharvaveda IV. 3 contains charms against wolves, tigers and thieves (*taskaras*).

Steya is distinguished from *sāhasa* in Manu VIII. 352, Kaut. III. 17, Nār. XVII. 12 and other works as stated under *sāhasa* below. Kāt. 810 defines^{948b} it as 'depriving a man of his wealth either clandestinely or openly and either by night or by day'. Nār. XVII. 17 defines it as 'deprivation of wealth by various means from people that are asleep, careless or intoxicated'. It may be of three kinds according to the value of the thing stolen viz. trifling (when earthen-ware, seats, cots, wood, hides, grass, beans in pods or cooked food is stolen) or middling (when the theft relates to clothes except silken

948 न ता नशान्ति न द्वाति तस्करो नासामभिश्चो व्यधिरा दधर्षति । ऋ. VI. 28. 3, पथ एक पीपाय तस्करो यथा एव वेद निधीनाम् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 29. 6, तनूत्यजेव तस्करा वनर्यो रक्षानाभिर्दृशभिरभ्यधीताम् । ऋ. X. 4. 6 (explained in निरुक्त III. 14).

948a ये जनेषु मलिम्लव. स्तेनास्तस्करा वने । ये कशेष्वपायवर्तन्ते दधानि जन्मयो ॥ वाज. स. XI. 79. The com. on Tai. S. explains. 'स्तेनाः गुप्तचोराः तस्करा. प्रकटचोरा अतिप्रकटा निर्भया ग्रामेषु बन्दिकराः मलिम्लवः'.

948b प्रच्छन्नं वा प्रकाशं वा निशायामयथा दिश । यत्पञ्चव्यहरणं स्तेर्यं तत्परिकीर्तितम् ॥ कात्या. 810 q by वाचभाष्य VI. 9, p. 224.

ones, animals except cows and bulls, metals except gold, rice and barley), grave or high (when gold, jewels, silken cloth, women, men, cattle, elephants, horses and the wealth of brāhmanas or temples is stolen) Vide Nār. XVII 13-16 and Yāj II 275. Thieves are either *prakāśa* (open or patent) or *apākāśa* (secret) acc to Manu IX 256, Br⁹⁴⁹ (S B E 33 p 359 v 2) Acc to Manu IX 258-260, Nār. (parīṣista 2-3) and Br (S B E. 33 p 360 verses 3-4) patent thieves are traders who employ false weights and balances, gamblers, quacks, bribers of *sabhyas*, prostitutes, those who profess to arbitrate, those who manufacture imitation articles, those who subsist by prognosticating good fortune or portents or by magic or palmistry, false witnesses &c Manu (IX 261-266) states that in order to find out such thieves the king should employ spies in various disguises at various places such as meeting halls, refreshment rooms, brothels, wineshops, theatres &c The concealed thieves are those who move about with tools for house-breaking without being observed and whose residence is not known, they are principally⁹⁵⁰ of nine kinds viz. one who quietly relieves a man of his money when the latter is attending to something else, a house-breaker, a highway robber (who robs travellers), a cut-purse, one who steals (or kidnaps) a woman or a man, cattle, horses and other animals. Yāj II 266-268 and Nār. (parīṣista 9-12) indicate the various ways in which thieves may be detected and caught viz by the (police) officers recovering a part of the booty from a man or by tracing foot-steps, or by seizing one who has been often found to be a thief, or by finding out that the man suspected cannot state his place of residence; and they recommend that on suspicion others may be caught, if on being questioned they attempt to conceal their caste or name or if they are found addicted to gambling, wine and women or if their mouth becomes dry or their voice changes or if they spend lavishly though they have no ostensible means of earning, or those who sell lost or second-hand goods or who move about in disguise or who are found making inquiries about others' houses

949. प्रकाशाश्चप्रकाशाश्च द्विविधास्तस्करा. स्मृता । प्रज्ञासामर्थ्यमायाभिः प्रविशन्ते सङ्ग्रहा ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II p. 317, न्य. प्र. p 386.

950 उत्क्षेपकः सन्धिभेत्ता पान्थमुद्धृत्यन्धिभेदकः । श्रीशृंगोत्पद्युस्तेषी चौरो नव-विधः स्मृतः ॥ व्यास q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 318, न्य. प्र. p. 387.

or wealth. The Mit. on Yāj⁹⁵¹ II. 268 quotes Nār and gives the warning that the king must carefully examine whether the man caught is really the thief and should not convict merely on suspicion, since even an innocent man may have stolen property near him or betray some of the signs noted above. When property alleged to be stolen is found with a man, it may be that the articles came to his hands from another's hand or he may have taken it up when it lay unclaimed on the ground or he may have taken it as a thief; liars often have the appearance of honest men and *uce te va* (Nār I 71)⁹⁵² Nārada's dictum (I. 42) that one who is not a thief may be held to be a thief as in the case of Māndavya has already been quoted above (p 357n 549). Vide Manu IX 270 (= Matsya 227. 166) cited on p 355 above. When a person is seized on suspicion of being a thief he could not be acquitted on his mere denial of the offence. He had to prove innocence by ordinary evidence (such as proof that he was elsewhere when the theft was committed) or ordeals (Yāj II. 269). The general rule about the punishment of patent thieves was that the punishment was to be proportionate to the lightness or gravity of the crime and not to their wealth (Vyāsa)⁹⁵³ Br. (S B E 33 p 361 verses 10 ff) quoted in Par. M. III pp. 439-440 and V P pp 387-88 prescribes various punishments for particular kinds of patent thieves e. g. *sabhyas* giving wrong decisions (for bribes) or those who deceive by betraying the trust imposed in them are to be banished. Manu IX 292 (= Matsya 227 184-185) holds that the goldsmith is the worst of all deceitful persons (*kantakas*) and if he is found committing fraud his limbs should be cut off bit by bit.

As regards the concealed thieves the texts lay down special rules. Nār XVII 21 extends to theft of the three kinds mentioned above the same punishments that are awarded in the three kinds of *sāhasa*. Manu VIII 323 prescribes death sentence for kidnapping men of good family and particularly women

951 अन्वष्टान्तापरिभ्रष्टकामादुद्धृतं भुवि । चौरिणं वा परिक्षितं लोच्यं यत्नात्परीक्षयेत् ॥ कात्या acc to अपराधः p 841, वि र p 337 मित्ता on या II 268 and परा मा. III p 437 ascribe it to नारद. The मित्ता remarks न पुनर्लिङ्गदर्शनमात्रेण चौरनिर्णयं कुर्यात् । अचौरस्यपि लोच्यमिदं चौरलिङ्गसम्बन्धसम्भवात् .

952 असत्याः सत्यसकाशाः सत्याश्चासत्यसन्निभा । दृश्यन्ते विविधा भावास्तस्माद्युक्तं परीक्षणम् ॥ नारद I 71, in the शान्तिपर्व 111 65-66 thus very verse occurs with the variation that सत्य and असत्य are substituted for सत्य and असत्य

953 नेगमाया धूरिना दण्डया दोषाल्लुप्यत । यथा ते न निर्वर्तन्ति तिष्ठन्ति ममये तथा ॥ यास १ १५ बौधायि II p 317, व्य अ p 387

and for theft of costly jewels; while Vyāsa prescribes death by burning on red-hot iron bed for kidnapping women and mutilation of hands and feet for kidnapping a man Yāj II 273 provides impalement for those who confine others as captives, for those who steal horses and elephants and who strike others with violence, while Manu IX. 280 prescribes death for those who break royal store-houses and armoury, the inner shrine in a temple and who steal horses, chariots and elephants. For him who commits theft by housebreaking at night Manu (IX 276) and Br. (S B E 33 p 361, verse 17) provide impalement⁹⁵¹ after cutting off his hands. Yāj. II 274, Manu IX 277, Visnu Dh S. V 136 prescribe for the cut-purse the punishment of the cutting of the thumb and index finger for the first offence, the cutting of the hand and foot if it is the second offence and death if he repeats the same offence a third time. Not only was the thief made to undergo punishment but he was also liable to make good the loss of property to the person robbed (Manu VIII 320, Yāj. II 270, Visnu Dh S V. 89, Nār. parisiṣṭa 21) According to Nār (parisiṣṭa 22-24) for thefts of articles of small value the fine was five times their price, while Manu (VIII. 326-329) said it was twice as much as the price. Gaut XII 12-14,⁹⁵⁵ Manu VIII. 337-338, Nār. (parisiṣṭa 51-52) lay down that the fine for theft is higher in the case of the higher castes i. e. if the śūdra thief is fined eight times of the value of the article stolen, the vaiśya, ksatriya and brāhmaṇa thieves were respectively fined 16, 32 and 64 times the price of the article, as each is deemed to know better owing to his higher status and culture. Manu VIII. 380 lays down the general rule that a brāhmaṇa offender was not to be killed whatever the offence might be but he was to be banished from the country allowing him to take with him all his wealth. But there were other provisions and exceptions also. Kāt⁹⁵⁶ (823) states that

954. सन्धिच्छेदकृतो ज्ञात्वा शूलमाग्राहयेत्पु । कृह १ by पृ ३ p 388

955. अदापाय सेचकित्तिष शूद्रस्य । द्विगुणोत्तराणीतरेषा प्रतिवर्णम् । त्रिगुणोत्तराणि
दण्डभूयस्त्वम् । गौ XII 12-14

956. मानवाः सद्य एवाहं सहोदाना प्रवासनम् । गौतमानामनिष्टं यन्मायुष्येदग्नि-
रहितम् । सहोदमसहोद वा तत्त्वगमितसालसम् । संश्रुय चिद्धमनेय सर्गविषयोजयेत् ।
अथ सन्दानयुतस्य मन्दभक्ता बलान्विता । कुरु कर्माणि हृषतेराभृत्योरिति कौशिकः । कात्या
823-825 q. by वि र p 332, वि चि p 94, अपराक p 849 (last two verses)
अत्र कात्यायनवाक्ये द्युत्तस्वाध्यायवत् प्रवासनं, तच्छ्रम्यस्य धनत सर्वस्वरणं, निर्भयम् तु
तथाविधस्य बन्धनादिकमभिप्रेतं ब्राह्मणविषयं चेत् । वि र p 332, अपराक reads
प्रश्लाच्छिक्कमावेत्, which seems to mean that his guilt and the signs whereby
assumed should be proclaimed to the public.

the school of the Mānavas declared that thieves caught with the stolen things on them should be at once banished but that the school of Gautama disapproved of this mode, since it is condemned because it entails loss (reduction) of people in the country. The V. R. p. 332 explains this verse as referring to a learned brāhmana. Two more verses of Kāt. (824-825) are quoted by V. R. p. 332 and V. C. p. 92 the first of which provides that a brāhmana who is not learned whether caught with booty or not should be branded (with the appropriate signs) and deprived of all his property, provided his guilt is brought home with certainty and the second provides that a brāhmana thief who is neither learned nor rich but is strongly built should be kept under guard with fetters on his feet, should be fed on meagre food and made to do hard labour for the king till his death. Gaut. XII. 46-48, Nār. (parīṣista 13-14), Manu IX. 271 and 278, Kāt (827) hold that the punishment for those who knowingly give food, fire (when they feel cold), water or asylum to thieves or who receive or purchase stolen property or who conceal them are to be punished like the thieves themselves.⁹⁵⁷ Yāj. II. 276 prescribes the highest amercement for any one who knowingly gives help to a thief or murderer in the above ways or by directions or by supplying tools or money wherewith to go to a place for committing the offence.

In certain cases a person could take without being liable to be punished as a thief certain things belonging to another even if he had not the latter's permission. Gaut. XII.⁹⁵⁸ 25, Manu VIII. 339 (= Matsya 227. 112-113), Yāj. II. 166 allow a person of the three higher castes to take grass, fuel-sticks, flowers of trees and plants for feeding cows and for the worship of fire from any place as if they belonged to himself and also fruits of trees that were not enclosed. In such cases he would not be liable to a fine nor does he incur sin (Kullūka on Manu VIII. 339). A smṛti passage stating that if a man takes

957 Compare sec. 212 (about harbouring an offender) and 411 (on receiving stolen property) of the I P C.

958. गोऽन्यर्थं वृणमेधान्वीरुह्नस्पर्तानां च पुष्पाणि स्वदाद्वीत फलानि चापरि-
यतानाम् । गो XII 25 अपराकं p 773 remarks that this is so only when there
is difficulty in getting these (आपदि) यत्पुनरुक्तम्-वृण वा यदि वा काष्ठं पुष्पं वा
यदि वा फलम् । अनापृच्छन् हि गृह्णानो हस्तच्छेदनमर्हति । इति-तद् द्विजस्यतिरिक्तविषयमनाप-
दिष्य वा गवादिष्यतिरिक्तविषय वेति । भित्ता on या II 166, अपराकं p 774 says
तदनापद्रुतशब्दादिविषयम्'.

grass or fuel or flowers or fruits without permission deserves to have his hand cut off is explained by the *Mit.* (on *Yāj* 166), *Aparārka* p. 774 and others as meant to apply to persons other than *dviyas* or as meant to refer to a case where they are taken by a person who has really no difficulty in securing these or where these are not taken for the use of cows or for worship. This matter had been a subject of discussion from ancient times. *Ap. Dh* 8⁹⁹ (I 10 28 1-5) contains a discussion from which it appears that Kautsa, Hārīta, Kānva and Puskaraśādi were of the opinion that whatever (however trifling or in whatever circumstances) a man took without the consent of the owner, he became a thief, that Vātsyāyana held that there were exceptions to this rule viz. that owners should not forbid the taking (of a small quantity of) grain in pods (such as *mudga* or *māsa*) or grass for bulls yoked to carts, but that if large quantities even of these were taken there would be theft. *Śānti* 165. 11-13, *Manu* XI. 16-18 and *Yāj* III. 43 state that when a brāhmana or other person has fasted for three days because he has had no grain with him, he may on the 4th day take grain for one day's meal from anywhere he can get, whether from a threshing floor or from a field or a house, and that if the owner questioned he should declare to him the reason, but a person of a lower caste should not in this way take grain belonging to one of a higher caste, unless the latter pursues a sinful course or does not perform the duties of his caste. Vyāsa quoted by *Sm. C. I.* p. 175 allows a man to commit even theft, when he is in distress for food, first from a person of a lower caste, then from one of the same caste and then from one of a higher caste *Manu* VIII. 341 (= *Matsya* 227. 110, 114), *Nār* (*prakīrnaka* 39), *Śankha* and *Kāt* (822A) state that a traveller whose food has run out may take from another's land without being liable to punishment two sugarcane stalks, two *mūlakas* (esculent roots), two cucumbers or melons, five mangoes or pomegranate fruit

959. यथा कथा च परपरिग्रहमभिमन्यते स्तेनो ह भवतीति कौत्सहारीतौ तथा काण्व-
पुष्करसादी । सन्यसपवादा परपरिग्रहेष्विति वाष्पायणि । क्षम्योपा युग्यधासो न स्वाभि-
प्रतिवेधयन्ति । अतिन्यबहारी वृद्धो भवति । सर्वत्रात्रमतिपूर्वमिति हारीत । आप ध सू I 10.
28. 1-5

960. आपत्तु विहित स्तेन्य विशिष्टसमहीनत । हीनादादेयमादौ स्वात्समादा तद्वन्तरत् ।
व्यास q by स्थितिच I. p 175 . शान्तिपर्व 141 395 आपत्तु . . विशिष्ट च महीयस ।
त्रिप्रेण प्राणरक्षार्थं कर्तव्यमिति निश्चय ।

and a handful of dates and of such corn as rice, wheat, gram &c ⁹⁶¹

Sāhasa (crimes of violence). Manu VIII 332, Kaut III 17, Nār. XVII 1, Yāj II 230, Kāt. (795-796) define *sāhasa* ⁹⁶² as any act which is done with violence in defiance of or in spite of the presence of royal officers or guards or people. The word *sāhasa* is a derivative from 'sahas' meaning 'force' (Nār XVII 1). Sometimes it is distinguished from theft (as in Manu VIII 332, Kaut III 17 and Nār. XVII 12) by saying that theft consists in depriving a person of his wealth stealthily (without force), while in *sāhasa* there is the use of force or violence ⁹⁶³. Nār. XVII 2 and Br (S B. E. vol 33 p. 359 verse 1) state that *sāhasa* ⁹⁶⁴ is of four kinds viz manslaughter, theft, violence to the wives of others, and the two kinds of *pārusya* (treated as one head). Although these topics can be comprehended under *sāhasa*, they are generally dealt with separately in the smritis and digests as a matter of convenience and in order to provide heavier punishment for crimes of violence ⁹⁶⁵, since a man guilty of a crime of violence is a worse sinner than one guilty of abuse, theft or assault (Manu VIII 345 and Mit. on Yāj. II 230) and Manu VIII 244 enjoins upon the king not to tolerate for a moment a man guilty of violence. The

961 तिलशुद्धमाषवगोधुमादीनां सस्यसुष्ठिमहणेणु न दोषः पथिकानाम् । शङ्खे पृ by स्मृतिच. I. p 176, ऋषये वारके हे तु पञ्चाशं पञ्चदाहिनम् । खर्जूरबद्धादीनां सुष्ठि शुद्धक दुष्पति । बृह and कात्या acc to गृह र p 520, चणकवीहिगोधूमयवानां शुद्धमाषयो । अनिषिद्धैर्गृहीतव्यो सुष्ठिरैक पथि स्थितैः ॥ q by मित्रा on या II 275

962 स्यात्साहसं त्वन्वयवत् प्रसभं कर्म यत्कृतम् । निरन्वयं भवेत्तेयं हत्वापच्ययते च यत् ॥ मनु VIII 332, साहसमन्वयवत् प्रसभकर्म । निरन्वये स्तेयमपच्ययते च । अर्थशास्त्र III 17, सहसा क्रियते कर्म यत्किञ्चिद्व्यवहृतम् । तत्साहसमिति श्रोक सहो बलमिहोच्यते ॥ नारद XVII 1, सहसा यत्कृतं कर्म तत्साहसमुदाहृतम् । सान्त्वयस्त्वपहारो यः प्रसन्न हरणं च यत् । साहसं च भवेदेवं स्तेयस्य विनिर्द्भवः ॥ कात्या 795-796 q by स वि pp 451, 457, स्मृतिच. II p 316 and वि. र p 287 (the last two quote 796 only) स्मृतिच. II 316 explains अन्वयो रक्षणकालक्रमप्राप्तपालकनरैरन्वयः, तस्मिन्संति योऽपहारः स सान्त्वयोऽपहारः .

963 तस्यैव भेदः स्तेयं स्याद्विशेषस्तत्र दृश्यते । आधि साहसमाक्रम्य स्तेयमाधि-
श्रुतेन तु ॥ नारद XVII 12 न्य प्र p 385 explains आधि. यथा धनापहरणादि-
द्वारा आक्रम्य प्रसन्न परस्य क्रियमाणः क्लेशः साहसकरो स्तेयः । छलेन क्रियमाणः आधिः
केवलस्तेयमिति यथः

964 मनुष्यमारणं चौर्यं परद्वाराभिमर्शनम् । पाकपशुभयं चेति साहसं स्यात्तद्विधम् ।
गृह- q by स्मृतिच II. p 312, न्य प्र p 392

965 तदिदं साहसं चौर्यबाणदण्डपाकपशुभयसंग्रहणेणु स्यात्सकमपि बलदर्पवदम्भो-
पापिनी भिद्यते इति दण्डातिरेकार्थं पृथगभिधानम् । मिता. on या II. 230.

V May. (text p 2) says that in differentiating *steja* from *sāhasa* the maxim of 'cows' and 'bulls' is applicable⁹⁶⁶.

Sāhasa is divided by Nār. XVII 3-6 and Br (S B E 33 p 363 verse 24) into three varieties, viz. the lowest (destruction, abuse and trampling of fruits, roots, water, agricultural implements), middling (destruction &c of clothes, food and drink, household utensils), highest (killing with weapons or poison, violence to others' wives and whatever causes pain to sentient beings) These three kinds are respectively punished with the three kinds of punishments described above (pp. 393-94) The principal crimes included under *sāhasa* in its narrow sense are homicide, rape and robbery Rape will be dealt with under *sthāsanagrahana* Br.⁹⁶⁷ states the general rule that one guilty of murder by violence should be punished with death and not with fines (S B. E 33 p. 363 v 29) To this the *brāhmana* offender was an exception (Manu IX. 241), who was only to be banished Manu IX 242 introduces another exception viz. persons other than *brāhmanas* when guilty of the great sins (specified in IX 235) through negligence should be only deprived of all their property but if they murder a man intentionally then only are they to be sentenced to death. Manu IX. 232 and Visnu Dh S V 9-11 provide the punishment of death for those who fabricate false royal edicts, or who tamper with the loyalty of the elements of the State or who kill women, children and *brāhmanas* Baud Dh S I 10. 20-21, Br and Vyāsa prescribe⁹⁶⁸ that if a *brāhmana* is killed by a *ksatriya*, *vaiśya* or *śūdra*, the king should sentence

966 श्रीसंग्रहणवाक्यारूप्यदण्डपाठस्याणा साहसभेदत्वेऽपि पृथङ्निर्देशो गोबलीवर्द-
न्यायेन । व्य मयूख p 2 When a man says गाव आनीयन्ता बलीवर्दाश्च the separate
mention of *balivardas* (bulls) that can be included under the word
'gāvah' is due to the fact that bulls, being more intractable than cows,
special attention must be paid to manage them. अपराक p 1048 (on Yāj
III 230) employs the same maxim in a similar connection 'गोबलीवर्दस्यायेन च
पौनरुक्त्यपरिहार'

967 साहसं पञ्चधा भोक्त वधस्तत्राधिक स्मृत । तत्कारिणो नार्थदने शास्त्रा गत्या
प्रयत्नत ॥ बृह १ by वि वि प 105 The word 'vadhā' has two senses, (1)
death and (2) corporal punishment Here वध means death

968 क्षत्रियादीना ब्राह्मणवधे वध सर्वस्वहरण च तेपामेव तुल्यापकृतवधे यथायल-
मनुस्तरान्दण्डान् प्रकल्पयेत् । यो ध I 10 20-21, ज्ञात्वा तु घातक सम्यक् ससहाय सभा-
न्धवम् । हन्याच्चित्रवधोपयिक्तहेजनकैरर्द्धप ॥ व्यास १ by स्मृतिच II 312 and व्य प्र.
p 394, प्रकाशघातका ये तु तथा चोपाश्रयस्तका । ज्ञात्वा सम्यग्धन हत्वा हन्त्या विविधै-
र्वधै ॥ बृह १ by स्मृतिच p 312 and व्य प्र p 394 वि वि p 105 reads राज्ञा
सम्यग्धनं हित्वा हन्त्या, and explains 'सम्यग्धनं सकृच्छिरश्चेद, विविधो वध अग्रा-
स्तपूर्विका प्राणशास्ति'.

the offender to death in various ways and confiscate all his property, but if a man kills another of his own caste or of a lower caste then the king may punish the offender with some punishment appropriate to the crime and the strength of the offender. In IV. 11 Kaut. provides sentences of death in various ways for murder following ancient śāstras, but remarks that if murderers have not been guilty of cruelty they should simply be sentenced to death without torture or the like⁹⁶⁹. One special rule deserves notice Gaut. 22 12, Āp Dh. S. I. 9. 24 6-9, Manu XI. 87, Vas 20 34, Yāj III 251 prescribe the same *prāyaścitta* for murdering a brāhmaṇa woman who is an *ātreya* as for one who kills a brāhmaṇa male. The different meanings of 'ātreya' given from ancient times are noted below⁹⁷⁰. Texts

969 एते शास्त्रेष्वलगता क्रैशदण्डा महात्मनाम् । अक्रिष्टानां तु पापाना धर्म्यः शुद्धवधः स्मृतः ॥ अर्थशास्त्र IV 11, last verse.

970 आत्रेयाश्चैवम् । गौ 22 12. आत्रेयी च स्त्रियम् । आप ध सू I 9 24 9. *आत्रेयी* is variously explained. The word occurs as early as the Sat Br I. 4, 5, 13 where in explaining why the offerings to Prajāpati are made in a low tone a legend about the goddess 'Vāc' is narrated and it is said that in having sexual intercourse with an *ātreya*, a man incurs sin' (तस्मादप्यात्रेया योषितैनस्त्री). Here the word appears to mean a woman who is in her monthly illness. Vas (20 35-36) defines *ātreya* as a woman who has taken the purificatory bath on the 4th day after her monthly illness begins and derives the word from अत्र 'आत्रेयी वक्ष्यामी रजस्वलापृष्टुस्नातामात्रेयीमाहुः । अत्र ह्येव्यदपत्यं भवतीति.' Vasistha either cites or summarises a Vedic passage (as stated by Viśvarūpa) which means 'here (i.e. in the womb of this woman) a child is to come'. In SBE vol. 14 p 107 the same is translated as 'if the husband approaches her at that (time) he will have offspring'. But this is not correct. 'Eśyat' qualifies 'apatyam' and is not in the masculine. Vas derives the word from अत्र and the root दृ Visnu Dh S 36 1 and 50 9 appear to hold that *ātreya* means a woman of the Atri-gotra. Haradatta on both Gaut. and Āp explains *ātreya* as Vasistha does and states that others interpreted it as 'अत्रिगोत्रा', on ya. 111 251 (तथात्रेयिनिपुद्गक) विश्वरूप explains *आत्रेयी* as a woman within 16 days from the beginning of the monthly illness and quotes बसिष्ठ 20 36 and also says 'आत्रेयी अत्रिगोत्रा वर्णयन्ति । तदपि शुक्लेमेव । तथा चाम्नायः ततोभिः सम्बभूवेत्युक्त्वा तस्मादप्यात्रेया योषितैनस्त्रिनमाहुः । तेनोभे सम्यग्व्याख्याने एव ।'. From Sabara on Jai VI 1 7 it appears that some derived the word as 'अत्र कुक्षावस्था विद्यत इत्यात्रेयी', while Sabara himself preferred the meaning 'अत्रिगोत्रा' and regarded the prohibition to kill an *ātreya* as simply meant for praising that gotra 'तथा गोत्रमर्शस्तार्थं आत्रेया अवधसङ्कीर्तनम् । न चापन्नसत्त्वा आत्रेयी । गोत्रं योतत् । न हि अत्रशब्दादप्यं तद्धित उत्पन्न. । समर्थानां हि तद्धित उत्पद्यते । न च अत्रशब्दस्य सामर्थ्यमस्ति' (on जै VI. 1. 9) यम quoted by परा मा II 1 p 103 gives two meanings 'जन्मप्रभृति संस्कारैः सस्कृता ब्रह्मचर्यया । गमिणी वाध वा या स्यात्तामात्रेयी विनिर्दिशेत् ॥'. The अमरकोश gives *आत्रेयी* as a synonym of रजस्वला

like Āp I 9 24. 1-5, Gaut XXII prescribe different *prāyaścittas* for murder depending upon the castes and sexes of the murderer and the murdered. These will be briefly dealt with under *prāyaścitta* later on. In certain cases acc. to Manu VIII 291-292, Yāj II 298-299, Kaut IV 13, though death or injury to persons or loss of property results, no punishment was prescribed viz when the nose-string of bulls yoked to a cart snaps, when the yoke breaks, when the cart swerves on one side owing to the unevenness of the ground, when the axle or wheel breaks or when the leather thongs with which the several parts of the cart are tied give way, or when the rope cast round the necks of bulls or the reins break or when in spite of the driver loudly calling upon a person to move aside from the way an accident occurs. But Manu VIII 293, 294 (= Matsya 227. 95-96) provide that where through the want of skill of the driver knowingly engaged by a master the cart is overturned and injury is caused, the master should be fined 200 *panas*, but if the driver employed be known to be skilful, then when injury is caused the driver should be fined (and not the employer). Further if the driver, though seeing that the road is blocked by cattle or other carts, rashly drives and kills men and animals he should be punished (Manu VIII. 295). It is stated by Nār (pārusya 33, S. B. E. vol 33 p 212) that the father is not liable for his son's offence, nor is the owner of a horse, dog or ape liable to punishment (for injury caused by any of these) provided they are not set up (to do harm) by the owner. If a driver kills a man by rash or negligent driving he is to be punished like a thief, if he kills any one of the larger animals (such as a cow, a horse, a camel or elephant) the punishment would be half of the preceding, if he kills one of the inferior animals, the fine would be two hundred. Kaut III 19, Manu (VIII 285), Yāj. II 227-229 and Visnu Dh S. V 55-59 prescribe graduated fines for the destruction of trees, plants and branches, flowers and fruits according to their usefulness and sanctity. The *smṛitis* made a distinction as regards punishments between crimes of violence and crimes due to negligence or mistake. For example, Manu VIII 264 (= Matsya 227 30) prescribes a fine of 500 *panas* for depriving a man of his house, garden or field by threats of violence, but only prescribes a fine of two hundred if a man deprives another of his house &c by mistake.

Various rules were laid down about inciters or abettors Yāj II. 231 and Kaut⁹⁷¹ III. 17 prescribe for the man who incites another to crimes of violence double the punishment to be inflicted on the perpetrator himself and four times for one who incites another by assuring him 'I shall give as much money as will be required'. Kāt. (798) and Br⁹⁷² (S. B. E. 33 p 363 vers 31) prescribe that if several violently beat a man to death, he who gives the fatal blow on a vital part is declared to be the murderer and is to suffer the full punishment for murder. Kāt (832-834)⁹⁷³ and Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 364 verse 32) provide that he who commences a crime of violence, who is a helper, who gives advice as to the way (in which *sāhasa* is to be carried out), who gives refuge (asylum) to the offender or supplies weapons, who gives food to wrongdoers, who incites (offenders) to put up a fight, who shows how the person (killed) is to be destroyed, who connives (at the commission of an offence), who exposes the faults (of the person killed), who gives his approval (to the offence), who though able does not forbid or prevent the commission of the offence—all these are (practically) perpetrators of the crime and the king should award punishment according to their ability and their guilt. Vide also Āp Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 1⁹⁷⁴ For those who begin an offence or abet its commission Br (S. B. E. 33 p. 364 verse 32) prescribes half the punishment prescribed for the wrongdoer.⁹⁷⁵ Yāj. (II. 232-242) enumerates several kinds of offences as allied to *sāhasa* and prescribes punishments therefor, such as breaking a house that is closed under seal, causing harm to neighbours and *kuḷka*s

971 यः साहसं प्रतिपद्यते कारयति स द्विगुणं दद्यात् । यावद्विरण्यमुपयोदयेत तावद् दास्यामीति स चतुर्गुणं दण्डं दद्यात् । अर्थशास्त्र III 17

972 एकस्य बहवो यत्र प्रदरन्ति रुपास्त्रिता । मर्मप्रहारको यस्तु घातकः स उदाहृतः ॥ बृह. १. १५. १, वि. र. १. ३७३, व्य. म. १. ३९५, मर्मघाती तु यस्तेषां यथोक्तं दण्डयेद्भूमम् । बृह. १. १५. १, वि. र. १. ३७३, व्य. म. १. ३९५

973 आरम्भकृत्सहायश्च तथा मार्गनिर्देशकः । आभय. शस्त्रदाता च भक्तदाता विकर्मिणात् ॥ युद्धोपदेशकश्चैव तद्विनाशप्रदर्शकः । उपेक्षाकारकश्चैव दोषवक्तृमोक्षकः । अनिषेद्धासमीयः स्यात्सर्वे ते कार्यकारिणः । यथाशक्त्यनुकूलं तु दण्डनेषा प्रकल्पयेत् । कात्यायन १. १५. १, वि. र. १. ३७३, व्य. म. १. ३९५ There are slight differences in readings

974 प्रयोजयिता मन्ता कर्त्तव्यः स्वर्गनरकफलेषु कर्मसु भागिनः । आप. ध. सू. II. 11. 29. 1

975 आरम्भकृत्सहायश्च दोषभागी तदर्थतः ॥ बृह. १. १५. १, वि. र. १. ३७३, व्य. म. १. ३९५ Compare sections 119 and 120 of the I P C. for lesser sentences in the case of abettors

(one's agnates), abandoning one's parents or sons or brothers or sisters even though they be not *patita*, sexual intercourse with a widow, (intentional) defilement of the higher castes by cāṇḍālas, making counter-feit coins or false weights and measures, giving quack medicines to royal officers or other men These are all passed over here.

CHAPTER XXV

STRISANGRAHANA (Adultery or unlawful intercourse with a woman).

The Mit. (on Yāj. II. ⁹⁷⁶ 283) states that *sangrahana* means the unlawful coming together of a man and a woman for sexual enjoyment. Br. (S. B. E. 33 p 365 verses 1-2) says that sinful ⁹⁷⁷ *sangrahana* is of three kinds, viz. brought about by force, deceit or sensual passion. The first (which is rape) occurs when intercourse is had in a secluded place against the will of a woman, or with a woman who is intoxicated or is disordered in mind or is under a mistake or when she raises a cry ; the second occurs when a woman is brought to one's house by some trick or pretence, an intoxicant (such as *Dhatuā*) is administered to her or her mind is brought under control (by chants or otherwise) and sexual intercourse takes place ; the third occurs when intercourse takes place by conveying (passion) to each other by means of the eyes (glances) or by employing a go-between and when the parties are drawn to each other by the temptation of beauty or of wealth This last is again of three kinds acc to Vyāsa and Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 365-66 verses 6-8 q. by Śm. C. II. p. 8) viz. trifling, middling and grave The first is characterised by winking at a woman, smiling at her, sending a go-between, touching her ornaments or clothes ; the second by the sending of flowers, unguents, fruits, incense, food, clothes, and indulging in private talks ; the third is characterised by lying on the same bed, dalliance, kissing and embraces. Strisangrahana by force (that is rape) is really included under

976 स्त्रीसंयोगोर्मिथुनीभाव संग्रहणम् । मिता. on या II. 283 ; संग्रहणं परस्मिन्ना सह पुरुषस्य सम्बन्धः । स्मृतिच II p 8

977. पापमूर्तं संग्रहणं त्रिप्रकारं निबोधत । बलपथिकृते द्वे तु तृतीयमदुरागजम् ॥ अनिच्छन्त्या यत्क्रियते मत्तोन्मत्तप्रमत्तया । प्रलपन्त्या च रहसि बलात्कारकृतं तु तत् । दृष्टान्ता गृह-
मानीष दत्त्वा वा मद्यकार्मणम् । संयोगं क्रियते यत्र तत्पथिकृतं विदुः ॥ अन्योन्यचक्षुराग्रेण
द्वितीसमेपणेन वा । कृत रूपार्थलोभेन ज्ञेयं तददुरागजम् । बृह. q. by अपराकं p 854,
स्मृतिच. II p. 8, व्य. प्र p 397, वि. र. p. 379, परा सा III p. 462. There are
many various readings The स्मृतिच explains कर्मण as कर्मणा बलीकरणम्
Compare section 375 of the I. P. C with the first kind, sec. 493 with the
2nd kind and sections 497, 498 with the 3rd kind.

sāhitya,⁹⁷⁸ as stated by the Madanaratna, the V. P. pp. 396-397 and others. The punishments for rape were very heavy. Br (S. B. E.⁹⁷⁹ 33 p. 366 verse 10) states that if a man commits rape on a woman of the same caste, he was to forfeit all his property, to have his penis and testicles cut out and was to be paraded on the back of an ass, that if the woman raped was of a lower caste, then half of this punishment was to be awarded and if she was of a higher caste, he was to be sentenced to death together with confiscation of all property. Kāt (830) prescribes that when⁹⁸⁰ a man has forcibly had sexual intercourse with a woman capital punishment is to be inflicted inasmuch as it is a violation of (proper) conduct. When sexual intercourse was had by deceit the man was punished with confiscation of all property, with branding on the forehead of the sign of the female private parts and banishment from the town (Br. in S. B. E. 33 p. 366 verse⁹⁸¹ 11). Here also the rule of Br. cited above (about the reduction of sentence according to the caste of the woman concerned) applies. In the case of rape and sexual intercourse by deceit the woman was not at all punished⁹⁸² but she had to undergo a penance (*prāyascitta*) of *krcchra* or *pañcā* for contact with a male other than her husband and till she performed the *prāyascitta* she was to be kept well-guarded in the house, was to remain dirty (i. e.

978. तत्र बलात्कारकृतं स्त्रीसंग्रहणं साहसार्थवृत्तत्वात् तत्प्रकरणे अधुनेव वर्द्धनम् । मदनरत्न Compare sec 376 of the I P C which prescribes transportation for life as the maximum punishment for rape. Vide Russell on Crimes (9th ed 1936) vol I, pp. 613-614 for the ancient law of England (which provided death sentence and the sentence of castration and loss of eyes) and modern law which provides penal servitude for life as the maximum.

979 सहसा कामयेद्यस्तु धनं तस्याखिलं हरेत् । उत्कृत्य लिङ्गवृत्तयो भामयंद्बद्धे । तु ॥ द्रुमो नेयः समाया तु हीनायामधिकस्ततः । पुंसः कार्योऽधिक्रिया तु गमने समायपणम् । बृह. q. in स्मृतिच. II p. 320, व्य. म. pp. 396-397, परा मा III 466

980 स्त्रीषु वृत्तोपभोगं स्यात्प्रसह्य पुरुषो यदा । वधे तत्र प्रवर्तते कार्यातिक्रमणे हि तत् ॥ कात्या 830 q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 320, व्य. म. p. 397, व्य. म. p. 244. All the three works differ as to the circumstances in which this verse applies.

981. दृष्टव्या कामयेद्यस्तु तस्य सर्वहरो द्रुमः । अङ्गपित्ता भगाद्देनं पुरास्त्रिंशसपेता ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 320, वि. र. p. 389.

982 अनिच्छन्ती तु या युक्ता युता ता वासयेद्दयम् । मलिनान्नीमिषं द्रव्यां विन्दमानां पजीविनीम् । कारयेज्जिह्मार्तिं कृच्छ्रं पराकं वा समे गताम् । शिष्यार्णोपश्रुता वा स्वागता वपसा थवा भवेत् । बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 321, वि. र. 400. For *कृच्छ्र* and *पारा* see मनु XI 212 and 216. The स्मृतिच. II, p. 320 says 'तथापीतरपुत्रव्रतमन्तेन नार्था सम्पद्यते । तत्तथास्यववहार्यता अत्रापि दृष्टव्यायामि समाना । सा नपदितेन कृच्छ्रमेति कश्चिज्ज्ञेयाह बृहस्पतिः । अनिच्छन्ती &c.'

not to deck herself or apply or use perfumes &c.), to lie on the ground (not on a bed-stead or couch), was to receive bare maintenance. After performing *prāyaścitta* she was restored to her former position. Acc. to Yāj. II. 286 and Br (S. B. E. 33 p. 366 verse 12), for adultery (in which there is consent) the highest fine is prescribed for the male in the case of a woman of the same caste, half of this in the case of a woman lower in caste (than the paramour), but when adultery is committed with a woman of a higher caste the male shall be put to death and the woman shall have her ears and the like cut off. Vide Shakespeare's Othello IV. 1, where Othello exclaims 'I see that nose of yours but not that dog I shall throw it to' There were other sages who were humane and opposed to the punishment of disfigurement by way of the cutting of the ear or the nose. Yama⁹⁸² states that in the case of a woman guilty of adultery at her will, there was to be no punishment of death or disfigurement, but only abandonment. Kāt (487) lays down the general rule that in all offences women should be sentenced to half the fine in money which is prescribed for a male and that when the punishment is death for a male the punishment for a woman would be cutting off a limb (vide note 626).

Nār. (XV. 73-75) holds⁹⁸³ that sexual intercourse with the step-mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law, the paternal or maternal uncle's wife, father's sister, a friend's or pupil's wife, sister, sister's friend, daughter-in-law, daughter, the wife of one's vedic teacher, a woman of the same gotra, a woman that has sought protection, with the queen or an ascetic woman (*pravrajitā*) or a wet-nurse or a virtuous wife (*sādhwī*) or a woman of a higher caste is incestuous and the punishment to be prescribed for this crime is the excision of the penis and no less. Vide Manu XI. 170-71, Kaut IV. 13,⁹⁸⁴ Yāj III. 231-233, Matsya-

982a स्वच्छन्दया च या नारी तस्यास्यागो विधीयते । इति यमस्मरणात् । न वध न च वैस्वप्य वध स्त्रीणां विवर्जयेत् । स्त्रीणां महायराधे वध कुर्वन् विसर्जनमेव तासां कुर्यादित्यर्थः । वैस्वप्य कर्णनासायङ्गविकर्तनं तदपि भर्त्रा न कदाचित्कार्यमित्यर्थः । न चैव स्त्रीवध कुर्यान्न चैवाङ्गविकर्तनम्-इति तेनैवोक्तत्वात् । स्मृतिश्च II p 246, vide परा. मा. III. p 477 also

983. माता मातृवृत्ता श्वश्रुर्मातुलानी पितृवृत्ता । पितृव्यसखिशिष्यस्त्री भगिनी तत्सखी स्त्वया । इद्विद्वत्चार्यभार्या च सगोत्रा शरणागता । राज्ञी भद्रजिता धात्री साक्षी वर्णोत्तमा च या । आसामन्यतमां गत्वा श्रुतत्पय उच्यते । शिस्नस्योक्तर्तनं तस्य नान्यो दृण्डो विधीयते । नारद XV. 73-75. The वि र. p 392 remarks: मातात्र जननीव्यतिरिक्ता पितृपत्नी । गुप्तविषयमेतत्.

984. मातापित्रोर्भगिनीं मातुलानीमाचार्याणीं स्त्वया इद्वितर भगिनीं वाधिचरत लिङ्गच्छेदनं वधश्च । सक्तमा तदेव लभेत । अर्थशास्त्र IV. 13.

purāṇa 227 139-141, which latter (three) prescribe excision of the penis and death by way of punishment (except for a brāhmaṇa) and expiation and for the woman (if she was a consenting party) death sentence Brhad-Yama III 7, Āp (in verse) IX. 1 (Jīvananda ed.) and Yama (Ānandāsrama) 35 prescribe that there is no expiation except that of entering fire for incest with mother, teacher's wife, sister or daughter. It is remarkable that Kaut.⁹⁸⁵ and Yāj (II 293) prescribe only a fine of 24 paṇas for adultery with a female ascetic, while Nār. XV. 74 and Matsya 227. 141 deem it a most heinous offence. The explanation probably lies in the fact that Kaut. and Yāj refer to female ascetics of the lowest castes not following the orthodox religion, while Nār. refers to nuns of a higher order. Vide Manu VIII. 363 also. For forcible intercourse with a prostitute against⁹⁸⁶ her will Kaut. IV. 13 and Yāj II 291 prescribe a fine of 12 and 24 paṇas respectively. For unnatural offences or offences against the order of nature, Kaut. IV 13, Yāj. II 289, 293, Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 44, Nār. XV. 76 provide fines of 12, 24, 100, 500 paṇas⁹⁸⁷.

Manu IV. 134 (= Anusāsana 104. 21 = Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 62-63) forbids a man to have sexual intercourse with another's wife and states that there is nothing so detrimental to long life as that. There are stray indications in the Vedic literature about sexual intercourse outside marriage. Vide H. of Dh. II pp. 637-639. In Rg. I 92. 4 (*udhī peśūṁsi vyajre nrlū-va*) there appears to be a reference to a dancing girl or *hetaru*. Wives hating (or proving false) to their husbands are believed to go to Hell in Rg. IV. 5. 5 (*patiripo nu janayo durevāh*). In Rg. II. 29. 1 the sage prays to the Ādityas 'remove away from me sin as a woman who gives birth to a child in secret removes it' (*āre mathanta rahasūr-vāgah*). The gambler (in Rg. X. 34. 4) states 'others have intercourse with his wife' (*anye jūyām janī mṛśantyaṣya*). The word *pumścali* occurs in Vāj. S. XXX 22. We have already seen (H. of Dh. II pp. 576, 1098) how in the Varunapraghāsa (one of the Cāturmāsya-s) the wife of the sacrificer had to confess if she had a lover and how even after

985 प्रव्रजितागमने चतुर्विंशतिपणो दण्डः । सकामा तदेव लभेत । अर्थशास्त्र IV 13

986 रूपाजीबायाः प्रसह्योपभोगे द्वादशपणो दण्डः । अर्थशास्त्र IV 13, तथा प्रव्रजिता नारी वर्णोक्लिष्टा तथैव च । इत्यगम्याश्च निर्विद्यास्तासां तु गमने नरः । शिशुगोक्त-नैनं कृत्वा तत्तस्य वधमर्हति । मत्स्य 227 141

987. स्त्रियमयोनौ गच्छतः पूर्वं साहसदण्डः पुरुषमधिनेह तस्य । शिशुने द्वादशपणरि-र्यन्योनिद्वन्नात्मनः । अर्थशास्त्र IV 13.

she confessed to having had one she was allowed to co-operate in the sacrifice on undergoing an expiation. After a man performed the solemn sacrifice called Agnicayana he was enjoined (Tai. S. V. 6. 8. 3)⁹⁸⁸ not to approach a śūdra woman and after he performed Agnicayana twice he was not to approach another's wife (H of Dh vol. II p. 1255).

The punishment for sangrahana (rape and adultery) varied according to the caste of the man and the woman, according as the woman was married or unmarried and according as she was guarded (*guptā*) or unguarded. Vide Gaut. XII 2, Vas XXI. 1-5, Manu VIII. 359, Visnu Dh. S V. 41, Yāj. II. 286, 294, Nār. XV 70 (as to higher or lower caste of offender), Gaut. XII. 3, Manu VIII. 374-378, 382-385, Kaut. IV. 13 (about offence against guarded or unguarded woman), Manu VIII. 364-370, Yāj. II 285, 287, Kaut. IV. 12, Nār. XV. 71-72 (about maidens). Further the ancient sūtras and smrtis prescribe more severe sentences than later smrtis. Details of these matters are passed over here for want of space and as being now of academic interest only. But some examples may be noted. Gaut. XXIII. 14-15 and Manu VIII. 371 prescribe for an adulteress death by being devoured by dogs, but Yāj. II. 286 softened the rigour of this. Āp. Dh. S. (II 10. 26. 20-21) prescribed the penalty of cutting the penis and testicles for the male if guilty of adultery with a married woman, but only confiscation of all property if he committed adultery with an unmarried woman. But Yāj. II. 288, Manu VIII. 366, Nār. XV. 72 went so far as to say that if a man had sexual intercourse with a maiden (of the same caste) who encouraged his advances, then there is no offence punishable by the king, but he was to bestow ornaments on her, honour her and must marry her.

It has further to be noted that Yāj. II. 290 and Nār. (XV 79)⁹⁸⁹ make it punishable to visit a dāsi kept by a man in his own house or outside and Yāj. prescribes the fine of 50 panas for so doing. Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 637-639 about prostitutes. But Manu VIII. 362 states that the rules making conversation with others' wives in lonely places punishable does not hold good in the case of the wives of actors, singers

988. नास्मिं चित्वा रामासुपेयादयो नै रेतो धात्वामीति न द्वितीयं चित्वा न्यस्य स्त्रिय-सुपेयात् तृतीयं चित्वा का च नोपेयात् । ते सं V 6. 8. 3-4.

989. आस्तेव तु भुजिग्यास्तु दोषः स्यात्परद्वारवत् । गम्या अपि हि नोपेया यत्ता परपरिग्रहाः ॥ नारद XV 79.

and those who live on the earnings of their wives, since they themselves introduce their wives to others and make them mix among men (while they themselves remain concealed)

Strypundharma (duties of husband and wife). Most of the matters falling under this head have been dealt with in H of Dh. vol. II. pp. 556-592. The liability of the husband or wife for the debts of the other has been already dealt with under *rāṇādana*. The rights of partition, inheritance and maintenance will be discussed later on under *dāyabhāga*. Nār. XV. 1 defines this title of law as that in which the rules of the marriage of women and men and other related matters are described. Under this head Nār. speaks of the essential ceremonies of marriage, the rules about selecting a bride and a bridegroom, restrictions as to the caste of the bride, the guardians for marriage, faults or defects in a proposed bride or bridegroom, the forms of marriage, women called *punarbhū* and *svairnī*, the practice of *niyoga*, illicit sexual intercourse, punishment of women for adultery, re-marriage, *varnasankara*, mixed castes. In IX 1 Manu promises that he will dilate upon the obligatory duties of man and wife, whether they are staying together or apart. Manu IX. 2 holds that the first duty of the husband and the males in his family is to keep women dependent and under their control if they become attached to a life of pleasure and Nār. XVI. 30 states that even women of good family come to ruin by independence. The next most important matter acc to Manu IX. 5 and Br. (S B. E. 33 p 367 verse 2)⁹⁹⁰ is to guard women against improper attachments however trifling, since if they go astray they bring sorrow to both families (of the husband and of the father). Acc to Hārīta,⁹⁹¹ Śankha-Likhita,⁹⁹² Manu (IX. 7, 9) and others the husband has to guard the wife from the approaches of other men in order to ensure the purity of the issue and by guarding her the husband guards his reputation, family, soul and his *dharma*,

990 सूक्ष्मेभ्योपि मत्तङ्गेभ्यो निवार्या स्त्री स्वबन्धुभिः । श्वभ्रादृभिः पुरुषाभिः पालनीया दिवानिशाश्च ॥ बृह. ५. by स्मृतिच. II p. 239, च्य म p 405, ति र p 411

991, तस्मादेतौपधाताज्जायां रक्षेत् । जायानाशे कुलनाशे कुलनाशे तन्पुत्राशे तन्पुत्राशे देवपितृयज्ञनाशे, यज्ञनाशे धर्मनाशे, धर्मनाशे आत्मनाशे, आत्मनाशे सर्वनाशे । तस्मादेना धर्मशीले सुसुतां पत्नीं रक्षेत् । हारीत ५. by स्मृतिच. II p 239, ति र p 410, च्य म. p 405, मद्भनरत्न.

992 यस्मिन्भावोऽर्पितः स्त्रीणामर्तवे तच्छीलं पुत्रं जनयन्ति यथा नीलवृषेण नीलवृष-वत्समभव- श्वेतेन श्वेत एव जायते । एवं योनिरेव बलवती यस्माद्दुर्णा सतीर्यन्ते । शङ्खलिखित ५ by ति र. p 414, स्मृतिच. II. p 241, च्य म p 408 (at p 405 reads तादृश तन्पु जनयन्ति)

since a woman gives birth to a son similar to the male with whom she consorts or on whom she sets her heart during the days after the monthly illness. Here there is some anticipation of modern Eugenics. Manu IX. 10 was quite clear that women could not be completely guarded by confining them with force in seclusion, that their minds must be occupied in family work as stated by him in IX 11 and by Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 368⁹⁹³ verse 4), that the husband must try to deserve her regard and affection and show her honour (Manu IX. 22-24, 26, Yāj. I. 82). Divorce has been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 619-623 Vide 'Selections from Peshwa's *daftar*' vol. 43 p. 112 where the divorce of a woman (*ghatasphota*) is ordered because the husband was really a converted Mahomedan who had been illegally admitted to caste after an incorrect method of expiation

993. आयव्ययेऽर्थसत्कारे गृहोपस्कररक्षणे । शौचाधिकार्ये सवोज्या स्त्रीणां छुद्धिरियं स्मृता ॥ श्रु. १ by च प p 409

CHAPTER XXVI

DYŪTASAMĀHVAYA

(Gambling and prize-fighting)

Manu IX. 223, Nār. XIX. 1 and Br. (S B. E. 33 p. 385 verse 3) define *dyūta* (gambling) as that sport which is carried on with inanimate objects such as dice, pieces of leather, ivory and the like and in which there is a stake, while sport carried on with animate objects such as cocks, pigeons, rams, buffaloes and wrestlers is called *samāhvaya*. The attitude of Manu towards gambling was uncompromising. Manu (IX 221-222, 224-226) calls upon the king to suppress gambling and prize-fighting in his country as they cause the destruction of the State; he states that gambling is open theft and therefore the king should endeavour to put it down and that the king should punish with corporal punishment all those who engage in gambling or who induce or help others to gamble, and that he should banish gamblers from the city because gamblers residing in the country harass wellconducted subjects by their deceitful tricks. Manu IX. 227 (= Udyogaparva 37. 19) states that in ancient times gambling engendered great enmities and therefore a wise man should not resort to it even for amusement or in jest. Kāt (934) is to the same effect Yāj II. 203 and Kaut. III. 20⁹⁹⁴ allowed gambling in a central place under State supervision as it led to the detection of thieves Br⁹⁹⁵ (S B. E. 33 p. 385 verse 1) refers to this divergence of views: 'Gambling that causes loss of truth, purity and wealth was forbidden by Manu, but others allowed it because it led to the detection of thieves, provided it was carried on in the presence of a master of the gambling hall and provided it yielded revenue to the king' The person who was in charge of the

994 द्यूतमेकद्वय कार्यं तत्स्वरज्ञानकारणात् । याज्ञ II 203, द्यूताध्यक्षो द्यूतमेकद्वयकारयेद्व्यत्र दीन्यतो द्वादशपणो दण्डः । गृह्यसूत्रे विज्ञापनार्थम् । अर्थशास्त्र III 20, ध्रुव द्यूतादन्तरिक्षे स्नाद्विषं सर्पद्वयं ददिव । तस्माद्वाजा निवर्तेत विषये न्यसन हि तत् । कात्या 4. b) नि. २ p. 611

995 द्यूत निषिद्धं मनुना सत्यशौचधनापहम् । अयं ह्यज्ञातमन्यैस्तु राजभागसमन्वितम् । सभिकाधिष्ठित कार्यं तत्स्वरज्ञानहेतुना । बृह 9 by स्मृतिच II p 331, अपवर्क p 805, नि २ 611-612.

gambling hall which gamblers made their haunt and who supplied the dice and other instruments of gambling was called *sabhika* and the stake or money agreed to be paid by the defeated gambler to the winning gambler was called *panu* or *glaha* (Yāj II 199) Nār. XIX. 8 provides an optional method viz. instead⁹⁹⁶ of gambling in a hall presided over by a *sabhika*, gamblers may give the king his share in the stakes, then indulge in gambling openly and if they do so they incur no punishment. Acc. to Yāj. II. 199 as interpreted by Par. M. III p. 574 and V. P. p 565 the *sabhika* was to receive five per cent or $\frac{1}{10}$ th part when the stake was 100 panas or more and 10 per cent or $\frac{1}{5}$ th when the stake was less than 100 panas. Aparārka (p. 802) explains that the *sabhika* was to receive as his fee five per cent from the victorious gambler and ten per cent from the losing gambler. Nār XIX. 2 prescribes a flat rate of ten per cent on the stake as the fee of the *sabhika*, while Kaut.⁹⁹⁷ III 20 lays down the fee as five per cent and allows the *sabhika* to charge hire for supplying gambling accessories (such as dice, leather pieces) and for supplying water and accommodation The *sabhika* receiving protection from the king was to pay to the king the tax agreed upon by him, was to recover from the defeated gambler the stake (by means of confinement or restraint order) and pay it over to the victor and was to be honest and forbearing⁹⁹⁸ (Yāj. II 200, Kāt 940, Nār. XIX 2) Kāt (937) states that the *sabhika*⁹⁹⁹ may give to the winner the money won out of his own pocket and may recover from the losing gambler within three fortnights or at once if there is fear of losing the money. Kāt (935)¹⁰⁰⁰ holds that if gambling was to be allowed it must be carried on openly with an arch constructed near the door in order that respectable people might not be misled (about its real nature) and it should yield revenue to the king If the *sabhika* is

996. अथवा कितवा राजे दत्त्वा भागं यथोदितम् । प्रकाशं देवनं कुर्तुं देवो न विद्यते ॥ नारद XIX. 8.

997 जितद्रव्यादध्यक्षः पञ्चकं शतमावृत्तिं काकप्यक्षरालाशलाकावक्रयसुदकधूनि-
कर्मकय च । अर्थशास्त्र III. 20.

998. प्रसह्य दापयेद्देवं तस्मिन्स्थाने न चान्यथा । जितं नै सभिकस्तत्र सभिकप्रत्यया
क्रिया ॥ कात्या 940 q by अपरार्क p 804, वि. र p 615

999 जेतुर्दद्यात्स्वकं द्रव्यं जिताद् दद्यात् निपक्षकम् । सखी वा सभिकेनैव कितवाद्धन-
सहाये ॥ कात्या 937 q. by अपरार्क p 803, परा मा III 575, वि र 612.

1000 वतेत चेत् प्रकाशं तु द्वारावस्थिततोरणम् । असंनोदार्थमार्थाणां कारयेत्तत्करमद् ॥
कात्या 935 q. by वि र p 611

unable to make the defeated gambler pay the stake to the victor, the king would make the former pay to the latter provided the gambling was done openly in the presence of the sabbhika and a group of gamblers and the king's dues were paid by the sabbhika, but not otherwise (Yāj II 201). Nār. XIX 6-7 and Yāj II 202 provide that when gambling is carried on secretly and without the king's permission or with false dice or other deceitful tricks, the gamblers and the sabbhika would not be able to gain their object (i e. recovering bets won or the fee) and would be liable to punishment, viz. branding on the head (with dog's foot and the like) and banishment Nār. XIX. 6 adds that the banished gamblers would have wreaths of dice tied round their necks. Kāt. (941) and Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 386 verse 7) state that a person ignorant of gambling should, if defeated in gambling in private, be released from his liability, but one who is an adept in gambling should not be relieved when defeated, but even an adept in gambling if he has lost the whole of his wealth as a stake should not be made to pay the whole.¹⁰⁰¹ In disputes among gamblers, in deciding on victory or in the matter of gain to the winner, and as regards the question of false dice the keeper of the gaming house, if honest, is the final authority¹⁰⁰² (Kāt. 942). Nār. XIX. 4, Yāj. II. 202, Br (S. B. E. 33 p. 386 verse 6), Kāt. (943) provide that when there is a dispute as to success or defeat the king should appoint gamblers to decide the dispute and gamblers will also be the witnesses in such a dispute (in spite of the rule stated above on p. 335 that gamblers are not competent witnesses), but if the gamblers are alleged to be inimical to the disputants the king may then¹⁰⁰³ himself decide the matter. Yāj. II 203 extends all the rules about gambling to *samāhvaya* Br. (S. B. E. 33 p 386 verse 4) notes that the stake is to be paid by the owner of the animal that is defeated.¹⁰⁰⁴ The S. V. (p. 487) quotes a text of Visnu and a (Bhārucci's?) gloss

1001 अनभिज्ञो जितो मोच्योऽमोच्योऽभिज्ञो जितो रहः। सर्वस्वमपि जितेऽभिज्ञे न सर्वस्व प्रदापयेत्। कात्या. रहो जितोऽनभिज्ञश्च कूटाक्षैः कपटेन वा। मोच्योऽभिज्ञोऽपि सर्वस्व जितं सर्वं न दापयेत् ॥ बृह., both q. by अपरार्क p. 804 and वि र. p 616. दीपकलिका on या. II 200 cites रहो जितो etc.

1002. विग्रहेऽथ जये लाभे करणे कूटदेविनाम्। प्रमाण सभिकस्तत्र भ्रातृश्च सभिको यदि ॥ कात्या. 942 q by अपरार्क p 804, वि र p 617.

1003. उभयोरपि सन्दिग्धौ कित्वा. खुः परीक्षकाः। यदा विद्वेषिणस्ते तु तदा राजा विचारयेत् ॥ बृह. q. by अपरार्क p 804, परा मा III. p 576, वि र p 618.

1004. इन्द्रमुद्धेन य. कश्चिद्वसाधुमवाप्लुयात्। तत्त्वामिना प्रणो देयः यस्तत्र परि-कल्पित. ॥ बृह. q. by वि. र. p. 614, स वि. p. 486.

thereon that the king gets one-fourth of the stake from each of the owners of the fighting animals and that the animal that is defeated (except a wrestler or a buffalo) is to be made over, whether living or dead, to the owner of the winner. The *Mānasollāsa* (vol. III. p 229) contains an elaborate description of a king's amusements by way of wrestling matches, cock-fights &c. The *Daśakumāracarita* makes frequent reference to gambling. In *Uochvāsa* II. (p. 47) we are told that there are 25 *kalās* on which gambling depends, that legal proceedings between gamblers were decided by reliance on the *sabhika* and that out of a stake of 16000 *dīnāras*, the successful gambler took half and distributed the other half among the *sabhika* and the denizens of the gambling hall.

Gambling is one of the most ancient vices. Rg. X. 34 is a hymn which contains the lament of a gambler. Elsewhere also in the Rg. gambling is referred to. Vide Rg. I. 41. 9 (explained in *Nirukta* III. 16), VII. 86. 6 (where it is said that dice made of *Vibhīdaka* tree are one of the sources of sin), Rg. X. 42. 9, X. 43. 5. In the *Atharvaveda* also dice and *glaha* occur frequently. Vide *Atharva* IV. 16. 5, IV. 38 (a hymn for good luck in gambling). In *Vāj. S.* 30. 18 we have the words 'aksarājāya kitavam'. In certain solemn sacrifices like the *Rājasūya* dice play was an important item. Vide H. of Dh. vol II. p 1219. Pāṇini teaches the formation of many words relating to gambling. In II.¹⁰⁰⁵ 1. 10 he teaches the formation of *Avyayībhāva* compounds like 'aksapari' or 'salākāpari' in the sense 'that loss was caused by one dice being cast in a way different from the way in which it was cast in a prior game'. In IV. 4. 2 he teaches that 'aksika' means one who uses dice in gambling or wins by using ¹⁰⁰⁶ dice and in IV. 4. 19 he states that 'aksadyūtika' ¹⁰⁰⁷ means '(enmity) brought about by using dice in gambling'. Vide also Pāṇ. II. 3. 57-58. *Āp. Dh. S.* II.¹⁰⁰⁸ 10 25 12-13 prescribe that in the

1005 अक्षशलाकासंख्या. परिणा । पाणिनि II. 1. 10, on which the महाभाष्य quotes a कारिका 'अक्षादयस्तृतीयान्ता. पूर्वोक्तस्य यथा न तत् । कितव्यवहारे च एकत्वेऽक्षशलाकयोः ॥'

1006. तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् । पाणिनि IV. 4. 2, अक्षदीव्यति जयति वा आक्षिकः ।

1007. निर्वृत्तेऽक्षयूतादिभ्यः । पाणिनि IV. 4. 19, अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तमाक्षयूतिकं वैरम् ।

1008. सभाया मध्येऽपि देवनमुद्धृत्यावोदयाक्षाक्षिवेष्युग्मान्वैभीतकान् यथार्थम् । आर्याः शुचयः सत्यशीला दीवितार. स्युः । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 25, 12-13.

midst of the sabhā (hall) having raised a table for playing dice one should place thereon dice even in number and made from the vibhītaka wood and that players should be men of the three higher castes, pure and devoted to truth. In the Mahābhārata Yudhiṣṭhira¹⁰⁰⁹ is made to say that it was his vow not to refuse dice play when he was challenged to it. It was well-known that gambling affects the minds even of the good, while in the case of those who were not ordinarily good it led to dissensions and calamities. Many modern people justify the action of Yudhiṣṭhira on the ground that the code of ksatriya chivalry and morality of those ancient days required that he should not be afraid to play with dice when challenged by an adversary. Conceding for the sake of argument that indulgence in gambling even on the part of such a virtuous, noble and philosophic warrior as Yudhiṣṭhira was justified or at least excusable, there is nothing to show that the code of ksatriya chivalry permitted him to gamble away his own spirited, devoted and virtuous queen and his four valiant brothers. It appears that the real aim of the great author of the Mahābhārata is to emphasize that gambling is such a reprehensible pastime and so ruinous and degrading that even the greatest and the best, when once they indulge in it, lose all sense of duty, morality and of the claims of love and affection. It has already been seen how gambling was looked upon as a great vice in the king by writers on politics and also on dharmasāstra. Even the Purāṇas here and there condemn gambling. For example, the Brahmapurāṇa (171. 29-38) condemns it in strong language. It says that the gambler's wife is always in distress and the gambler on seeing the condition of his wife is also worried (this is in almost the same words as Rg. X. 34. 10-11), that the Veda condemns gambling and that there is no sin comparable to gambling.

1009. आहूतोह न निवर्ते कदाचित्तदहितं शाश्वतं वै मत मे ॥ सभापर्व 58. 16, अक्ष-
द्यूतं महाप्राज्ञः सता मतिविनाशनम् । असता तत्र जायन्ते भेदाश्च व्यसनानि च ॥
उद्योग 128. 6

CHAPTER XXVII

DĀYABHĀGA

(Partition of wealth)

The word *dāya* has been used even in the oldest period of the Vedic Literature Rg. II. 32. 4 (*dadātu vīram śatadāyam-ukthyaṃ*) has already been quoted above (on p. 388) In Rg X. 114. 10 (*śramasya dāyam vabhujantyeḥbhyah*) the meaning of the word seems to be 'a share' or 'reward'. In the Tai S and the Brāhmanas the word *dāya* appears to be employed in the sense of 'paternal wealth' or simply 'wealth'. In the story of Nābhānedistha¹⁰¹⁰ it is stated that Manu divided his *dāya* among (for) his sons' (Tai S III. 1. 9. 4) That 'dāya' here stands for 'dhana' follows from another passage of the Tai S. (II. 5. 2. 7) 'Therefore they distinguish (or establish) the eldest son by wealth'. In the Tāndya Brāhmana¹⁰¹¹ 16. 4. 3-5 also it is said 'Therefore whoever among (a man's) sons secures the best or major portion of wealth as *dāya*, him they regard as the son who would be the lord of all'. Another word viz. *riktha* occurring in the sūtra and smṛiti literature is also employed in the Rgveda¹⁰¹² III. 31. 2 'the son of the body does not give to his sister the ancestral wealth, but makes her the receptacle for the son of her husband'. The word *dāyāda* (meaning a co-sharer, one who takes a share) occurs frequently in the Vedic literature. In the Tai. S. VI. 5. 8. 2¹⁰¹³ it is said 'Therefore women being destitute of strength take no portion (of Soma)

1010 मनु पुत्रेभ्यो दायं दधमजत् । ते स III. 1. 9. 4, तस्माज्ज्येष्ठ पुत्र धनेन निरवसाययन्ति । ते स. II. 5. 2. 7 आयं धं दू (II. 6. 14. 11-12) quotes both these texts when combating the view that the eldest son gets the entire ancestral wealth. For the story of Nābhānedistha with slight variation, vide At. Br. 22. 9, which is an attempt to explain the obscure hymns Rg. X. 61-62.

1011 तस्माद्य पुत्राणां दायं धनतममिषोपेति तं मन्यन्ते यमेवेदं भविष्यतीति । ताण्ड्य 16. 4. 3-4

1012 न जामये तान्त्रो रिक्थमारैक् चकार गर्भं सन्निवृत्तिमानम् । ऋ III. 31. 2 This is explained in the Nir (III. 6) as 'न जामये भविष्ये तान्त्र. आत्मजः पुत्रः रिक्थं मारिष्यत् प्रादात् । चकार एनां गर्भनिधानी सन्निवृत्तिमानादृष्टः'.

1013 तस्मात्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरपि पाषाण्युत उपस्तिनरं वदन्ति । ते स VI. 5. 8. 2 दायदः is derived as दायमादत्ते (from दाय with आ)

and speak more weakly than even a wretched (low) man'. In the *Atharvaveda* V 18 6 Soma is said¹⁰¹⁴ to be the *dāyāda* of the *brāhmanas*. *Viśvāmitra* invites *Sunahśepa* to share in the spiritual wealth (*dāya*) belonging to him (*Ait Br* 33 5), calls upon his sons to follow him and states that he (*Sunahśepa*) would accept them, his wealth (*dāya*) and his learning¹⁰¹⁵. The *Nir* III 4 quotes or summarizes other Vedic passages in which the words *dāya* and *dāyāda* occur. In *Pāṇini* II, 3 39 and VI, 2. 5 the word *dāyāda* occurs.

The principal heads discussed under the *vyavahārapada* called *dāyabhāga* are two, viz partition and inheritance. For at least a thousand years there have been two schools that widely differ on these two heads, they are respectively known as the school of the *Mitākṣarā* and that of the *Dāyabhāga* on account of the pre-eminent position of these works in the respective schools. The latter school is predominant in Bengal while the former prevails in the whole of India excepting Bengal. But even in Bengal there are in modern times families governed by the law of the *Mitākṣarā*. This work in intention and scope does not profess to be a treatise on modern Hindu Law. It concerns itself with pointing out what the law of the *Smṛtis* and writers of medieval digests was and has to eschew an exhaustive discussion of the modern case-law and legislative enactments that have made the Hindu Law appear in many respects to be entirely different from the law of the commentaries and digests. Generally speaking, only very important divergences made by legislation and case law in the ancient and medieval Hindu Law can and may be pointed out here.

The principal Sanskrit works of the *Dāyabhāga* school are three viz. the *Dāyabhāga* of *Jimūtavāhana*, the *Dāyatattva* of *Raghunandana* and the *Dāyakramasangraha* of *Śrīkrṣṇa Tarkāṅkara*. The *Mitākṣarā* school is subdivided into four sub-schools in which besides the *Mitākṣarā*, the supreme authority, other works are referred to as supplementary to it and as modifying some of its doctrines viz the Benares school (which regards the *Vīramitrodaya* as of high authority), the

1014. न ब्राह्मणो हिंसितव्योऽपि निषतनोरिव । सोमो ह्यस्य दायदा इन्द्रो अस्या-
भिरास्तिपाः । अथर्व V. 18 6

1015. जयेया दैव मे दायं तेन वै त्वोपमन्त्र्य इति । ते आ. 33 5; एव व कुक्षिकां
वीरो देवरातस्तमन्वित । शुष्माश्च दाय म जयेता विद्या पादु च विद्मसि । ते आ. 33. 6.

Mithilā school (which relies on the Vivādaratnākara, the Vivāda-candra and the Vivādacintāmaṇi), the Mahārāstra or Bombay school (where the Vyavahāramayūkha is of the highest authority in Gujērāt, Bombay Island and Northern Konkan even superseding the Mitākṣarā in some matters and the Viramirodaya and the Nirñayasindhu are also relied upon), the Dravida or Madras school (where the Smṛticandrikā, the Vyavahāramīrnaya of Varadarāja, the Parāśara-mādhaviya and the Sarasvativilāsa are also works of authority) In spite of some differences in the rules accepted in different provinces in all of which the Mitākṣarā is of high authority, all the provinces except Bengal are held to be governed by one school. Vide *Ambabai v. Keshav* I. L. R. (1941) Bom. 250.

The words *dāya* and *vibhāga* have been variously defined in the digests Nār. (*dāyabhāga*, verse 1) defines the vyavahāra-pada *dāyabhāga* as one in which sons arrange for the partition of their father's wealth. The Madanaratna as noted by the V. Mayūkha (text p. 94) reads 'arthasya pitryādeḥ' (wealth of the father and others) for 'pitryasya' in Nārada's verse The Smṛtisangraha quoted in the Sm. C. and other works states that the word *dāya* applies to wealth that comes to a man through the father or the mother and the Nighantu defines *dāya* as the paternal wealth that is to be divided.¹⁰¹⁶ The *Dāyabhāga*, the Mit. and others explain that the words 'pitryasya' (father's) and 'putraḥ' (by the sons) in Nār. are only illustrative, the real meaning being that the word '*dāyabhāga*' applies wherever the wealth of a relative (father, grand-father &c) is distributed among his relatives (sons, grandsons &c) simply on account of their relation to the deceased¹⁰¹⁷ owner This is borne out by the fact that Manu and Nārada both speak of the distribution of the mother's wealth also under *dāyabhāga* The Mit while introducing Yāj II. 114 says that the word *dāya* means the wealth which becomes another's property simply by reason of the fact of his relation to the owner. The V. Mayūkha (p. 93) defines *dāya* as that wealth which is to be divided and which is not the wealth of re-united members.

1016. विभक्त्यः पितृद्वयं दायमाहर्ननीयिणः । निष्पन्नुः q by स्मृतिच II. p 255, च्य म. p 93, पितृद्वारागतं द्वयं मातृद्वारागतं च यत् । कथितं दायशब्देन तद्विभागो धुनीच्यते ॥ स्मृतिसंग्रहः q by स्मृतिच II p 255, च्य म. p 93

1017. विध्यस्येति उच्यतेति च द्वयमापि सम्बन्धिमात्रोपलक्षणं सम्बन्धिमात्रेण सम्बन्धिमात्रधनविभागोपि दायभागपदयोगात् । दायभाग I. 3; तत्र दायशब्देन यत्नः स्वानि-सम्बन्धादेव निमित्तादप्यस्य स्वं भवति तदुच्यते मिता ; असंख्य विभजनीयं धनं दाय । च्य म. p 93.

The word 'dāya' though derived from the root 'dā' (to give) does not apply to 'heritable wealth' in the literal sense (of gift).¹⁰¹⁸ The word dāya is rather conventionally used, though derived from the root 'dā'. In a gift (as stated in H. of Dh. vol II p. 841) there are two chief ingredients viz. 'abandoning one's ownership over a thing' and 'bringing about the ownership of another in that thing'. But in the case of dāya the deceased does not of his own accord abandon his ownership with the idea of creating ownership in another. The two (dāna and dāya) are analogous, in this that in both there is cessation of the ownership of a man in a thing.

The Mit., the Par. M., the Madanaratna, the V. Mayūkha, the V. P. and other works that follow the doctrines of the Mit. divide dāya into two varieties viz. *apratibandha* (unobstructible)¹⁰¹⁹ and '*sapratibandha*' (obstructible). The first occurs in the case of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, who, by the very fact of their being the sons or grandsons, obtain ownership in the (ancestral) wealth held by the father or the grandfather. In this case the existence of the father or grandfather presents no obstacle (*pratibandha*) to the son's or grandson's taking an interest by the very fact of his birth in the family property that is in the hands of the father or grandfather. Therefore this is called *apratibandha dāya*. But when a man takes the wealth of his paternal uncle or a father succeeds to the wealth of his son because the uncle or the son dies issueless, it is *sapratibandha dāya*, as in these cases the nephew or the father has no right in the uncle's or son's property as long as the uncle or the son is alive or as long as the uncle or son has a son or grandson. That is, the life of the owner or the existence of a son presents an obstacle to the nephew's or father's succession. Hence it is *sapratibandha dāya*.

It is to be noted that the Dāyabhāga, the Dāyatattva and a few other works do not divide dāya into two kinds. According

1018 दीयत इति श्रुत्यस्या दायशब्दो ददातिमयोश्च गौणः, मृतमन्त्रजितादित्वत्वं निवृत्तिपूर्वकपरस्वत्वोत्पत्तिफलसाम्यात् । न तु मृतादीना तत्र त्यागोक्तिः । ततश्च पूर्वस्तानि सम्बन्धाधीनं तत्त्वशब्दोपरमे यत्र द्रव्ये स्वत्व तत्र निरुद्धो दायशब्दः । दायभाग 1 4-5. Vide दायतत्त्व pp 161, 163 for almost identical words. The व्य म (pp. 411-12) quotes these words and criticizes them.

1019 अयं च दायो द्विविधः समतिबन्धोऽप्रतिबन्धश्चेति । यद् द्रव्यं स्वामितस्तत्पुत्रादेरप्यभावे स्व भवति स समतिबन्धो दायः । यथा पित्रादीना पुत्रादियत्नम् । यत्पुत्रपौत्रयोः पिदृष्टितामहधन जन्मन आरभ्य स्व भवति सोऽप्रतिबन्धो दायः । तत्र स्वामितपुत्रसद्भावावस्था प्रतिबन्धकत्वात् । मदनरत्न (व्य. folio 89)

to them, all *dāya* is *sapratibandha* i. e. ownership arises in another only on the death of the previous owner¹⁰²⁰ or on the cessation of the latter's ownership owing to his becoming *patita* or a *sannyāsin* (ascetic).¹⁰²¹ The doctrine of this school is called *uparamasvatavāda* (ownership arising on death), while the school of the Mit. holds the view of *janmasvatavāda*. This is the great difference between the school of the *Dāyabhāga* and that of the *Mitākṣarā*. The former does not recognise that the son, grandson or great-grandson acquires by birth any right of ownership in the ancestral property held by the father or other ancestor.

The two words '*suk*' and '*svāmin*' are correlative, the idea underlying both is the same and they are two aspects of the same question. '*Sva*' means 'what belongs to a person' i. e. 'property'. It has direct reference to a thing and indirect reference to the owner of the thing. '*Svāmin*' means 'master or owner' and directly refers to the person owning and indirectly to the thing. Vide Salmond's Jurisprudence, chap. XII. pp. 339-340 (9th ed. of 1937) for the idea of ownership. According to *Śiromanibhāṭṭācārya* *svatva* is a separate *padārtha* (category) by itself, while others say that it is a capacity.¹⁰²²

1020. अतो जीवतोः पित्रोर्धने पुत्राणां स्वाम्यं नास्ति किं दूपरतयोरिति ज्ञापनार्थं मन्वादिष्वचनम् । एकः शौचदोऽपरस्वार्थः । न चोपरममात्रमेव विवक्षितं किंतु पतितप्रवृजित-स्वाद्युपलक्षयति स्वत्वविनाशहेतुतासाम्यात् । दायभाग I. 30-31, p. 18, the vi. ता (folio 99) says 'ते (जीवतवाहनादयः) सर्वत्र संप्रतिबन्धस्यैव दायस्य सत्त्वात् स्वित्यसंविभाग-योभिद्वामावात् पूर्वोक्तपुक्तिविरोधान्मूर्खा एव'.

1021. It is to be noted that becoming *patita* entailed loss of the ownership of wealth, even according to Indian writers, only if the proper *prāyaścittas* were not performed. For example, the V P. (p. 429) states 'पातित्ये त मायश्चित्ताना-चरण एव स्वत्वनाशो विभागानर्हता च । अन्यथा द्रव्यसाध्यं मायश्चित्तमपि पित्रोः स्वद्वयेण न स्यात् ।' Ancient and medieval Hindu jurists were very considerate if one compares their prescriptions with the harsh laws against Non-conformists and Roman Catholics prevalent only about a hundred years ago in England and Ireland as briefly disclosed in Pollard's work 'Conscience and Liberty' pp. 46-48. The Caste Disabilities Removal Act (XXI of 1850) provides that so much of any law or usage in force in British India, which inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights of property or may be held to impair or affect any right of inheritance by reason of his renouncing or having been excluded from the communion of any religion or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in British India. This act, therefore, did away with the effects of being *patita* without undergoing *prāyaścitta* or of being excommunicated by a caste for some grave lapse.

1022. स्वत्वं पदार्थान्तरमेवेति शिरोमणिभट्टाचार्याः । स्वमिति व्यवहारविषयत्वं शक्ति विधेयो वेत्यन्ये । तत्र स्वगम्यमिति केचित् । वि. ता. (ms.) folio 96.

Since in defining *dāya* the idea of *svatva* (ownership) was brought in, many of the digests enter upon a learned disquisition on the question whether *svatva* is to be understood from the *śāstra* alone or is a matter of popular understanding. There is also an ulterior purpose in the minds of some writers in this discussion, viz that of denying that *svatva* can arise by mere birth. The reasoning of those who say that *svatva* is to be understood from *śāstra* alone is as follows Gaut (X. 39-42) lays¹⁰²² down five sources of ownership common to all viz *rikta* (inheritance), purchase, partition, seizure, finding (of treasure and the like) and further states that in the case of *brāhmanas* acceptance of gifts is an additional source of ownership, conquest in the case of *ksatriyas*, gain by agriculture and service in the cases of *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* respectively. If ownership were to be apprehended from means other than *śāstras*, then this text of Gautama laying down sources of ownership that are common to all *varnas* and that are peculiar to each of the several *varnas* would serve no useful purpose and would be superfluous. Further Manu (VIII. 340) states that if a *brāhmana* seeks wealth even by teaching or officiating as a priest for a man whom he knows to be a thief, he would be punishable like a thief. If *svatva* is a matter of popular understanding then this is not proper, since the priest or teacher who obtains the wealth from one who is in possession of stolen things would have to be regarded as guilty of no offence as he merely pursues the methods of earning wealth specially prescribed for him by the *smṛti* texts. Further, if *svatva* is not to be apprehended from *śāstra*, such complaints as 'a thing that belongs to me has been stolen by this man' would not be possible, as *svatva* being a purely secular matter the thief would himself be (or would have to be deemed to be) the owner of the thing, because the latter is in possession of it. Thieving is forbidden by *śāstra* and so on the view of *svatva* being apprehended from *śāstra* alone, such a complaint is understandable¹⁰²³. Besides eminent

1022a स्वामी रिक्यकृतसविभागपरिग्रहाधिमयेषु । ब्राह्मणस्याधिकं लब्धं सविषयं विजितं निषिद्धं वैश्याद्ययो । गो X 39-42 The Mit explains तन्नामतिबन्धो दायो रिक्यश्च । क्रयः प्रसिद्धः । सविभागः सप्ततिबन्धो दायः । परिग्रहो नन्यपूर्वस्य जलद्वयकाटादे स्वीकारः । अधिमयो निध्यादेः प्रसिद्धः ।

1023 वर्तते यस्य यद्वस्ते तस्य स्वामी स एव न । अन्यस्मिन्पुत्रे तु चौर्ये किं न दृश्यते । तस्माच्छास्त्रत एव स्वात्त्वान्य नाशुभवाद्यपि । अस्यापद्वतमेतेन न युक्तं वक्तव्यम् । विहितोपार्थम शास्त्रे यथावृत्तं प्रथक् प्रथक् । न च स्वहृष्यते तद्यत् स्वच्छया विनियुज्यते । विनियोगोत्र सर्वस्य शास्त्रेणैव नियम्यते । संग्रह q by स्मृतिच II pp 256-257, मदन-रत्न (folio 89), च p. 416 The last notes that 'सथावर्षं पृथक् पृथक् is the reading of the मदनरत्न, but in my ms of the मदनरत्न the reading is as in the स्मृतिच.

works and writers like the *Smṛtisangraha* and *Dhāreśvara*¹⁰²⁴ support the view. Those who hold that *svatva* is known only from *śāstra* explain that *riktha* in Gautama's *sūtra* means simply *dāya* and *saṁvibhāga* means partition of *dāya* which establishes the separate ownership of a person on a portion of *dāya* (vide V. P. p. 415)¹⁰²⁵. They further urge that Gautama's text does not specifically mention birth as a source of ownership.

Others headed by the Mit. hold that *svatva* is apprehended from worldly usage and not from *śāstra*. Their reasoning is: (1) just as rice effects an ordinary worldly purpose, so *svatva* brings about worldly transactions such as sale. What is not owned by a man does not enable him to effect such worldly objects and transactions as sale or mortgage. Such matters as the *Āhavanīya* fire that are prescribed by the *śāstras* are not useful in effecting secular purposes, but only *śāstric* ones. The *Āhavanīya* fire may be used in cooking rice, but that is in virtue of its ordinary nature as fire and not in its *śāstric* nature of being the *Āhavanīya* fire.¹⁰²⁶ (2) Even among *Mlecchas* and lowest peoples who are quite innocent of the knowledge of *śāstras*, the ideas of ownership arising from transactions of sale and the like do exist. Further (3) learned men well-versed in

1024 एतत्समग्रहकारमतं धारेश्वरभट्टेनाप्याश्रितम् । मदनरत्न (folio 90), प्रपञ्चितं चैतद्धारेश्वरसूरिणः । सूत्रिच II, p. 257. It is somewhat strange that Dhāreśvara who is no other than the celebrated king Bhoja of Dhārā should be styled *bhatta* by the Madanaratna and *ācārya* by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24) and the V. Mayūkha (p. 89).

1025 When a man dies his wealth is the *dāya* which several persons may inherit. In their case, it becomes their joint property. So their ownership, being joint, is denoted by the word '*riktha*'. The joint owners become exclusive owners of definite parts of the *dāya* by partition, thus partition is a source of ownership (in this case exclusive ownership of distinct parts by several). But if there is a single heir then there can be no *saṁvibhāga* (partition) and so the source of his ownership is *riktha* and not *saṁvibhāga*. When there are several heirs *riktha* is on this view a source of joint ownership only. It must be said that on the hypothesis of *Jimūta-vāhana*, *riktha* and *saṁvibhāga* rather coalesce with one another and cannot be distinguished so well as on the theory of the Mit.

1026. Vide the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 114), V. P. pp. 419-422, V. Mayūkha pp. 89-90, Par. M. III, pp. 482-483 for elaboration of this view. The S. V. p. 396 ff. while accepting the view that *svatva* is *laukika* does not accept the reasoning of the Mit., particularly with regard to the *Āhavanīya* fire.

the Mīmāṃsā such as Prabhākara¹⁰²⁷ (on Jaimini IV. 1. 2) and

1027. The Mīl (on Yāj. II 114) quotes a passage of Prabhākara on the *lipsāsūtra* and explains it. Jaimini's sūtra (IV. 1. 2) is चत्विर्विधः पुण्यस्य नस्य विप्रत्ययलक्षणाद्विकल्पान्. In this sūtra the word *lipsā* occurs. Therefore this is called *lipsāsūtra*. The words अर्जनं न्वनं नापादयतीति विप्रतिविद्धं occur in the *Dāyabhāga* also (II. 67 p 49) and in *Medhātithi* on *Manu* VIII 417. These words are quoted in the Mīl. as taken from Prabhākara (called *Guru*) and so it follows that even *Medhātithi* quotes from Prabhākara. The earliest extant commentary of Sabara offers three explanations of this sūtra, which deals with the question of what is *kratvartha* and what is *puruṣārtha*. The third explanation concerns itself with the rules about acquiring wealth (which is necessary for performing every sacrifice) such as acceptance of gifts in the case of brāhmaṇas. The question is whether these rules about the means of acquiring wealth are *kratvartha* or *puruṣārtha*. If they are the former (i. e., if they are meant to be directly connected with the sacrifice) then a sacrifice performed with wealth not acquired according to the rules of śāstra will be defective or a nullity. But if the rules are *puruṣārtha* (i. e. addressed to the sacrificer only or to his conscience and sense of dharma) then even if the sacrifice is performed with wealth not acquired in accordance with śāstra there will be no defect in the sacrifice itself, only the acquirer will be at fault and may have to perform *prājāpātita*. Says Sabara. त्वं वा द्रव्यार्जनमुदाहरणम् । इह द्रव्यार्जनं तेष्वर्जनियम्. श्रूयते । ब्राह्मणस्य प्रतिग्रहादिना राजपत्य जयादिना वैश्यस्य कृपादिना । तत्र सन्देहः किं कस्यार्थं द्रव्यपरिग्रह इव पुरुषार्थ इति ।

The Mīl. points out that in the plausible view (*pūrvapakṣa*) and the established conclusion (*siddhānta*) it is assumed that acquisition of wealth by acceptance of gift is a matter known from worldly usage (*lokasiddha*). The comment of Prabhākara (called *Guru*) on this sūtra is not yet available in print. The Sm. C. II pp 257-258, the *Madanaratna*, and V. P. p 420 quote a passage from the *Nayavivēka* of Bhavanātha on the same subject and explain it. The *Madanaratna* says 'उक्तं चैतन्नयविवेके नामाकरमन्तान्मुनयभारं नवनार्थेन । लोकनिर्देहं वा अर्जनं जन्मादि । अत एवानिर्दमनलोकधीविषयतया स्थिते निवन्धनार्था (विषयतया व्यवस्थितनिवन्धनार्था) । रक्षित्वाकरणमिदं स्मृतिवत् ।' The passage as printed in V. P. p 420 (अन एवानिन्धं यमनलोकधीविषयव्यवस्थितं तस्मिन्मन्धनार्था स्मृति) is corrupt and hardly makes any sense. The V. Mayūkha simply refers to Bhavanātha without quoting him. The *Vi* śā (folio 96) remarks 'मीनानकरमुक्तं प्रतिग्रहादिनियमानां पुरुषार्थत्वं तेन विना अर्जनद्रव्यं द्रव्यपर्यव द्रव्यं क्रतुतिष्ठिमन्थेन ।' Vide H. of Dh vol II pp 129-130 for quotations from several smṛtis laying down various means of livelihood. *Manu* X. 115 enumerates seven sources of wealth as sanctioned by śāstra viz. finding (of treasure), *dāya* (inheritance), purchase, conquest, lending for interest, work (agriculture and trade), acceptance of a gift from a worthy person and in X. 116 mentions ten means of maintaining oneself (in distress). The *Mahābhāṣya* (vol I. p 483) on Pāṇ. II 3 50 states that a thing becomes one's own in four ways viz. by purchase, by seizure, by begging or by exchange 'यदेतत्त्वं नान चतुर्भिस्तत्कार्त्तवति कृपादादृष्टादृष्टादृष्टा विनिनयादिभिः ।' It must be remembered that the enumeration of the means of acquiring property in the dharma-śāstra works is not exhaustive but only illustrative.

Bhavanātha, author of the *Nayaviveka*, hold that ownership which springs from certain fixed sources only (such as purchase) is a matter of worldly usage or experience. Bhavanātha says: the sources of acquisition such as birth and purchase &c. are known from the world. The conception about the sources of ownership was not started for the first time by the *sāstra*, but such sources have been known from times immemorial (long before the *smṛtis*). That is, the recognition of the sources of ownership is prior and *sāstra* only systematises them subsequently. Therefore the *smṛti* of Gautama (X. 39) only assigns their proper spheres to the several sources of ownership that are already well-known (viz. five are common to all, acceptance of gifts is peculiar to *brāhmanas* and so on). In this respect it is like the grammar of Pāṇini. Pāṇini does not create or lay down new words but he takes the words already current in the language and introduces a system about their formation. Similarly Gautama only voices a certain fixed system among the several sources of ownership. The *Mit.* and its followers say that Gautama simply repeats the several sources of ownership known in ordinary worldly life (as the V. *Mayūkha* says '*lokasiddha-kāranānuvādam*'). The *Mit.*, Par. M. III. p. 481, S V. p. 402 and others hold that *rikṭha* and *samyibhāga* in Gautama's *sūtra* stand for *apratibandha dāya* and *sapratibandha dāya* respectively.¹⁰²⁸ The *Mit.* meets the other arguments of its opponents by replying that in the first place that even ordinary popular usage does not recognise that the thief becomes the rightful owner by simply possessing the thing stolen and that in the case where a person says 'this man has stolen my property' there is doubt and dispute whether the man charged has got ownership by purchase or the like.

The purpose of this discussion of the topic whether ownership is only known from *sāstra* or is a secular matter is, according to the *Mit.*, as follows:—*Manu* XI. 193 (= *Visnu Dh.* S 54. 28) states that when *brāhmanas* acquire wealth by reprehensible actions (such as accepting a gift from an unworthy person or engaging in the sale of articles which he should not sell)

1028. The word *rikṭha* is often used in the sense of *sapratibandha dāya* also as in *Gaut.* XII. 37 (*rikṭhabhāja naam pratikuryuḥ*) and *Yāj.* II. 51 (*rikṭha-grāha naam dāpyaḥ*), *Baud.* (*rikṭham mṛtāyāḥ kanyāyāḥ*) q. by the *Mit.* on *Yāj.* II. 146. Vide *Bar Parson v Bar Somti* 36 Bom 424 at pp. 428-434 for an exhaustive exposition of the basic principles underlying the two kinds of *dāya* in the *Mit.* and the *Vyavahāra-mayūkha*).

they are purified from the sin by abandoning that wealth, by repeating the sacred texts (like the *Gayatri*) and by austerities. If ownership springs from *śāstra* alone, what is earned by a person in ways condemned by *śāstra* cannot become the property of that man and so his sons cannot divide what is not his property. But if ownership is deemed to be a secular matter (*laukika*) then even what is obtained by condemned means becomes the property of that man, his sons incur no blame (though the acquirer may have to perform penance) and can divide that wealth (which is *dāya*), since *Manu* X. 115 enumerates *dāya* among the seven approved sources of wealth. The *Madanaratna* does not approve of this. Its reason briefly is that *Manu* XI. 193 simply lays down a penance, but does not say that wealth so obtained does not become the acquirer's property, that it is on account of this that *Manu* does not prescribe any special fine or punishment for one who acquires wealth by means of a bad gift, as he prescribes for a thief and that what is acquired by theft does not become the property of the thief and his sons cannot divide it and would incur punishment if they do so. V. P. (pp. 423-424) refers to the views of the *Mit.* and the *Madanaratna* and approves of the views of the former.

This discussion leads on to the next question, viz. whether ownership arises from partition or whether partition takes place of what already belongs to oneself (by birth). This subject has exercised the minds of writers on *Dharmaśāstra* from very ancient times. It should be noted that the difference of opinion relates only to the case of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. All writers are agreed that persons other than these have no rights by birth in the wealth of their relatives. Those who oppose the view that sons acquire right by birth argue as follows:—

If sons have ownership by birth in ancestral property, then, on the birth of a son, the father cannot enter upon such religious duties as consecrating Vedic fires (which entail the expenditure of ancestral wealth) without the consent of the son. This would be opposed to the Vedic injunction "a man, whose hair is yet dark and who has had a son, should consecrate the sacred Vedic fires." Further, *Smṛti* passages stating that a gift made by the father to one out of several sons as a favour (*Nār. dayabhāga* 6) or by the husband to his wife out of affection is not liable to partition would be meaningless, since such gifts cannot be made without the consent of the sons (on the

theory that sons acquire property by birth). Besides, there are *smṛti* texts like those of Devala¹⁰²⁹ which expressly negative the son's ownership during the father's lifetime. Manu IX. 104 and Nār. (dāyabhāga 2) enjoining that sons should divide wealth after the father goes to heaven (because the sons are not masters when the parents are alive, as Manu says) indicate that sons have no ownership by birth. Moreover *svatva* is apprehended only from śāstras (like Gautama), which do not expressly enumerate birth as a source of ownership along with purchase and the like. Therefore the ownership of the son or sons arises on the cessation of the ownership of the previous owner (by his death or by his becoming *patita* or becoming an ascetic). When there is a single son, he inherits on the death of the father and there is no necessity of a partition. But when there are several sons, they jointly inherit paternal wealth and can become exclusive owners of separate parts of the paternal wealth by partition alone. As this last is the most usual case, it is said that *svatva* arises from partition (*vibhūgāt svatvam*). If this doctrine that ownership arises by partition alone were literally interpreted, then an only son inheriting his father's property will have no ownership as urged by the Vyavahāra-nirṇaya, since there can be no partition in his case¹⁰³⁰.

The arguments advanced by those who hold that ownership in ancestral wealth arises by birth are as follows.—

It has been established that ownership is a matter of ordinary worldly usage. It cannot be denied that it is quite well-known to all ordinary people that sons acquire ownership by birth. Besides there is the text of Gautama¹⁰³¹ "the *ācāryas* hold that one acquires ownership by birth itself." Moreover there are numerous *smṛti* passages like those of Yāj. II 121,

1029. पितर्युपस्ते पुत्रा विभजेदुर्ध्वं पितुः । अस्वाम्य हि भवेदेया निद्वौपि पितरि स्थिते ॥
देवल q by दायभाग I 18, p 13, कृष्णकलिका (on या II 114), वि र p 456, परा मा III. p 480

1030 तथा विभागात्स्वत्वपक्षे एकपुत्रस्य मातापित्रोरुर्ध्वं विभ । गामाभावात् स्वत्व न स्यात्
तेन कुलप्रवेशादेव पितृपैतामहद्वयेऽपि पुत्रस्य स्वागम्यमस्त्येव । व्यव नि p. 412

1031 तथा 'उत्पत्त्यैवार्थस्वामित्व लभेत्स्याच्चार्या.' इति गौतमवचनाच्च । मित्ता on
या II 114 This is variously read by the digests and commentaries. The Madanaratna, Sm C. II. p. 258 and Dāyatattva p 162 read उत्पत्त्यैवार्थ स्वामित्वाहभेत्स्याच्चार्या. The व्य न p 89 reads लभन्त इत्याच्चार्याः, while स वि reads 'उत्पत्त्यैव स्वामित्व लभन्त इत्याच्चार्या.' (p 402) Both Sm C. and S V. explain 'उत्पत्त्यैव मातृगर्भे शरीरोत्पत्त्यैवेत्यर्थः', while the सुबोधिनी and the बाह्यम्भट्टी on the मित्ताहारा explain उत्पत्त्यैव as जन्मनैव.

Br (S B E. 33 p 370 verse 3), Kat. (839), Vyāsa and Visnu Dh.¹⁰³² S. XVII. 2 which expressly state that in the paternal grandfather's wealth, the father and the son have equal ownership (and so the right of the son must be by birth). Those who uphold the son's ownership by birth repel the arguments advanced in favour of the opposite theory as follows:—The Vedic text enjoining consecration of Vedic fires at a certain age indicates that the father has the power to spend for religious rites from ancestral wealth even after the birth of a son. Similarly as head of the family and its manager, the father has independent authority to spend ancestral wealth (except immovable property) for indispensable acts of religious duty expressly enjoined by Vedic and Smṛti texts and for making gifts of affection, for maintenance of the family and for ridding the family of distress. Further the father or the manager of the family can dispose of even immovable property by mortgage or sale in a season of distress or for the benefit of the family and for necessary religious purposes (such as śrāddhas¹⁰³³ etc.)

Ownership has to be distinguished from possession and custody. Further ownership is of various kinds, such as corporeal and incorporeal, sole ownership and joint ownership, ownership as trustee and beneficial ownership, vested and contingent. Even Western writers on Jurisprudence like Austin, Pollock and Salmond, find it difficult to define the exact meaning of ownership. Austin (Lecture XLVII) defines

1032. इत्ये पितामहोपात्ते स्वावरे जङ्गमे तथा । सममंशित्वमाख्यात पितुः पुत्रस्य चैव हि ॥ बृह q by द्वायभाग II. 50 p 46, अपरार्क p 728, व्यव. नि. p 410, दीप-कालिका, स. वि. p 374, वि. र. p. 461, व्यव. म. p 98. This is ascribed to व्यास by स्मृतिच. II p 279 पैतामहं समान स्यात् पितुः पुत्रस्य चोभयो । स्वयं धोपाजिते पित्रा न पुत्रः स्वाभ्यन्तरि ॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p 725, व्यव. नि. p. 410, स्मृतिच निष्कृतः ॥ व्यास q. by अपरार्क p. 728, व्यव. नि. p 410, स वि. p. 475 (reads पुत्रपौत्रा. समाशिनः), वि. र. p 461, पैतामहे स्वयं पितृपुत्रयोः तुल्य स्वामित्वम् । विष्णु-धर्मसूत्र 17. 2.

1033. तस्मात् पैतृके पैतामहे च इत्ये जन्मनैव स्वत्वम्, तथापि पितुरावश्यकेषु धर्मकृत्येषु वाचनिकेषु प्रसादवानकुटुम्बभरणापहिमोक्षादिषु च स्वावरेण्यतिरिक्तद्रव्यतत्त्वित्ये स्वान्तर्यामिति स्थितम् । स्वावरे तु स्वाजिते पित्रादिभ्यो च पुत्रादियारतन्त्रमेव । अस्यापवादः । एकोपि स्वावरे कुर्वाहानाधमनविक्रयम् । आपत्काले कुटुम्बार्थं धर्मार्थं च विशेषतः ॥ इति । मित्ता on या II. 114. This is the basic passage of the Mit. on which innumerable decisions have been given in the law reports, one of the latest and most authoritative being *Brij Narain v Mangla Prasad L. R.* 51 I. A. 129 quoted on p. 448 above

property or dominion as the right to use or deal with some given subject in a manner or to an extent, which though not unlimited, is indefinite. Pollock defines ownership as the entirety of the powers of use and disposal allowed by law. But the idea of ownership does not require, according to Sanskrit works on Dharmaśāstra, that the owner should always be able to do with his property as he pleases. On the contrary the śāstras lay down restrictions on the owner, enjoining upon him not to make gifts to the detriment of his family (vide Yāj. II. 175 "svam icutumbāvam odhena deyam" and the verse of the Smṛti-sangraha "na ca svamucyate" quoted in note 963 above). Therefore property does not comprise only what one can dispose of at one's sweet will, but what is capable (in appropriate circumstances only) of being disposed of as one¹⁰³⁴ likes. A person may be prevented from dealing with his property as he likes by the king or by the rules of śāstra, by public opinion, by his own inclinations and by the pressure of those around him. But what he owns is theoretically capable of being disposed off by him as he likes. The Madanaratna puts forth the illustration that seeds kept dry in a granary do not sprout, yet they have the capacity of sprouting and so are as well denominated seeds as others that sprout. There are various grades of the limitations on property, such as the father's power, the widow's power and so on. What a person earns should belong to him, should be his property. But there are passages like Manu VIII. 416 and Nār. (abhyupetyaśuśrūṣā, verse 41) that state¹⁰³⁵ "three are declared to be without wealth viz. the wife, the son and the slave; whatever they earn is for him to whom they (wife, son and slave) belong". It has been stated

1034. न च यथेष्टविनियोग्यत्वं स्वत्वमिति वयं श्रम किं तर्हि यथेष्टादीनिपयोगेयमित्यम् । तच्च शास्त्रे कुटुम्बभरणादिविनियोगनियमनेन विनियोगान्तरविषयतामलभमानस्याप्यजितलभयुक्तमस्त्वेव । यथा कुतश्चिद्धेतोरद्वकुरोत्पादनमकुर्वतोपि कुशलादिस्थितस्य बीजस्य बीजत्वमयुक्तमद्वकुरोत्पादनयोग्यत्वम् । उक्तं च नयविवेके । तच्च तस्य तदर्थं येनार्जितमिति । तदर्थं यथेष्टविनियोगार्हम् । मनुमतिसंसारिणि तच्चरत्नेषु । यथेष्टविनियोग्यत्वं हि स्वत्वं केवल-कृत्यत्वेऽन्यत्राविनियोगाद्यथेष्टविनियोग्यत्वाभावः (विनियोग्यत्वाभावात्स्वत्वाभावः) इति । विनियोग्यमत्र विनियोगार्हं 'अर्हं' कृत्यत्वञ्चेति । पाणिनिस्मरणात् । मदनरत्न. 'अर्हं कृत्य-त्वञ्च' १९ पाणिनि III 3. 169. The passage यथेष्टविनि ... स्वाभाव इति occurs in the तच्चरत्न (सरस्वतीभवन series) part 1 p. 19. Vide esp. p. 416 for a similar statement and p. 422 for the illustration of seed in the granary

1035 भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधना. स्मृताः । यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य सद्भनम् ॥ मनु VIII. 416, उद्योगपर्व 33 64 reads त्रय एवाधना राजन् भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः । यत्ते &c., नारद (अश्व 41) १५ अधनास्तय एवोक्ता भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः । यत्ते &c

by such an ancient writer as Śabara-svāmin¹⁰³⁶ that this passage does not deny the ownership of the wife or son in what she or he earns, but is only intended to lay down that the wife or son cannot independently (without the consent of the husband or father) dispose of what she or he earns. This view of the text of Manu is accepted by the Dāyabhāga as well as by the Mitakṣarā School. The latter holds on the analogy of the interpretation of Manu VIII 416 that the texts of Devala, Nār and Manu IX. 104 which apparently deny ownership (*svāmya*)¹⁰³⁷ to the son during the father's lifetime over property in the hands of the father are to be interpreted only as denying the son's power of independent dealing with such property during the father's lifetime or as referring to the self-acquisitions of the father. On the other hand the Dāyabhāga and the Dāyatattva try to explain away such passages as those of Yāj II 121, Viṣṇu and others (quoted above) that speak of the son's ownership by birth. The Dāyabhāga offers two explanations of Yāj II 121.¹⁰³⁸ The first explanation offered by it and taken from Udyota is — If A has two sons B and C of whom C dies first, leaving a son D and then A dies, then Yāj says that both B (son of A) and D (grandson of A) will be equally entitled to the wealth left by A and not B alone, though he is nearer to A than D, because both B and D offer pindas of the same efficacy to A in the pārvana-srāddha and so there should be no difference between the two. The words “sadrśam svāmiam” refer to this equality of the son and grandson. The 2nd explanation is that of

1036 On जै VI 1 12 शबर says ‘एवं स्मरति । भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धना सर्वं धनं ते । यत्ने । तद्धनमिति ।’ Then on जै. VI 1. 14 he remarks ‘यस्यैव भार्याद्वयो निर्धना इति । स्मर्यमाणमपि निर्धनत्वमन्यायमेव श्रुतिविरोधात् । तस्मादस्वातन्त्र्यमनेन प्रकारेणोच्यते संव्यवहारमसिद्धार्थम् ।’

1037 यच्च देवलोपि पितर्युपरते . स्थिते इति अत्रास्वाम्यवचनमस्वातन्त्र्यमिति पाठ-
नार्थमिति मन्तव्यम् । स्मृतिश्च II 256, vide also अपराक्षे p 718, स्पष्टं नि p 412,
परा ना III. p 480 for similar remarks ‘देवल पितर्युपरते .. इति तत्पित्राजिते
स्वातन्त्र्यनिर्देशार्थं न पैतानहे ।’ वि ता folio 96

1038 यच्च याज्ञवल्क्यवचनं ‘भूर्या पितामहोपात्ता .. जोभयो , इति तस्य निरवद्य-
विद्योद्योतेन द्योतिस्तत्त्वतोऽयमर्थः । यत्र द्वयोर्भ्रातृजीवित्युक्तयोरेकस्याभावात् पुत्रहत्याया
विनष्टोऽन्यो जीवति अनन्तर पिता मृतः तत्र पुत्र एव तद्धनं प्राप्नोति अतिसन्निकर्षात् तदर्थं सहस्र
स्त्रिंशतिमिति वचनम् । यथा पैतामहहृदये पितुः स्वाम्यं तथैव तस्मिन्नुते तत्पुत्राणामपि न तत्र
सन्निकर्षविषयकपर्याम्नां कोपि विशेषः पार्ष्णविधिना विष्टद्वानेन द्वयोरपि तदुपकारकत्वाविशे-
षादित्यभिप्रायः । दायभाग II 9, p 29 Here the Dāyabhāga appears to refer
to a very learned predecessor called Udyota, who is styled निरवद्यविद्य (of
unblemished learning) From the व्यवहारनिर्णय (pp 78, 455) it appears that
उद्योतन was an ancient author on vyavahāra spoken of in the same breath
with घोरेश्वर and असहाय

Dhāreśvara viz. that when the father desires to make a partition, he may distribute his self-acquired property as he likes among his sons, but as to the property he got from his own father (i. e. the grandfather of his sons) he has the same ownership that sons have and he cannot make an unequal division at his sweet will. The *Dāyabhāga*¹⁰³⁹ rejects the view that Yāj. II. 121 enables the son to demand partition of the grand-father's property from the father even against the will of the latter or that father and son have equal shares in the grandfather's property. The same remarks apply to the texts of Visnu and others viz. that in the grandfather's property father and son are equally owners and that the words "tulyam svāmyam" or "samamamsītvaṃ" do not mean that father and son take the same share therein.

From the above discussion it will be clear that the two schools of the *Dāyabhāga* and of the *Mitākṣarā* were not started by them for the first time, but each had respectable antiquity behind it. Smṛtis like those of Manu, Nārada and Devala and eminent authors like Udyota and Dhāreśvara had put forward the doctrine of *uparāma-svatavāda*, while the Smṛtis of Yāj., Visnu, Br. espoused the doctrine of *janmasvatavāda*. Viśvarūpa who commented on Yāj. (in the first half of the 9th century) holds that ownership arises by birth¹⁰⁴⁰. The *Mitākṣarā* further supports that theory by citing a sūtra of Gautama (*utpattyaiva* etc.) which is not found in the extant Gautama-dharma-sūtra. This sūtra does not occur in Aparārka and several other works and is stated by Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkāṅkara (on *Dāyabhāga* I. 21 p. 14) to be not authoritative (*amūla*). These facts emboldened Dr. Jolly to go so far as to make the facile suggestion that it was fabricated by Viññāneśvara or his predecessors (Tagore Law Lectures p. 110). We have seen that so early a writer as Viśvarūpa was excited over the question whether ownership arises on partition or by birth. The learned Doctor has failed to note that the ancient commentator Medhātithi (about 900 A. D.) favoured the view of ownership by birth and quotes (without name) the sūtra in a slightly different form (on Manu

1039 अतः पितापुत्रयोः पैतामहघने समविभागार्थं सहशं स्वाम्यमिति वचनं धृवाणां वा विभागस्तान्त्र्यार्थमिति मतद्वयमपि हेयम् । दायभाग II. 18 p. 31.

1040 या विच्छेद्या विभागस्तृतिः सा स्वयमुपात्तद्व्यपगतो दृष्टव्या । अतः स्वत्वे सति विभाग इति सिद्धम् । विश्वरूप on 'भूर्या पितामहोपात्ता' (या II. 124).

IX. 156).¹⁰⁴¹ So it was not necessary for Viṇāśesvara to fabricate a sūtra nor for any one else, for even in the absence of Gautama's sūtra the texts of Yāj and others were quite capable of the interpretation put on them by the Mitākṣarā. It has to be noted that the Dāyabhāga¹⁰⁴² does admit that in some (texts?) ownership is stated to arise by birth itself (*locaṭ janmanaveṭi*) and it explains that the words are not to be taken literally but that birth is said to be the source in an indirect way, as the relation of father and son is based upon birth and on the death of the father the son's ownership arises (therefore though ownership directly arises on death, birth may be said to be the source of it as the son is the first heir because of his being born as a son to the father). The Dāyatattva does not say that the sūtra of Gautama is not authoritative, but explains it away on lines similar to those of the Dāyabhāga. It may be stated here briefly that the Dāyabhāga differs from the Mitākṣarā in four main points:—(1) The Dāyabhāga denies the theory that property is by birth, while the Mit. accepts it; (2) the Dāyabhāga lays down that the right to inherit and the order of heirs is determined by the principle of religious efficacy, while the Mit. school holds that blood relationship is the governing factor in this matter; (3) the Dāyabhāga holds that members of a joint family (such as brothers or cousins) hold their shares in quasi-severalty and can dispose of them even when there is no partition by metes and bounds; (4) the Dāyabhāga holds that even in an undivided family the widow succeeds

1041. On मनु IX 209 मेधातिथि says 'यतस्ते पितामहघनस्येक्षाते। तथा चोक्तं सूर्या चोभयोरिति। ... सर्वे पितामहघनभाजः स्वत्वपूर्वकत्वाद्भिभागस्य।, on मनु IX, 156 he says तथाप्युक्तं सर्वणांपुत्रोऽन्यायवृत्तौ न लभेतेकेयामिति। तदेतदुक्तम्। जातेरत्यन्तमान्यत्वात्। उत्पन्नो वार्थस्वाम्यमिभ्याचार्या इति।

1042. कचिज्जन्मैवेति (जन्मनैवेति?) च जन्मनिबन्धनत्वात् पितापुत्रसम्बन्धस्य पितृमरणस्य च स्वत्वकारणत्वात् परम्परया वर्णनम्। द्वायभाग I 20 p 13 अच्युत and some of the commentators of the Dāyabhāga refer these words to the sūtra of Gautama which they read as 'उत्पत्यैवार्थं स्वामित्वाद्भवेतेत्याचार्या,' यन्तु निताक्षरायां 'उत्पत्यैवार्थं स्वामित्वाद्भवेतेत्याचार्या,' इति गौतमवचनं तदपि पितृस्वत्वोपरमेऽङ्गजत्वहेतुनोत्पत्तिमात्रसम्बन्धेनान्यसम्बन्धाधिकेन जनकघने पुत्राणां स्वामित्वाद्धनं पुत्रो लभेत नान्यसम्बन्धीत्याचार्या मन्यन्ते। द्वायतत्त्व p 162 This is quoted almost in the same words by the च्य म p 414 and on p 418 the च्य म appears to hold that the explanation of the द्वायभाग quoted above relates to the sūtra of Gautama अतश्च उत्पत्यैवार्थस्यास्त्वामित्वमिति गौतमवचनस्य यज्जीयुतवाहनरत्ननुद्गमार्थं परम्परिकोत्पत्तिस्वत्वहेतुत्वेन व्याख्यानं कृतं तदपि व्यर्थमेव। च्य. म p 418, vide च्य म p 426 for an elaborate refutation of the Dāyabhāga passage (quoted above) and other passages that follow

to her husband's share on his death without male issue, while the Mit school holds that she does not do so.

Various attempts have been made to explain why in Bengal alone the laws of succession and inheritance should diverge materially from the laws prevailing in the rest of India. In two learned papers 'on the origin and development of the Bengal school of Hindu Law' contributed to the Law Quarterly Review (vol. XXI for 1905 pp. 380-392 and vol. XXII for 1906 pp 50-63) Mr. Justice Saradaacharan Mitra tries at some length to advance a theory of his own: 'The commercial spirit of the newly formed nation in the eastern corner of the Indian peninsula with its deltaic character and nearness to the sea, the new ideas which other nations trading with it were bringing in every day, the necessary admixture of races in some parts of the country, the religion of Buddha which for centuries was here the religion of the sovereign as well as of the people and the influence of the Buddhistic *tantras* combined to bring about a law of property dissimilar in material respects from the rules propounded by Brahmanical sages of old and explained and commented upon in the *Mitāksarā* and the books based on the same'. His idea is that, as Buddhism profoundly affected the position of women and as *tantras* like the *Mahānirvāna* subscribed to the exaltation of the feminine element in nature, the ancient law of property, particularly in relation to women, came to be affected and conceptions of individual ownership, of freedom from restrictions on alienation and of the rights of females arose in Bengal which were incorporated by Jīmūta-vāhana in his *Dāyabhāga*. With the greatest respect to the learned writer, it must be said that the grounds he urges are far from convincing. A thorough examination of his thesis cannot be undertaken here for want of space. But a few remarks must be made. As regards maritime activity the West coast of India was far more in touch with seafaring and commerce with the West than even Bengal, as the mention of the ports of Barugaza (Broach) and Kalliéné (modern Kalyan) by Greek writers, the finding of hoards of Roman coins and the existence of Syrians on the West Coast clearly establish. Buddhism had spread to central and western India as early (if not earlier than) the period when it could have spread to Eastern Bengal and Assam. Sanchi, Bhilsa, Bharhut, the Nasik and Karla caves bear eloquent testimony to the influence of Buddhism in central and western India for centuries before and after the Christian era. Besides as Mr. Justice Mitra himself

admits 'Buddhism had not its own law of property' (Law Quarterly Review vol. XXI p. 388) Buddhist countries like Burma themselves borrowed their laws of succession and inheritance from the Manusmṛti. Viṇṇāṇesvara is far more liberal to women than Jimūtavāhana, who does not allow any woman to succeed as heir unless she is expressly mentioned as an heir in the smṛti texts. The Mahānirvāna-tantra treats a sister and stepmother as near heirs and allows even a paternal uncle's widow and son's daughter to succeed, but under the Dāyabhāga these are not at all heirs. One branch of the Mitākṣarā school, viz that of the V. Mayūkha in Western India is far more liberal about the claims of women than any school. The Marumakkatayam and Aliyasantan law in force in some districts of South India and among certain communities like the Nambudri brāhmanas and Nairs go to the other extreme in their regard for women but no one has so far traced that law to Buddhist or Tantric influence. The peculiarity of the Dāyabhāga, viz the principle of religious efficacy is far more remote from rules of affinity given in the Mahānirvāna-tantra than the principle of consanguinity espoused by the Mitākṣarā school. Mr. Justice Mitra is wrong in his estimate of the age of Jimūtavāhana. As stated above (on p. 557) Jimūtavāhana relies on authors like Udyota and the smṛtis of Devaḷa and others. It is best to admit that no satisfactory explanation can be given of the peculiar doctrines of the Dāyabhāga. They have an indigenous and independent origin and growth.

Vibhāga (partition) is defined by the Mh. 1043 as the allotment to individuals of definite portions of aggregates of wealth over which many persons have joint ownership. The Dāyabhāga found several faults with this definition, the principal criticism being that it is cumbrous and farfetched to assume that the (joint) ownership of several (sons and the like) is first produced in the entire wealth of the father and then to hold that this joint ownership is subsequently destroyed. Its own definition is: "*Vibhāga* means the indication of the ownership (of one out of many) by the casting of a ball or pebble (on a definite part of the land or cash), which (ownership) arises with

1043. विभागो नाम द्रव्यसमुदायविभागानामेकस्त्वान्यानां तदेकदेशेषु व्यवस्थापनम् ।
मिता on या II 114, व्यवहारतार p 212, अपराक p 729 is almost the same,
एकदेशेषु । तस्यैव भूतिरप्यादादुत्पत्तय स्वत्वस्य विनिगमनाप्रमाणाभावेन वैशेषिकव्यवहा-
रानर्हता अव्यवस्थितस्य मुदिकापातादिना व्यवस्य विभागः । विशेषेण भजनं स्वत्वज्ञापनं वा
विभागः । दाय भाग I, 8-9, p. 8.

reference to a portion only (of the heritage of land and cash), but which is indefinite because it is not possible (for one man) to deal specifically with a particular portion (of the heritage) since there is nothing to show for certain what portion belongs to whom". The *Dāyabhāga* denies that ownership jointly arises in all co-sharers (before partition) over every portion of the heritage and states that it arises in portions of it but there is no certain indication to show which part belongs to whom and that the portion of each is made definite and ascertained by partition effected by casting a ball or pebble on a portion (saying 'this is A's exclusive portion' etc.). The *Dāyatattva*¹⁰⁴⁴ (p. 163) criticizes this definition. If before partition each of the co-heirs has ownership in part only of the entire heritage, what assurance is there that the allotment of a part to one co-heir by means of casting a ball will be as to the same portion over which his ownership arose before the partition? The *Dāyatattva*, though differing¹⁰⁴⁵ from the *Mit.* as to the doctrine of ownership by birth, agrees with it as to the definition of *vibhāga*. The differing definitions of *vibhāga* given by the *Mit.* and the *Dāyabhāga* lead to different results. Under the *Mit.* when there is a joint family of father and sons or grandsons, all these are coparceners and the ownership of the coparcenary property is in the whole body of coparceners i. e. there is unity of ownership while the family remains joint, no coparcener can say that he is owner of a definite share, one fourth or one fifth etc. A coparcener's interest is fluctuating, is capable of being enlarged by deaths and is liable to be diminished by births. It is only on partition that a coparcener becomes entitled to a definite share. On the other hand according to the *Dāyabhāga* there is no ownership by birth, the sons on the father's death constitute a coparcenary but the ownership of the family property is not in all the sons as a body. Every son takes a defined share, the moment the ownership of the father ceases (owing to death etc.). The share so taken does not fluctuate with births and deaths. The sons are coparceners in the sense that their possession of the property

1044. तत्र विभागस्तु सम्बन्धन्तरसंज्ञावेन सुहिरण्यादादुपपन्नस्य...शुद्धिकापातादिना अमुकरेदमिति विशेषेण भजने स्वत्वज्ञापनमिति वदन्ति तत्र समीचीनम् । यत्र अस्य स्वत्वं तत्रैव शुद्धिकापात इति कथं वचनाभावात्तद्वैतव्यः । दायतत्त्व p 163.

1045 वस्तुतस्तु पूर्वस्वामित्वोपरमे सम्बन्धाविकोपात् सम्बन्धिना सर्वधनप्रभृतस्वत्वस्य शुद्धिकापातादिना प्रादेशिकस्वत्वव्यवस्थापनं विभागः । एवं कृत्स्नधनगतस्वत्वोत्पादविनाशावपि कल्प्येते । दायतत्त्व p 163.

inherited from the father is joint i. e. there is *unity of possession*, though there is no *unity of ownership*.

According to the *Mitāksarā* sons take by birth an interest in ancestral estate. Suppose A is sole owner of an ancestral estate and has no issue. In that case there is no coparcenary. But the moment a son is born to him, a coparcenary is started. That is, under the *Mitāksarā* the birth of a son starts a coparcenary. Under the *Dāyabhāga* there is no coparcenary between father and sons as the latter acquire no rights by birth even in ancestral property but it may subsist between brothers or uncles and nephews. Under the *Dāyabhāga*, the death of a man may start a coparcenary among his sons (who will be brothers).

Partition has two senses, (1) division by metes and bounds and (2) separation or severance in interest. Under the *Mitāksarā* it is possible to have partition in both these senses. The members of a coparcenary may define, at a particular moment, the shares that each would be entitled to; but the actual division of property by metes and bounds may be postponed to a future date and in the intervening period they may enjoy the property in common as before. This is clearly brought out by the *Vyavahāramayūkha*¹⁰⁴⁶ when it says "even in the absence of joint (family) property severance (of interest) takes place also by a mere declaration in the form 'I am separate from thee'; for severance is merely a particular mode (or state) of the mind and this declaration merely manifests that (state or mode of the mind)". The S. V. (p. 347) has a similar passage. It is here stated that an unequivocal declaration of intention to separate effects the severance of a member from the joint family and that it is not absolutely necessary that there should be any joint property or that the property be divided by metes and bounds. This last follows as a matter of course when there is a severance of interest. This proposition has been accepted by the Privy Council¹⁰⁴⁷ and this passage of the *Vyavahāra-*

1046 इयमेकान्याभावेऽपि त्वत्तोद विभक्त इति व्यवस्थामात्रेणापि भवत्येव विभागः । इद्विधविशेषमात्रमेव हि विभागः । तस्यैवामिन्यजिक्तेषु व्यवस्था (स्य स प. 94, अनेन ज्ञापते परिभाषा विना सङ्कल्पमात्रेणापि विभागसिद्धिः । स हि प. 347.

1047. Vide *Pandit Suraj Narain v. Iqbal Narain* 40 I A p. 40 (=15 Bom. L R 456) for this proposition and *Soundararajan v. Arunachalam* 39 Mad. 159 (F. B.) at pp 174-175, 185 and *Girjabai v. Sadashiv* 43 I A 151 at p. 160 (=18 Bom L. R. 621) for citation of the above passage of the V. Mayūkha.

mayūkha has been quoted in several cases. What constitutes an unequivocal declaration of intention to separate has as usual given rise to a good deal of case law which has to be passed over here. Under the *Dāyabhāga* heirs succeed on the death of the previous owner in certain definite shares and therefore partition has ordinarily only the first sense viz. assigning to the coparceners specific portions of the property inherited. Another way of separating a member¹⁰⁴⁸ is also mentioned by *Manu* IX. 207 and *Yāj* II. 116, viz. that when a member of the family is able to fare for himself and does not desire to have a share in the family property, he should be separated by giving him some trifle (as a token). The *Mit.* adds that the trifle is given as a piece of evidence to prevent his sons claiming a share later on.

The principal matters to be discussed under *Dāyabhāga* or *Dāyambhāga* are, as stated by the *Sangraha* and the *Mit.*, four, viz. the time of partition, the property liable to partition, the mode of partition and the persons entitled to partition¹⁰⁴⁹.

Time for partition. The evolution of the son's right to demand a partition has been a process of ages. It would not be out of place to say a few words on this topic here. In most primitive societies where the patriarchal family system prevailed, the father had absolute power over the son, it was the son's duty to obey the father, alienation of family property was not allowed, the father had power over the acquisitions of all persons including the son and women were incompetent to hold property. Faint traces of these can be detected in the Vedic literature. The legend of *Sunahsepa* narrated in the *Ait. Br.* (33 1 ff), where we are told that *Ajigarta* sold his son for being offered as a victim to *Varuna*, that *Viśvāmitra* adopted *Sunahsepa* as his son, though he had already a hundred and one sons, and that he cursed and disinherited his fifty sons for their disobedience to

1048. शक्तस्यानीहमानस्य किञ्चिद्दत्त्वा पुत्रम् क्रिया । या II 116 on which the *mita* says 'तत्पुत्रादीना दायजिष्ठता सा सूचिति'; व्य ३ p 449 notes that *प्रकाश* explained या. II. 116 and मनु IX. 207 differently (taking *अनीहमानस्य* as meaning 'who does not work though able to do so') 'प्रकाशकारस्तु यो भागिषु धनार्थं व्यावृत्तेषु प्रमादालस्यादिना नेहेत न व्यामिश्रेत साहाय्यं न कुर्वति स्वकर्मणा स्वव्यापारेण शक्त साहाय्यकर्मणि क्षमोपि सन् स स्वकादृशाद् स्वव्यापारजनितान्नाहनाद् बहिः कार्यः किञ्चिदुपजीवनं दत्त्वा मूलधनमात्रभागीकरणीय इति'. अपरार्क p 719 gives both these meanings.

1049. यस्मिन्काले यथा भङ्ग्या वैरेव क्रियतेपि च । यादृशस्य च दायस्य यथाशास्त्रं भङ्ग्यते । संग्रह q. by सूचिति II. p. 255, स. वि. p. 349. इदमिह स्वरूपणीयम् । कस्मिन्काले कस्य कथं कैश्च विभागः कर्तव्य इति । *mita* on या. II. 114.

his order, indicates that in the days of the Ait Br. it was believed that in hoary ages long before it, the father's power over his sons was absolute. But a caution is necessary. It is possible to over-emphasize the legend of Śunahśepa; it has to be remembered that it is a mere legend and that the Ait Br. itself shows that the conduct of Ajigarta was condemned as most unworthy of a decent man even according to the legend.¹⁰⁵⁰ In modern times there are rare instances where parents insure their children and then poison them or maim them for earning the insurance money. But no one says that this is usual or that modern law allows it. In Rg. I. 117. 17 it is stated that the eyes of Rjāśva were put out by his father because the former gave a hundred rams to a she-wolf. This is a solitary instance and it is probable that the verse has some esoteric meaning or refers to some terrestrial or celestial phenomenon. In the Kathaka Samhitā XI. 4 it is said "the father rules over the son" (*pitā putrasye*). But it must be said that ideas about the father's absolute power over the sons lingered on in historic times. The Nir. (in III 4) puts forward the argument of some predecessors that daughters did not succeed to the father's wealth because women could be donated, sold or abandoned and not men, while others said that males also were liable to the same treatment as evidenced by the story of Śunahśepa.¹⁰⁵¹ Vasistha (XV. 2) states that¹⁰⁵² father and mother have power to make a gift or sale of the son or to abandon him. We saw above (n 1035) that Manu stated that a son's earnings belonged to his father. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 10-11) emphatically says that the right to give away or sell one's child is not recognized and that the word "sale" used in connection with a bride is used only metaphorically. About the word "sale" in relation to marriage vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 503-506.

On the other hand even in the Rg. we find that sons divided the father's property during his lifetime when the father grew old, "O Agni! men worship you in many places in various ways; they take (from you) wealth as from an aged father"

1050. स होवाच ह्यन शेषो यं सकृत्पापकं कुर्यात्कुर्वन्दिनस्तनोऽप्यस्य । नापागाः शौद्रान्पायादुसन्धेयं तया कृतमिति । ऐ. ब्रा 33. 5.

1051. स्त्रीणां दानविक्रयानि सर्गा विद्यन्ते न पुंसः । दुसापेत्विक्के शौन शेषे दर्शनाद् निरुक्तं III. 4.

1052. तस्य (पुरुषस्य) प्रदानविक्रयस्याग्रेण मातापितरौ प्रभवत । वासिष्ठ 15. 2. दानं क्रयधर्मश्चापत्यस्य न विद्यते । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 10.

(Rg. I 70 5).¹⁰⁵³ In the Ait Br. (22. 9) the story of Nābhānedistha¹⁰⁵⁴, the youngest son of Manu, shows that the elder brothers divided all the father's property among themselves, and excluded Nābhānedistha during the father's lifetime apparently without any protest from him or in spite of it. In the Tai S. III. 1. 9. 4-5¹⁰⁵⁵ the version of the same story is different, since it is there said that Manu himself divided his wealth among his sons and did not give any share of the paternal wealth to Nābhānedistha who was away at a teacher's house as a vedic student. In the Gopatha Brāhmana (IV. 17) it is said "therefore in their childhood sons subsist on their father, while in his advancing years the father subsists on the son". In the Śat.¹⁰⁵⁶ Br (S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 157) we read "whence in early life the sons subsist on the father...whence in later life, the father subsists on his sons". In the Kausitaki Br. Upanisad (II. 15) after describing the symbolical handing over to the son of all his physical and mental powers by a father who is expecting death it is said that if after this rite the father recovers he has either to remain under the son's dominion or go out as a wanderer (a *sannyāsin*)¹⁰⁵⁷ From some of the above passages, it appears that in rare cases sons divided paternal wealth even during the lifetime of the father and against his will. The remark of Dr Jolly that "it may be unhesitatingly set down as a fact that in the earliest period of Indian Law, partition of property was an entirely unknown proceeding" (Tagore Law Lectures p. 90) goes too far and is not fully warranted by Vedic texts. Just as the Tai. S. (III. 1. 9. 4)¹⁰⁵⁸ narrates that Manu distributed his wealth among his sons, it also speaks of the eldest son being established with ancestral

1053. वि त्वा नर-पुत्रा सपर्यन्पितुर्न जित्वैर्वि वेदो भरन्त । ऋ I 70. 5.

1054. नाभानेदिष्ट इति नाभानेदिष्ट वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं भ्रातरो निरभजन्सोऽब्रवीदेष किं मद्यमभाकेत्येतमेव निष्ठावमववदितारमित्यब्रुवंस्तस्माद्वाप्येतर्हि पितरं पुत्रा निष्ठावोऽन्यमदितेत्येवाचक्षते स पितरमेत्याब्रवीत्त्रा वाव मद्य ततोभाक्षुरिति त पिताब्रवीन्मा पुत्रक तदाहृथा. &c. । ऐ जा 22 9 (V. 14).

1055. मन्त्र. पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत्स नाभानेदिष्टं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं निरभजत् सोऽब्रवीत्कथा मा निरभागिति न च्वा निरभाक्षमित्यब्रवीत् । तै. स III 1 9 4

1056 तस्मात्पुत्रवयसे पुत्रा. पितरमुपजीवन्ति । तस्मादुत्तरवयसे पुत्रान्पितोपजीवति । शतपथ XII 2. 3 4.

1057 स पद्यगदः स्यात्पुत्रैश्चर्यैश्चर्यं पिता वसेत्परि वा ब्रजेत् । कौ. उप. II. 15,

1058 ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति किंदेवत्यं पौर्णमासमिति माजापत्यमिति द्वासासेनेन्द्रं ज्येष्ठ एव निरवसाययदिति तस्माज्ज्येष्ठ पुत्रं घनेन निरवसाययन्ति । तै. स II 5 2 7.

wealth. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 14. 6 and 10-12) refers to both these passages of the Tai. S. but concludes that equal division among sons is the proper mode and that giving a major part of the estate to the eldest alone is forbidden by the śāstras¹⁰⁵⁹. These lead to the conclusion that equal distribution among all sons was believed to be the rule and giving the major portion to the eldest son was an exception (and a rare case) even in the Vedic age. The Ait. Br. (19.3) speaks of the right¹⁰⁶⁰ of Indra to primogeniture (*jyaisthya*) and pre-eminence (*śraisthya*). This right of the eldest son to special treatment at the time of partition persisted in the times of Manu (IX. 112 ff) and Yāj (II. 114) also and even in modern times it is recognized to some extent in the case of impartible estates and even in ordinary families on the ground of custom or from the nature of the grants made by the former Governments or the British Government (such as Jaghirs and Saranjams). Both Kauṭ. and Kāt. declare that customs of countries, castes, villages and groups varying rules of partition and inheritance should be enforced by the king¹⁰⁶¹. Dr. Jolly (ibid. p. 98) further relies on the fact that the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra mentions no other kind of partition than that made by the father. But this is far from conclusive. Āpastamba was a great purist and idealist. He ignores several matters which are wellknown to have existed long before his time. For example, he takes no notice of the several kinds of secondary sons and he does not allow a brāhmana to take up a weapon even for examining it except when he is murderously attacked (I. 10. 29 7-8), while Manu (VIII 345-349), Gautama VII 6 and 25 and others allow a brāhmana much greater latitude. Therefore Āpastamba's silence cannot lead to the positive conclusion of the absence of any other method of partition. As a matter of fact, Gautama (15. 19) who is generally regarded as prior to Āpastamba states that brāhmanas that had separated from their fathers against the latter's will were not fit to be

1059. ज्येष्ठो दायवद् इत्येके । तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिद्धं । ननु पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभज-
दित्यविशेषेण श्रूयते । अथापि तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसायपन्त्येकवच्छ्रूयते । आप ध.
सू II 6.14 6, 10-12

1060. सोऽज्यवीड् बुधस्पतिं याजय मा द्वादशाद्वेनेति तमयाजयन्ततो वे तस्मै देवा
ज्यैष्ठ्याय ऋष्ट्यायातिष्ठन्त । ऐ जा 19 3

1061. देशस्य जात्या सङ्गस्य धर्मो ग्रामस्य वापि यः । उचितस्तस्य तेनैव दायधर्मं
प्रकल्पयेद् ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III. 7 (last verse), कार्या पृ. by वि र. p. 505 reads
देशस्य ... ग्रामस्य यो मृष्टः । उदितः स्यात्स तेनैव दायभागं यः.

invited for dinner at a *brāddha* ¹⁰⁶² That shows that partition of sons from the father against the father's will was wellknown long before Gautama. Dr. Jolly also (ibid p. 90) relies on an anonymous *smṛti* text (quoted by the *Mit* in its introduction to *Yāj.* II 114) which absolutely prohibits the sale of land. But this is irrelevant. The text could not be taken literally when we have seen that sales of land have been taking place for at least two thousand years. All that the text means is that a sale should be clothed in the form of a gift ¹⁰⁶³. Similarly the few *smṛti* passages that include lands and houses among indivisible properties are to be explained as having in view the fragmentation of a field into small uneconomic plots or holdings or the division of a single small house among numerous co-sharers. It is impossible to believe that the texts meant that houses could never be partitioned among co-heirs. All that we can reasonably infer is that as a general rule such partitions were looked upon with disfavour by society. One may concede that this sentiment continued long after even Gautama and *Āpastamba* and even in the 20th century a Hindu son suing his father for partition incurs great opprobrium.

Apart from the inference to be drawn from some of the Vedic passages quoted above, it follows that partition did take place, though probably rarely, during the father's lifetime and even against his will, as indicated by Gautama's dictum. It is now to be seen what the *smṛtis* and the medieval writers say about the time of partition. One time was when the father divided the property among his sons during his lifetime as evidenced by the *Tai. S.* III. 1. 9. 4, *Āp. Dh. S.* II. 6. 14. 1, *Gaut.* 282, *Baud. Dh. S.* II. 2.8, *Yāj.* II. 114, *Nār. dāyabhāga* 4. Another time was after the death of the father (*Gaut.* 28. 1, *Manu* IX. 104, *Yāj.* II 117, *Nār. dāyabhāga* 2). The *Dāyabhāga* ¹⁰⁶⁴ admits only these two times for partition viz. on the cessation of the father's

1062. न भोजयेत् . . पित्रा वाकामेन विभक्तान् । गौ. 15. 15 and 19

1063. हिरण्योदकदानेनेति स्थावरे विक्रयो नास्ति कुर्यादाधिमदुक्तया इति स्थावरस्य विक्रयप्रतिषेधात् 'भूमिं यः मतिशुक्लानि यश्च भूमिं मयच्छति । उभौ सौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गयामिनौ' इति दानमहंसादर्शनाच्च । विक्रयेऽपि कर्तव्ये सदहिरण्यमुदकं दत्त्वा दानरूपेण स्थावरविक्रयं कुर्यादित्यर्थः । मिता. on या II 114 The *दायतत्त्व* quotes this view of the *मिताक्षरा* and remarks 'वस्तुतस्तु स्थावरविक्रयप्रतिषेधोऽविभक्तस्थावरविषयः ।' Vide n. 882 above.

1064. तदेवं पितृस्वत्वापगम एक कालोऽपरश्चानपगत एव पितुः स्वान्ते पितृच्छिद्येति फालह्वयम् । दायभाग I 38, तस्मात्पतितत्त्वमिच्छुहृत्वोपरमैः स्वत्वापगम इत्येकः कालोऽपरश्च सति खले तद्विच्छाद इति कालह्वयेन युक्तम् ॥ दायभाग I 44.

ownership (by death or renunciation of the world as an ascetic or because he has lost all desires) and during the father's lifetime at his own desire. The V. P. (pp. 429 and 434, 435) strongly criticizes the Dāyabhāga as to these two. Some writers like Jimūtavāhana went so far as to hold that even though the father be dead there should be no partition among the sons during their mother's life¹⁰⁶⁵. The Mit (following Gaut. 28. 1-2) indicates three principal times for partition,¹⁰⁶⁶ viz (1) at the father's desire during his lifetime, (2) when the father has lost all desire for worldly goods, desists from sexual intercourse and the mother is past the age of child-bearing, partition may take place at the desire of the sons even against the wish of the father (Gaut. 28. 2, Nār. dāyabhāga 3, Br S B E. 33 p 369 verse 1); (3) after the death of the father. The Mit relying on Śankha's¹⁰⁶⁷ text adds that even though the mother may not be past child-bearing, yet the sons can partition at

1065 पित्रोरिति दिवचननिर्देशात्सोदराभ्रातृणा पितृधनविभागोऽपि मातुरभाव एव कार्यः । दायभाग II, 5, p 27 श्रीकृष्ण was constrained to explain कार्यः as प्रशस्ते thereby showing that this was only recommendatory V P (p 436) strongly criticizes this view of the Dāyabhāga pointing out that Manu IX. 104 mentions the father and mother separately and indicates that partition of mother's wealth takes place after her death Vide दायभाग III 9, p 60 also 'अत एकस्मिन्नापि जीवति विभागो न धर्म्यं किन्तु उभयोरभावे ।'. The दायतत्त्व also (p 170) says मातरि जीवन्त्या सोदराणां विभागो न धर्म्यः । यथा शङ्खलिखितौ रिक्थमूल द्वि कुटुम्बमस्त्वत्तन्नाः पितृमन्तो मातुरप्येवमवस्थितायाः ।

1066 निवृत्ते रजसि मातुर्जीवति चेच्छति । गौ 28. 2 (this refers to two times) ; मातुर्निवृत्ते रजसि प्रत्याहु भगिनीषु च । निवृत्ते चापि रमणे पितर्युपरतस्पृहे ॥ नारद (दायभाग 3). This verse is variously read and explained by the commentators V R. (p 462) notes that Prakāśa read either निरपेक्षे च रमणे or निरस्ते चापि रमणे The Dāyabhāga (I 32-33 p 18) reads विनष्टे वाच्यशरणे and explains विनष्टे पतिते अशरणे ग्रहस्थाभ्रमरहिते The ज्य प्र (p 433) reads निवृत्ते चापि रमणात् and हलायुध also read it so (V R p 462) The दायभाग (I 47, p 24) says दत्ताह भगिनीषु चेति न कालार्थं किं तु तासामवश्य दानार्थम्

1067 यथा शङ्खः अकामे पितरि रिक्थविभागो बृद्धे विपरीतचेतसि रोगिणि च । मित्ता. on या. II 114, मदनरत्नः ; पितर्यशक्तो व्यवहारः शङ्खेऽऽति कुप्यादनन्तरो वा कार्यज्ञस्तदुक्तमो न त्वकामे पितरि रिक्थविभागो बृद्धे विपरीतचेतसि दीर्घरोगिणि वा ज्येष्ठ एव पितृवदर्थान् पालये-दितरेषा रिक्थमूल द्वि कुटुम्बमस्त्वत्तन्नाः पितृमन्तो मातुरप्येवमवस्थिताया । दायभाग I 42, p. 23 (q as शङ्खलिखितौ and adds अतो न त्वकामे पितरि इत्येतदेव कार्याक्षमे पितरि रिक्थविभाग इति भ्रान्तलिखितम् It will thus be seen that the two schools read the passage of Śankha-Likhita differently. The ज्य. मद्रस्य (p 90) omits the words काम दीने &c. The मदनरत्न has the words काम दीने चिन्तयेत् The V. R. (p 460) has the same passage of हारीत (as in the Dāyabhāga) with slight variations, viz. जीवति पितरि पुत्राणामर्थदानविसर्गविभागक्षेपेऽप्यस्मात्तत्त्व काम दीने प्रोक्षिते आर्ति गते वा ज्येष्ठोर्थाश्रितयेत् । हारीत q. by दायभाग I. 42 p 23. .

their desire, even against the father's will if the father pursues an immoral or irreligious mode of life or is afflicted with a chronic disease or is very old. Nār. (dāyabhāga 16) is similar. It should not be supposed that the Mit. holds that there are only three times for partition; according to it there are other times also (as in the text of Śāṅkha quoted by it). This is made clear by the V. P. p. 434. The Dāyabhāga reads the text of Śāṅkha-Likhita differently and takes it to mean that as long as the father is alive there can be no partition against his will even if he be very old or suffering from a chronic disease or has not all his wits about him, and that in such a contingency the eldest son or with his consent the next younger brother who is capable may manage the family affairs. The Dāyabhāga quotes a similar passage of Hārita (which is also quoted by the Madanaratna, the Vyavahāramayūkha and other digests). On account of the remarks of the Mit. some works like the Madanapārijāta (pp. 645 ff) speak of four times for partition, viz. during the father's lifetime at his choice (Yāj. II. 114), even against his will when the mother is past child-bearing and the father is free from all sexual desires and does not care for wealth (Nār. dāyabhāga 3), when the father is old or follows the path of *adharma* or suffers from an incurable disease then even against his will (relying on Śāṅkha as quoted in the Mit.), and after the father's death. The V. Nir. (p. 408) is almost of the same view.

The Mitākṣarā is quite clear on the point that the son has an absolute right of partition of ancestral property during his father's lifetime even against the father's wish. The discussion in the Mitākṣarā may be briefly set out here. In Yāj. II. 120 (latter half) it is stated that in the case of grandsons the partition is according to (or through) the fathers i. e. it is *per stirpes* and not *per capita*. The text of Yāj. (*anekapitrkūṇām¹⁰⁶⁸ tu pitṛto bhāgakaḥ*) is explained by the Mitākṣarā in this way that although sons and grandsons have rights of ownership by birth in the grandfather's property, yet when each of several sons dies leaving a differing number of sons (one leaves two, another three and so on) or when some sons are alive and others die leaving their own sons, then partition takes place *per stirpes* i. e. the grandsons born of a particular deceased son

1068 It may be noted that the Bālabhāṭṭī (p. 150) and V. P. (p. 449) support the reading *अनेकपितृकाणां तु* instead of *अनेकपितृकाणां तु* in Yāj. II. 120.

get among themselves the share which their deceased father would have got if living i. e. grandsons appear to get partition of property through the son (their father) and not directly by themselves. On this a doubt arises as follows:—if the father of several sons is separated from his brothers as to the grandfather's property or if the father has no brother and is joint with his father (i. e. the grandfather of the grandson) the grandson cannot demand a share in the grandfather's wealth (since Yāj II. 120 has been explained as meaning that when the father is dead then the assignment of shares among grandsons is according to the share of the father). Another doubt is — even if a partition can be had by the grandsons in these cases it will be only if the father so desires. To this the Mit. replies emphatically¹⁰⁶⁹ that in the grandfather's property the ownership of father and son is wellknown in the world and therefore *partition* (in the above two cases of doubt) does take place. The Mit. further on expressly says that even when the mother is not past child-bearing and the father still cares for wealth and worldly affairs, partition of grandfather's wealth does take place at the desire of the son even if the father is unwilling. The Mit. makes it clear that the rule of division *per stirpes* is a special rule laid down by the texts (*vācamitī vyavasthā*) for a special case and that in other cases the primary rule of ownership by birth applies. From Manu IX. 209 the Mitākṣarā further draws the inference that even against the father's wish a son can demand partition of property acquired by the grandfather. This is the modern Hindu Law in the Mitākṣarā school generally recognised by the Courts in British India. In *Apar Narhar*¹⁰⁷⁰ v. *Ramchandra* a majority of the Full Bench of the

1069. नष्टानामपि पुत्रा पित्र्यानेवांशान्नभन्त इति वाचनिकी व्यवस्था । अधुना विभक्ते पितर्यदिष्टमानाश्रुके वा पौत्रस्य पतामहे ब्रूय्ये विभागो नास्ति अग्रियमाणे पितरि पितृतो भाग-
कल्पनेत्युक्तत्वात् । भवत् वा स्वजितवत् पितुरिच्छयैवेत्याशङ्किते आह । भूयं पिता (याज्ञ II 122) ... तत्र पितुः पुत्रस्य च स्वाम्य लोकप्रसिद्धमिति कृत्वा विभागोऽस्ति ।
तस्माच्च पितुरिच्छयैव विभागो नापि पितृर्भागद्वयम् । तथा च सरजस्कार्या मातरि ससृष्टे
च पितरि विभागमनिच्छत्यपि पुत्रेच्छया पैतामहद्वयविभागो भवति । मिता. The
Bāṭhambhāḍī (pp. 151-152, of Gharpure's edition) very clearly explains this passage.
The *vy. m* (p 460) also says अत्र च पुत्रेच्छया यो जीवद्विभागो यश्चाजीवद्विभागः स एके-
च्छयापि भवत्यविशेषात् । . अथ च पुत्राणां विभाग पुत्रपौत्रपौत्रपर्यन्तं समो नाजीत्यस्तिः
अस्यासत्तिक्रमेणाधिकारक्रमः । पुत्रादीनां त्रयाणामेव पार्ष्वे पित्र्यदानाधिकारात् । *vide*
संज्ञितं II. p 279 for a similar passage

1070. Vide 16 Bom 29, where Telang J., who was great as a Sanskrit scholar as well as a judge, differed from three learned judges. On pp. 43-51 Telang J. gives a very lucid explanation of the words of the Mit.

Bombay High Court held that a son cannot in the lifetime of his father sue his father and uncles for a partition of the family property and for possession of his share therein, when the father does not assent to such a suit, although the son has a right by birth in ancestral property. The other High Courts have dissented from this view of the majority of the Bombay Full Bench and have followed the dissenting judgment of Telang J.¹⁰⁷¹.

When the son's right of ownership by birth in ancestral property came to be recognised by such *smṛtis* as that of Yāj., it followed as a logical consequence that any person who acquires a right by birth can demand partition and separate possession of his share at any time. It has been already seen that even before Gautama sons separated from their father against his will, but this was condemned by the sages and obloquy and infamy attached to such conduct. Some of the *smṛtis* recognised the son's right to partition even in the father's lifetime under great restrictions. More than fifteen centuries passed (from Gautama to the Mitākṣarā) before the son's right to separate from his father during the latter's lifetime and against his desire was clearly, ungrudgingly and emphatically recognized. The Viramitrodaya also clearly recognizes this right of the son. But even among writers that generally follow the Mit. there were some that could not bring themselves to admit this right of the son. For example, the Madanapārijāta (p. 662) asserts that merely at the will of the son there can be no partition. Under the Dāyabhāga, these questions cannot arise, as the son has no right by birth in ancestral property.

This evolution of the son's right to demand partition even during the father's lifetime received a fillip from certain religious sentiments entertained in ancient times. Gaut. (28 4) remarks that if, instead of remaining united, brothers separate there is increase of spiritual merit (*vibhāge tu dharmavṛddhiḥ*). Manu IX. 111 states "they (the brothers) may stay united or may stay separate if they desire an increase of *dharmā*; by living separate *dharmā* increases; therefore separation is meritorious".¹⁰⁷²

1071. Vide *Jagui Kishore v Shyb Sahas* 5 All 430 (F. B.), *Rameswar v Lachmi* 31 Cal 111, *Subba v Ganas*, 18 Mad. 179, *Disambar v. Dhanraj* 1 Patna 361.

1072. मनु IX. 111 is quoted as प्रजापति's by स्वयं. नि. p 408. The *सद्गुरुन* regards मनु and प्रजापति as different 'दृष्टव्यैवमित्येकमेकरणं (इहैवैव निमेषक्षणा विभजेतिरप्याहमनुमन्त्रप्रजापति एव सह वसेयुरा' etc.).

This shows that there was an option either to remain joint after the father's death or to become separate. Śāṅkha-Likhita say that brothers may stay together since being united they will prosper (materially).¹⁰⁷³ Br. provides that in the case of members of a joint family that live together and have a common kitchen the worship of gods, Manes and brāhmanas is single for all, while when they become separate such worship will be separately carried on in each house.¹⁰⁷⁴ Nār. (dāyabhāga 37) lays down that when brothers are undivided the performance of religious acts is single for all of them but when there is a partition, the religious acts are separately performed by each. Dharma means here mainly such religious acts as the performance¹⁰⁷⁵ of the five great daily sacrifices (*pañca mahāyajñas*). When the family is joint, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva, honouring of family guests are only single for the whole family and all participate in the spiritual benefits derived from such acts, but when the members become separate, each performs these religious acts separately. Manu III. 67 lays down that each householder has to perform with the *grhya* fire kindled at the time of marriage all *grhya* rites such as morning and evening offerings, the five great sacrifices and the daily cooking of food. The Sangraha seems to have held that *dharma* refers to the performance of *agnihotra*, but the Sm. C. II. p. 259 and V. P. (437-438) do not accept this and hold that even when joint any coparcener can perform all *śrauta* and *smārta* rites like *agnihotra* with the help of the undivided joint estate and so *dharma* means only the worship of gods and Manes and the honouring of guests. Vyāsa¹⁰⁷⁶ also has a verse similar to Nār. and Br.

1073. कामं वसेयुरेकतः संहता वृद्धिमाचक्षीरन् । शङ्खलिखितौ in वि. र. p. 458. The मदनरत्न reads सह वसेयुः and आपद्येरन्

1074. एकपाकेन वसता पितृदेवहिजार्चनम् । एक भवेद्विभक्तानां तदेव स्याद् यदे यदे ॥ बृह. q. by अपरार्क p. 719, व्यव नि. p. 468, कुल्लूक on मनु IX. 111, हरदत्त on गौ. 28. 4, वि. र. p. 459

1075. अधीतवेदेषु अधिगतवेदार्थेषु चाग्निहोत्राद्यष्टष्टानसमर्थेषु च विभाग एव श्रेयान् । अपरार्क p. 719; धर्मः पितृदेवहिजार्चनजन्यः । उक्तं च तथैव संग्रहकारेण । क्रियते स्व विभागेन पुत्राणां पैतृकं धनम् । स्वत्वे सति प्रवर्तन्ते तस्माद्धर्म्यां वृथक् क्रिया ॥ यवर्तन्ते स्वसाध्याग्निहोत्रादय इति शेषः । अत्रोच्यते &c. । स्मृतिच. III. p. 259, तस्मात्पञ्चमहायज्ञादिधर्म एव धर्मशब्देनात्र ग्राह्यः । व्य. म. p. 438, स्वत्वाविशेषादेवाविभक्तद्वयेण यत्कृतं तत्र दृष्टादृष्टे कर्मणि सर्वेषां फलभागित्वम् । दायतत्त्व p. 164

1076. आश्रुणा जीवतोऽपि पित्रोः सहवासो विधीयते । तदभावे विभक्तानां धर्मस्तेषां विवर्धते ॥ व्यास q. by अपरार्क p. 719, व्यव नि. p. 409, दायभाग III. 8.

Partition was generally made when all the coparceners were major,¹⁰⁷⁷ but from Kaut (III 5), Baud Dh. S. (II 2 42) and Kāt. (844-45) it appears that the minority of a coparcener did not operate as a bar to partition. Kaut. (III 5) says 'partition takes place when the persons separating have attained majority; but (the separating coparceners) should keep in the custody of the mother's relatives of those coparceners who are minors or of the elders of the village the share of the minors after all debts of the family are paid off, till the minor coparceners attain majority. The same rule applies to a member (of a joint family) that has gone abroad'. Baud. employs almost the same words. Kāt. provides "partition is ordained among coparceners who have attained (years of) understanding of worldly affairs and in the case of males they attain this understanding at the 16th year. The property (share in joint family estate) of those who have not attained years of discretion, being made free from expenses (debts etc.), should be kept (by the other major coparceners) with the relatives or friends of the minor members. The same should be done to the share of those who have gone abroad." This shows that partition could take place even when some members of the family were minors and even a single member could demand at his will a partition of his share as expressly stated by the *Dayabhāga* (III 16-17), the V P. and other works¹⁰⁷⁸. There is a controversy among commentators whether minority terminated at the beginning or end of the 16th year. *Nār.* IV. 35 states¹⁰⁷⁹ that a person is a minor (*bāla*) till the 16th year. From a verse (attributed to *Angīras* by *Mit.* on *Yāj* III 243 and quoted without name by *Haradatta* on *Gaut.* II 6) it appears that one was to be regarded as a *bāla* till

1077. मातृव्यवहाराणां विभागः । अमातृव्यवहाराणां देयविद्युद्धं मातृव्यधुषु ग्रामवृद्धेषु वा स्थापयेदुराव्यवहारमापणात् । अपितस्य वा । अर्थशास्त्र III 5, तेषाममातृव्यवहाराणामज्ञानं सोपचयान्न मुनिमुत्तान्निदुष्युराव्यवहारमापणात् । नौ ध II 2 42, संमातृव्यवहाराणां विभागश्च विधीयते । पुंसां च पोटके वर्षे जायते व्यवहारास्ताः ॥ अमातृव्यवहाराणां च धनं व्यय-विभक्तिम् । न्यसेदुर्बन्धुमित्रेषु मोषितानां तथैव च ॥ कात्या 844-845 q by अपराकं p 722, दापभाग (III 17 p. 72) and च. म. p 460 (last two have verse 845 only) The विवादचन्द्र (p. 63) quotes the verse समातः for the proposition that there is to be no partition with a minor 'चालिन सम न विभागः समातः इति वचनात्'.

1078 अत्र च पुत्रेच्छया यो जीवद्विभागो यश्चाजीवद्विभागः स एकेच्छयापि भवत्य-विशेषात् । अत एव विभागः प्रक्रम्य यत्कात्यायनेनोक्तं—अमातः, इति तदपि सङ्गतम् । अन्यथा तदुत्तमतिमन्तरं विभागमात्रे तद्धनस्य बन्धुमित्रेषु न्यासविधानमनुपपन्नं स्यात् । च. म. p 460.

1079. चाल आ पोटशाद्वर्षास्त्रोगण्ड इति शस्यते । नारद (क्रणदान 35)

the beginning of the 16th year.¹⁰⁸⁰ A verse of Kāt appears to hold that minority ends at the beginning of the 16th year; many commentators also hold this view, but several such as Haradatta (on Gaut X. 48), V. R. p. 599, V. P. p. 263 expressly state that minority ends at the end of the 16th year.¹⁰⁸¹ It may be stated that according to Gaut X. 48-49, Manu VIII 27, Vas. 16. 8, Visnu Dh. S. III. 65 the king was to guard the property of minors, women and helpless people. In modern times under the Indian Majority Act (Act IX of 1875) the age of majority is 18 (or 21 in certain cases only) except in matters of marriage, dower, divorce and adoption. In these last matters the ancient Hindu Law will apply to Hindus^{1081a}. Similarly a partition could be made even though the wife of a coparcener was pregnant. It was therefore that Vas. 17. 41 advised postponing partition till the delivery of the pregnant wives of coparceners, or Yāj. II. 122 and Manu IX. 216 provide for a son born after partition between father and sons.

The next question is what property is liable to be partitioned. A few preliminary remarks on property must be made here. Property is generally divided by most smrtis into two kinds, *sthāvāva* (immovable, such as lands and houses) and *janqama* (movable). For example, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 323 verse 17) and Kāt (516) speak of both kinds of property as subjects of pledges or mortgages. There is another classification in Yāj. II. 121 and a few other smrtis viz. property is of three kinds.

1080. अशीतिर्यस्य वर्षाणि बालो वाप्यनयोदशः । प्रायश्चित्तार्थमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव च ॥ इत्यङ्गिरस्स्मरणात् । मिता. on या II, 243

1081. यावत्सौ व्यवहारमास षोडशवर्षा भवति । हरदत्ते on गौ X 48. पुत्राधिकारे बौधायन. तेषामागत्यव्यवहाराणां । आद्य् अभिविधौ तेन सप्तदशवर्षाभ्याम् । वि. र. p 599. कत्यायनोपि । नामासव्यवहारैस्तु । इति । नामासव्यवहारे हेयोपादेयपरिज्ञानविशेष-सहितैः षोडशवर्षैरित्यर्थः । षोडशवर्षिकस्य व्यवहारज्ञत्वमाह । गर्भरथे &c (नारद IV 35) । प्य. प्र. p 263.

1081a In Bengal minority was held to terminate at the end of the 15th year, vide *Cally Churn v Bhuggobutty* 10 Bengal L. R. 231 (F. B.) at p. 240 and *Mothoormohun v Sourendro* 1 Cal 108 (F. B.) In Bombay and Madras it has been held to terminate at the end of the 16th year, vide *Shivaji v Datu* 12 Bom. H. C. R. 281, *Reade v. Krishna* 9 Mad. 391, 397. But see 40 Mad 925, 929. As the Indian Majority Act does not apply to adoption, it was held in *Basappa, v Sidramappa* 43 Bom. 481 that a Hindu widow who was about 15 years old could validly adopt a son, even though a contract by her would have been void on the ground of minority.

bhū (land including houses), *nibandha*¹⁰⁸² (inaccurately rendered as 'corrody') and *dravya* (gold, silver and other movables). Sometimes however the word "dravya" is employed in the sense of all property, whether movable or immovable, as in Br. (*dravye pitāmahopātte jagame śhātare tāhā*) quoted in note 1032 above. Property, according to ancient Hindu Law,

1082. दत्ता भुक्तिं निबन्धं वा कृत्वा लेख्यं तु कारयेत् । आगामिभद्रवृत्तिपरिज्ञानाय पाथिव. ॥ याज्ञ I. 318. The *vy* मयूख p 27 states that it occurs in बृह. also. In कार्या (882) we have उदकं चैव दासश्च निबन्धो यः कस्यगतः (q by अपराक p. 725, वि. र. p 504) 'निबन्धो वाणिज्यादिकारिभिः प्रतिवर्षं प्रतिमासं वा किञ्चिद्वनमसं ब्राह्मणाचार्यैः देवतायै वा देयमित्यादि मधुसूदनमयोऽर्थः । स्मृतिच II p 55, निबन्धः आकरादौ राजादिदत्तं नियतलभ्यम् । *vy* मयूख p 28 and दीपकालिका (reading नियतद्रव्यम्); दायतत्त्व p 166 states that this was the explanation given by कल्पतरु. निबन्धो राजास्यकरयैकस्मिन् वर्णभरकक्रयकभरकादावियन्ति पर्णादीनि देयानीति शासनरूपतया यद् वृत्तिरेव दीयते तदुच्यते । *vy* p p 445

The word "nibandha" means a periodic payment or allowance in cash or kind permanently granted by a king, a corporation or a village or a caste to a person, a family, a *math* or a temple. The *Mit* (on *Yā*) I 318 and II 121 explains it as a delivery or payment of so many leaves (of betel or the like) on each bundle of leaves or so many rupees on each load of merchandise or so many betelnuts on each load of betelnuts; the *Sm* 'C. explains it as the wealth to be obtained under the order or direction of a king or other authority that dealers in commodities should pay every year or month a certain amount to a certain brāhmana or shrine, the *V. Mayūkha* (p 28) explains "what is granted by a king or the like, to be obtained at, fixed times from mines and the 'like" and on p 131 paraphrases it as "vrtti". *Nibandha* is rendered as corrody by Colebrooke in his *Digest*, but as observed by the Privy Council in *Fattehsangh v. Desai Kallianrao* L. R. 1 I A. 34 at p 51 it is not a very happy rendering. In *Ghulabhai v. Hargovan* 36 Bom 94 (at p. 101) the explanation of *nibandha* by the *V. Mayūkha* is construed as conveying that it is not the king alone who can make a grant of a *nibandha* and it is held that the office of a hereditary priest (*yajamāna-vrtti*) is a *nibandha* and ranks as immovable property. Bombay Regulation V of 1827, section 1, clause 1 includes hereditary offices among immovable property. Vide *Collector of Thana v. Krishnanath* 5 Bom 322 at pp 331-32 (for a discussion of what is included in *nibandha*), *Collector of Thana v. Hari* 6 Bom 546 (F. B.) at pp 555-559, *Lakshmandas v. Manohar* 10 Bom 149, *Jatindra Mohan v. Ghanashyama* 50 Cal 266 at p 271 (for various definitions of *nibandha* and for the view that an annuity in favour of the settlor's daughter for her life and then to her son charged on and payable out of the settlor's estate was a *nibandha*). With *Vijñānesvara*'s examples of *nibandha* one may compare an inscription of *śaka* 1058 (1167 A. D.) from the *Ron Taluka* of *Dharwar District* in *E. I.* vol. 20 p. 109 at p. 121 ('the income granted by the dealers in betel leaves, a hundred leaves for one cart load, a hundred for a bullock load, fifty for a man's load')

may be divided into two classes, (1) joint family property, (2) separate property. Joint family property is either ancestral property or property jointly acquired¹⁰⁸³ with or without the aid of ancestral property or property acquired separately but thrown into the common stock (Manu IX. 204) The Mit on Yāj 1 120 states 'among unseparated brothers, if the common stock be improved or augmented by one of them through agriculture, trade or similar means, an equal distribution nevertheless takes place and a double share is not allotted to the acquirer.' This contains the doctrine of merger of estate by blending. Vide *Shubuprasad v Prayag Kumari* L. R. 59 I. A. 331 = 34 Bom. L. R. 1567. Ancestral property (*aprabandha dāya*) is all property inherited by a male from his father, paternal grandfather or paternal great-grandfather, in which according to the Mit. School, the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons¹⁰⁸⁴ of the person who inherits it acquire an interest *by birth*. Separate property also includes what is called self-acquired property (*svārjita*), which will be discussed a little later on. If a person obtains a share of ancestral property on partition, it has been held that it is his separate property if he has no son, grandson or great-grandson, but if there be any of these then it is ancestral property in his hands so far as he and any of his male descendants are concerned. Under the *Dāyabhāga*, as the son does not acquire ownership by birth in ancestral property, there is hardly any distinction between ancestral property and separate property so far as the father's powers of alienation are concerned. A few of the outstanding features of the *Dāyabhāga* system have already been set out above and some may be discussed later

1083 सामान्यार्थसमुद्धाने विभागस्तु समः स्युत । या. II 120, समवेतसु यत्नात् सर्वे तत्र समाहिताः । तस्युक्ता विषमसमाः पितृभागहराः । स्युताः ॥ बृह. ५ by अपरार्क p 727, चव. नि p 424, वि. १ p 481, आतृणामविभक्ताना यद्युत्थान भवेत्सह । न पुत्रभागे विषम पितृ दद्यात्कथञ्चन ॥ मनु IX 215 (= अनुशासनपर्व 105 13).

1084. The Mit. speaks only of the son's and grandson's right by birth in ancestral property and does not expressly mention the great-grandson. But other writers like the author of the *Viramitrodaya* quoted above in note 1069 mention the great-grandson as having a right by birth and this has been accepted by the courts. The words 'ancestral property' have a technical sense viz. it is *pāstāmaha* i. e. paternal grandfather's or great-grandfather's property. Vide *Muhammad Husain v Kishwa Nandan* 64 I A 250 where this is made clear. In a recent case from Patna, 23 Patna 599 (F B), it has been held that, where a grandfather makes a gift of his self-acquired property to his son (the father), the son or sons of the latter can treat it as ancestral property and take an interest in it by birth unless the gift makes it clear that it was made exclusively for the donee's benefit only.

A person while he is a member of a joint Hindu family under the Mit and has an interest in joint family property may have separate property of his own acquired in various ways. The different sources of ownership have been already mentioned above (pp. 317 and 548). The different kinds of separate property are mainly these: (1) property taken as obstructed heritage, that is, property inherited from any person other than the father, father's father or father's father's father (such as a brother, uncle etc.)¹⁰⁸⁵; (2) a gift of a small portion of ancestral movable property made through affection by the father to his issue (smṛti quoted by Mit.)¹⁰⁸⁶, (3) gift or bequest of separate property made by the father¹⁰⁸⁷ to his sons; (4) gifts and bequests made by other relations and friends and gifts at the time of marriage; (5) ancestral property lost to the family and recovered from a stranger by a member of a joint family with his own efforts without assistance from joint family property; (6) separate earnings and gains of learning or science (*vidyādhana*). A few remarks will be made on some of these in the sequel.

It is a remarkable fact that the smṛti texts on separate property do not expressly mention gifts received from strangers by a member of a joint family as the separate property of that particular member. The only gifts mentioned are those from friends, or those received at the time of marriage (called *audvāḥuka* in Yāj. II. 118 and Manu IX 206) or at a *madhuparka* in

1085 A decision of the P. C. from Madras held that property inherited by two brothers living as members of a joint family from their maternal grandfather became joint property in their hands with rights of survivorship. Vide *Venkayamma v. Venkataramanayamma* L. R. 29 I A 156. See 27 Mad 300 (F. B.) and 29 All 667 for the difficulties caused by L. R. 29 I A. 156. But it may be taken that even in Madras such property inherited from the maternal grandfather will now be held to be the separate property of the two brothers. Vide *Muhammad Husain Khan v. Kishwa Nandan Sahai* L. R. 64 I A 250 which explains away (on pp. 264-265) the case of L. R. 29 I. A. 156.

1086 शौचभार्यायमेवोभियच्छन् विद्याधनं भवेत् । कीर्त्येताम्प्रविभाज्यानि प्रसादो यश्च पैतृकः ॥ १ by मित्रा, in intro. to Yāj. II. 114; स्पष्ट. नि p. 443, वि. र. p. 501 ascribe it to Nārada (it is चारुद्र, द्वायभाग 6).

1087. In Bombay, Allahabad and Oudh such gifts by the father of his separate property are held to be separate property of the son or sons. Vide *Jugmohandas v. Sir Mangaldas* 10 Bom 528, 579. But in Calcutta they are held to be ancestral (*Hazari Mall v. Abanmuth* 17 C. W. N. 280) and in Madras it is a question of intention (*Nagalingam v. Ramchandra* 24 Mad. 429.)

honour of a learned man, a priest etc. It is probable that gifts from strangers to a member of the joint family that did not fall within the several classes of separate property mentioned above belonged to the whole family. The concept of the separate property of a member of a joint family was of slow growth. Originally all property however acquired by any member might have been held to belong to the whole family. This is indicated to some extent by Manu VIII. 416, which was (as shown above on pp. 555-556) however interpreted by Śābara, Medhatithi, the Dāyabhāga and others in subsequent times, as meaning that the acquirer (son or wife) had no independent power of disposal though he or she was owner of what was earned by him or her. It is noticeable that so late a writer as Haradatta¹⁰⁸⁸ relies on this verse of Manu and remarks that while the father is alive whatever is earned by a member, whether learned or not, belongs to the father (on Gaut 28 29). The Dāyabhāga¹⁰⁸⁹ (II. 66-72) quotes a text of Kāt. (851) "the father gets two shares or half of the wealth acquired by the son" and explains it in two ways. If the son acquires wealth with the help of ancestral funds, the father takes half of it, the acquirer gets two shares and the other sons one share each. If the son acquires wealth without using ancestral funds, the father and acquirer take two shares each and the others take nothing. Another meaning is that if the father is learned he takes half, but if he is not so, he takes only two shares. The V P. (pp 444-45) severely criticizes the Dāyabhāga for these remarks. The first inroad on the conception that the earnings of all in the family belonged to the head of the family was made in the times of the sūtras by the recognition of *udyaūdhanā* as separate property. Manu¹⁰⁹⁰ IX. 208 (= Viṣṇu Dh. 8. 18. 42) states that what one (member of a joint family, a brother, etc.) may acquire by his own labour without using (or without detriment to) paternal estate he shall

1088. तत्र सूत्रद्वयमपि चैतद् आनुविपयमेव । पितरि तु जीवति . विदुषाविदुषा वा-
विभक्तेनाजितं पितुरेव । भार्या पुत्रश्च तद्धनम् ॥ इति मनु । हरदत्त on मी 28 29

1089. तथा पुत्राजितेति घने पितुर्गृहद्वयं द्वारंशाविति युक्तीर्तांशद्वयमिति चाविकोशमुते ।
सुप्यक्तमाह कात्यायनः । चक्षुःशरोर्धरो, वा पुत्रवित्तार्जनात् पिता । मातापि पितरि श्रेते
पुत्रवृत्त्याश्रमाग्निनी । . . . तत्र पितृद्वयोपघातेन पुत्राजितवित्तस्यार्थं पितुर्जकस्य पुत्रस्य-
शङ्कपतितरेषामेकैकाशिता । अनुपघाते तु पितुर्गृहद्वयमर्जकस्यापि तावदेव इतरेषामनशितम् ।
यद्वा विद्याविदुषसम्पत्तस्य पितुर्धेहरत्नं विद्यादिनापि ज्येष्ठस्यैवाधिकदर्शनात्, विद्यादिभ्यस्तस्य
जमकतामात्रेण ह्यनशितम् । दायभाग II. 66-72, pp 49-52

1090. अनुशासन 105. 12 closely resembles मनु IX 208 It is 'अनुपपन्नं
पितुर्द्वयं जङ्गमममकलोष्णं । स्वयमीहितलब्धं तु नाकामो दातुमर्हति ॥'

not share with others if he does not desire to do so, because that acquisition was made by his own activity. Manu IX. 206 mentions besides *vidyādhana*, gifts from friends, gifts at the time of marriage and at *madhuparka* as the separate property of a person Yāj. (II. 118-119) prescribes: 'whatever is acquired by a person himself without detriment to or expenditure of paternal wealth, gifts from friends, gifts at marriage, these are not liable to be divided among a man's coparceners; similarly he who recovers ancestral property lost to the family (and not recovered by the father and others) would not have to share it at a partition with his coparceners nor his gains of learning'. The construction to be put on these words was a bone of contention even before Viśvarūpa. The Mit. understands that the words 'whatever is acquired without detriment to the paternal wealth' are to be understood as qualifying each of the following four kinds of property.¹⁰⁹¹ The result is that if a gift is acquired by a member from a grateful person who was placed under obligation by spending family wealth, if property was acquired by gift from a father-in-law who was paid from the family property some wealth for securing the bride for that member (as in an *āsura* marriage) or if the property lost to the family was recovered with the help of paternal estate or if a man learnt at the expense of the family and made gains from that learning, then these kinds of properties were liable to be partitioned among all members. The result of taking the first half of Yāj II 118 as a qualification of the subsequent four kinds of property (as done by the Mit.) is that if a man receives a gift from a stranger even without detriment to the paternal estate the gift was liable to be divided among all members. The reason of the Mit. is that, if the first half of Yāj II 118 is not a qualifying clause of the four kinds of property, then the following four kinds need not be expressly mentioned at all. If whatever is acquired by a member himself without

1091. अत्र च पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन यत्किञ्चित्त्वयमजितमिति सर्वशेषः । . . तथा पितृ-
द्रव्याविरोधेनैवत्यस्य सर्वशेषत्वादेव पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन यतिग्रहलब्धमपि विभजनीयम् । मित्ता on
या. II. 118-119. The word शेष is used here in the technical sense of *Jai-*
mini III 1 2 (*śeṣaḥ parārthatvāt*) on which Sabara says 'यस्तु अत्यन्तं परार्थस्तं
सर्वं शेष इति व्रतः' । विश्वरूप is opposed to this 'पितृद्रव्योपघातेनापि नैत्राद्यविभाज्यमेव,
आरम्भसामर्थ्यात् । अन्ये तु नैत्रादिकमेव पितृधनादुपघाताजितमविभाज्यमिच्छन्ति.' On
या. II 118 the द्वायभाग remarks नैत्रादियहर्णं मदर्शनार्थम् and again (VI. 1. 39
p 115) तस्मात्साधारण्यनोपघाताजितं धनं विभजेदिति विधिः । शौर्याद्विपदं च वाक्येभ्य
मदर्शनार्थम् ।

detriment to paternal or joint estate is by itself separate property then the following four will only be particular illustrations of the proposition contained in the first half of Yāj II 118. It would be opposed to the usage of *sistas* to say that gifts from friends or gifts at the time of marriage or gains of learning acquired at the expense of the family estate become the separate property of a person and, as to *vidyādhana* acquired from learning at the expense of the family, opposed to the express text of Nār. (dāyabhāga 10) "when one brother maintains the family of another brother who is engaged in studying the śāstras, he shall receive a share of the wealth gained by that study, though he (the supporting brother) be ignorant himself". Further, if the first half of Yāj II 118 were taken as a separate and independent clause by itself then it would follow that what is acquired by *pratisgraha* (as a gift to a learned brāhmana) without detriment to the paternal estate would be indivisible but the usage of the *sistas* is the opposite of this. That there was such a usage about *pratisgraha* is admitted by the Dāyabhāga (VI. 1 54 p 121). It must be stated however that this view of the Mit. about the first half of Yāj II 118 is not shared by several writers and works such as the Dāyabhāga VI. 1. 8 p. 106, Dipakalika, Viśvarūpa, V. R. p 501, Aparārka p. 723.

As regards family property lost to the family by the adverse acts of a stranger but recovered by a member with his own efforts without using ancestral estate, certain provisions deserve notice. Manu IX. 209 (= Visnu Dh. S. 18 43), Br. (S. B. E 33 p 371 verse 12) and Kāt¹⁰⁹² (866) lay down the special rule that if the father recovers property lost to the family, whether movable or immovable, with his own effort without using joint family funds, he may retain the whole of it as his self-acquisition. The rule of Yāj. II 119 applies only where the property lost and recovered by one member (not the father) with his own effort and without assistance from joint estate is movable (which then becomes wholly his self-acquisition), but if the property so recovered by one member (who is

1092 अनाभित्य पितृद्वयं स्वशक्यामोति यज्ञनम् । दायादेशो न तद् दद्याद्विद्यातमं
 न यज्ञवेत् । व्यास प by वि र p, 502, स्मृतिच. II p 276, दायभाग VI. 1 5 p 106
 and VI. 1 36 p 113. स्वशक्यापदं नष्ट स्वयमाप्त च यज्ञवेत् । गतसर्वं पिता पुत्रैर्निर्भाण
 नेव दास्यते ॥ कारवा 866 प by अपरार्क p. 728, स्मृतिच II p 280, परा मा
 III. p 498

not the father) is land, then the recoverer gets one fourth of it as his reward (according to Śāṅkha)¹⁰⁹³ and the remainder is divided equally among all members of the family including the recoverer. These rules have been followed in modern times by the British Indian Courts¹⁰⁹⁴.

Vidyādhana (gains of learning) has undergone the greatest changes of fortune since the earliest times to modern days. It was probably the first kind of self-acquisition recognised in very early times. Though the Āp. Dh S and Baud. Dh S. say nothing about it, yet Gaut^{1094a} (28. 28-29) lays down that all members (of a joint family), if not learned, should divide equally whatever is earned by them (by agriculture etc.) but what a learned man himself acquires by his learning he may not share with his unlearned brothers if he so desires. Hara-datta says that this applies only between brothers that are joint. Vasistha 17. 51 appears¹⁰⁹⁵ to give two shares to the acquirer of wealth at a partition among brothers and his rule probably represents a very early stage when the acquirer could not retain the whole of his self-acquisition but got only two shares

1093 एव च पूर्वनष्टा च यो भूमिमेकश्चेदुद्धरेच्छमात् । यथाभागं भजन्यग्नये दत्वांशं तु तुरीयकम् ॥ इति शाङ्ख्यचर्चनं आश्रयमुद्धृतविषयम् । अत्र स्वयं तुरीयांशं ग्रहीत्वा भ्रात्रादिभिः सहोद्धर्ता शुद्धीपाद्व्यया विषमदृष्ट स्यात् । द्वायतत्त्वं p. 166 and p. 177. The *mita*. (as printed) reads उद्धरेत् क्रमात् (which seems to be a misreading for अमात्) and remarks 'तत्र क्षेत्रे तुरीयाशुद्धर्ता लभते दोषं तु सर्वेषां सममेव' and it requires that the recovery must be with the consent of the other members. Vide *मद्. पा* 684 and द्वायभाग VI. 2. 38-39 p. 129. The *वि. र.* (p. 499) attributes it to हारीत and remarks 'यत्र सहितायां हारीतः पूर्वनष्टा.. तुरीयकमिति वाक्यं लिखति स्म तत्र स्मृतिमहर्षिणवकामधेयकल्पतरुपारिजातमधृत्यलिखनादुक्तमेव'. This remark of *वि. र.* is quoted by the द्वायतत्त्वं (p. 177) and dissented from, as the *mita*skara and द्वायभाग cite this verse. As the verse is stated by the *वि. र.* to be not found in the पारिजात and as it is quoted in the *मदनपारिजात* it follows that the पारिजात is a different work from the *मद्. पा*.

1094. Vide for example, 5 *Mad. H. C. R.* 150 at p. 152-153, 4 *Mad.* 250 at pp. 259-260, *Bajaba v Trimbak* 34 *Bom.* 106 at pp. 110-111.

1094a स्वयमर्जितमवैद्येभ्यो वैद्य-कामं न दद्यात् । अवैद्या समं विभजेरन् । गो 28 28-29, विद्यामधीते इति वैद्यः । हरदत्तः, पाणिनि IV. 2. 59 is 'तदधीते तद्वैद्यः'.

1095. येन वैद्यः स्वयमुपाजितं स्यात्त व्यशमेव ददेत् । वसिष्ठ 17. 51 (which reads स्वयमुपाजितं स्यात्) *mita* on *या. II* 119 and *स्मृतिच.* II. p. 275 read as above, द्वायभाग II. 41 p. 42 as समुपाजितं, परा. मा III 560 'यदुपाजितं'.

in it and the rest of the joint family members took one share each in it. Manu IX. 206, Yāj. II. 119, Nār (dāyabhāga 11), Kāt¹⁰⁹⁶ (868) and Vyāsa say generally that *vidyādhana* is not liable to be divided at a partition. Among writers of *smṛtis* Kāt contains the most elaborate treatment of *vidyādhana* and of self-acquisitions in general. It will be set out in the sequel. But some of the *smṛtis* point out that even *vidyādhana* is partible, if learning was acquired at the expense of the family funds (as in Nār dāyabhāga 10 referred to above) or when the learning was acquired in the family house itself from the father or an elder brother (Kāt¹⁰⁹⁷ 874). The Dāyabhāga (VI 1 42-49) discusses at great length the views of Śrīkara on Yāj. II. 118 and Manu IX. 208 and dissents from them and states his conclusion as follows. A man since his birth depends upon his family for food and maintenance and so if the words "without expending ancestral estate" were literally and widely interpreted, hardly any man can say that no paternal wealth was expended on him and so earnings of whatever kind would have to be deemed to be partible and there would be no propriety or purpose in the words of Manu IX. 208. Therefore it must be understood as done by Viśvarūpa that the detriment meant is not the expenditure of food in maintaining a person in the house from infancy, but that when a member acquires estate by his learning or in any other way without giving or spending paternal wealth for acquiring that, then only it becomes his self-acquisition¹⁰⁹⁸.

1096. उपन्यस्ते तु यल्लब्धं विद्याया पणपूर्वकम् । विद्याधनं तु तद्विद्याद् विभागे न विभज्यते ॥ कात्या. 868 q. by अपरार्क p 724, कुल्लूक on मनु IX 206, दायभाग VI 2 1 p 122, विद्याभास शौर्यधनं यच्च सीदायिक भवेत् । विभागकाले तत्तस्य नान्येदृग्यं स्वरि-विधिभिः । व्यास q by अपरार्क p 725 स्मृतिच II. p 274.

1097 वैद्यो वैधाय नाकालो दयार्द्धं स्वतो धनात् । पितृ द्रव्यं समाभित्य न चेतन तदाहृतम् ॥ नारद, दायभाग 11 ; कुले विनीतविद्यानां भ्रातृणा पितृतोषि वा । शौर्यात्मांश्च ह यद्विक्तं विभाज्य तद् बृहस्पतिः । कात्या. 874 q by स्मृतिच II p 275, परा मा III. p. 560, न्य म. p. 126 From this verse it appears that Kāt echoes the views of Br. In the दाय नि p. 447 this verse is ascribed to बृह

1098. यतो विशेषणानर्थक्यादेव भक्षणाद्युपभोगोपयुक्तधनोपघातादप्यस्यैवोपघातादिरूपस्य वर्जनार्थत्वात् । अत एवोक्तं विश्वरूपेण पितृद्रव्यं दत्त्वा यदि नोपाजितं धनं तदा तस्यैवासाधारणं वैवाहिकभवेदोक्तं न तु भक्षणाद्युपभोगमात्रेण तस्य सन्त्ययानादितुल्यत्वादि-त्यन्तेन । दायभाग VI 1 47 and 49 pp. 118-119 The printed विश्वरूप has no corresponding passage.

Kāt. (867-873) defines¹⁰⁹⁹ and illustrates vidyādhana as follows:—

That wealth is said to be the gains of *vidyā* which is acquired by means of learning received from another while subsisting on food furnished by others, when a matter (a doubt or difficult point) has been placed (before an assembly of learned men) with a wager, whatever is gained by (the display of) one's learning is known as *vidyādhana*, which is not divided at a partition. What is acquired from a pupil (i. e. by following the profession of teaching), by performing the work of a priest at a sacrifice, by propounding a question, by solving a doubtful point, by exhibiting one's knowledge, by disputation with a rival, what is gained by deep learning—all these are declared to be *vidyādhana*, which is not divided at a partition. The same is the rule in the case of artisans and as to whatever is obtained (as a reward) over and above the proper price of an article (which surplus becomes the self-acquisition of the member selling it) After vanquishing a rival in a wager whatever is obtained by (superior) knowledge should be known as *vidyādhana* and it is not liable to be partitioned. This is the view of Brhaspati. What is earned by an assertion of one's learning, what is obtained from a pupil (i. e. by teaching) and what is acquired on the analogy of priests officiating at a sacrifice—all these are known as *vidyādhana*, according to Bhṛgu. What is obtained by the superiority of one's learning and from a sacrificer and from a pupil—all this is declared to be *vidyādhana*; acquisitions other than these are common (i. e. jointly owned) with others.

Kāt distinguishes between *sauyadha* (reward given by the king or a master when pleased with a soldier or servant

1099. परभक्तोपयोगेन विद्या मासान्यतस्तु या । तया प्राप्तं धनं यत्तु विद्याय तं तदुच्यते ॥ उपन्यस्ते तु यल्लब्धं विद्याया एणपूर्वकम् । विद्याधनं तु तद्विद्याधिमाने न विभज्यते ॥ शिष्यादा-
लिङ्गपतः प्रश्नास्तद्विद्यप्रश्ननिर्णयात् । स्वज्ञानशंसनाद् वादाल्लब्धं प्राध्ययनाच्च यत् । विद्याधनं
तु तस्माद्विभागं न विभज्यते । शिल्पिष्वपि हि धर्मोयं मूल्याद्यन्वाधिकं भवेत् ॥ परं निरस्य
यल्लब्धं विद्याया एणपूर्वकम् । विद्याधनं तु तद्विद्याय विभाज्यं ब्रह्मरूपि ॥ विद्यामतिज्ञाया लब्धं
शिष्यादासं च यल्लब्धम् । ऋत्विङ्न्यायेन यल्लब्धमेतद्विद्याधनं शृणुः ॥ विद्यामल्लभ्यं चैव याज्यतः
शिष्यतस्तथा । एतद्विद्याधनं प्राहुः सामान्यं यदुत्तोरप्या ॥ कात्या 867-873 q by अपराकं
p 724, वि. र. p 502, व्य. म p 125, व्य. नि. (pp. 444-45) quotes all
except पर निरस्य, the first is quoted by the मिता on या II 118-119, all except
the first and last are quoted in the दायभाग VI. 2 1-14 which remarks at the end
तद्यमर्थं यथा कयाचिद् विद्याया यल्लब्धमर्जकरयैव तत्, नेतरेषाम् । प्रदर्शनार्थं तु कात्यायनेन
विस्तेरणोक्तं श्रीकरादिभ्रमनिरासार्थम् । अतः स्वज्ञानरूपापनादिना यत् प्रतिग्रहलब्धं तदपि
विद्याधनमेव विद्ययैव विद्युपे प्रतिग्रहदानात् ।

who putting his life in danger did an act of valour) and *dhvajāhṛta* (what is recovered in a battle after putting one's life in danger of death and after putting to flight the army of the adversary) *Nār* (dāyabhāga 6) and *Br* (S B E vol. 33 p. 381 verse 78) appear to put both under *saṃyādhanā*. *Kāt* divides the *bhūryādhanā* of *Nār* and *Br* into two, viz *lanyāgata* (what is obtained at the time of marriage with a maiden of the same caste) and *vanāhka* (wealth that comes with one's wife) So it is the same as the *vanāhka* (of Manu IX 206) and the *audāhka* (of Yāj II 118). Vyāsa mentions¹¹⁰⁰ a limitation that even wealth acquired by valour does not become the exclusive property of the acquirer if he used a horse and weapons belonging to the joint family; in such a case the acquirer gets two shares and the other members of the family one share each

In modern times *vidyādhanā* has been a fruitful source of litigation. The first verse of *Kāt* quoted above has been cited in several cases such as *Durga Dat v. Ganesh Dat* 32 All. 305 at p 312, where it is said that *Kātyāyana's* definition of *vidyādhanā* is not exhaustive, but only illustrative (the same is the view of the *Dāyabhāga*)

The leading cases that discuss the texts and lay down propositions are noted below¹¹⁰¹.

Two propositions were well established by the cases, viz (1) that money earned by a member of a joint Hindu family by the practice of a profession requiring special training was joint family property, provided such training was imparted at the expense of joint family property; (2) that gains made by personal labour and without the use or help of joint family funds by a member of a joint Hindu family, who was maintained out of joint family funds and received no more than an elementary or ordinary education suitable to his position as a member of that particular family were the self-acquisitions of such member. But all doubts and disputes are now set at rest by the Hindu

1100. साधारण समाश्रित्य यत्किञ्चिद्वाहनादुद्धत् । शौर्यादिनामोति धनं भ्रातरस्तत्र भागिनः । तस्य भागद्वयं देयं शेषास्तु समभागिनः ॥ व्यास ५ by अपरार्क p. 725, चव नि. p 446, च न p 127

1101 *Chalakonda Alasani v Chalakonda Ratnachalam* 2 Mad H C R 56, *Bas Manchha v. Narotamdas* 6 Bom H C. R (A C J) 1, *Pauliem v Pauliem* L. R. 41 A 109, *Lakshman v Jannabai* 6 Bom. 225, *Krishnay v. Moro* 15 Bom 32, *Metharam v Rewachand* 45 I. A. 41 (= 45 Cal 566), *Gokalchand v. Hukamchand* 48 I. A. 162.

Gains of Learning Act (Act XXX of 1930) which provides that, notwithstanding any custom, rule or interpretation of Hindu Law, no gains of learning (i. e. education whether elementary, technical, scientific, special or general and training of every kind which enables a person to pursue any trade, industry or avocation), whether made *before* or *after* the commencement of the Act, shall be held not to be the exclusive and separate property of the acquirer merely by reason of his learning having been wholly or in part imparted to him by any member, living or deceased, of his family or with the aid of the funds of the joint family or of any member thereof or by reason of himself or his family having, while he was acquiring his learning, been supported wholly or in part by the joint funds of the family or the funds of any member thereof. This Act is thus retrospective

All property of a joint family other than the separate property of individual members is liable to partition, i. e. as stated by Kat., property of the grandfather, of the father and whatever is acquired by each member (by the use of joint funds¹¹⁰² is so liable). Separate property is said to be impartible (*avibhāgya*) on account of the source from which or the manner in which it is acquired. But there are certain kinds of property which from their very nature are not allowed to be partitioned and have to be enjoyed in common or by turns.

The oldest provision on this point is contained in Gautama¹¹⁰³ (28. 44-45) that water (well), (property set apart or destined for) pious uses or sacrifices and food prepared (for festivals etc.) shall not be divided nor women connected with individual

1102 पैतामहं च पित्र्यं च यत्किञ्चित्स्वयमर्जितम् । दायादानां विभागे तु सर्वमेतद् विभज्यते ॥ कात्या. १ by दायभाग VI 1 1 p 105, स्मृतिच. II p 273, एष्व नि p 446, परा मा. III. p 556 'स्वयमर्जितं पित्राद्यविभक्तद्रव्योपयोगेन' स्मृतिच.

1103. उदकयोगसेमकृतान्नेष्वविभाग । स्त्रीषु च संयुक्ताह । गौ 28 44-45. This applies, acc to Haradatta, to the concubines not only of the father but also to those of any member of the joint family. Vide Nagabhar. v. Monghidat 53 I. A 153, 159-160 where Gaut. and Mit are quoted.

members of the family (as concubines). Śāṅkha-Likhita¹¹⁰⁴ forbid the partition of a building,^{1104a} water vessels, ornaments and clothes that are daily worn by the respective members. Similarly Uśanas says¹¹⁰⁵ "there is no partition among agnates even up to the thousandth generation of what is acquired by officiating as priests, of a field, of vehicles, prepared food, water and women". Prajāpati (quoted by Sm. C. II p 277) asserts that there is no partition of houses, fields and temples (*yājña*), gifts made through favour by the father or mother. The prohibition against dividing a house or a field is explained in three ways. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 119 explains that it has in view a brāhmana's son from a wife of the ksatriya or vaiśya class, when the brāhmana acquired it as a religious gift made to him for his learning, since Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 374 verse 30) states "land bestowed¹¹⁰⁶ as a gift on a brāhmana should not be given to the son (of the brāhmana) from a wife of the ksatriya caste; even if the father gives it to the son of the ksatriya wife, after the father's death, the son of the wife of the brāhmana class

1104 न वास्तुविभागो नोदपात्रालङ्कारोपयुक्तवाससाश्च । शङ्कल्लिखित q. by अपरार्क p 726, द्वायभाग VI. 2. 29 p 127, च. म. p. 129, नि. र. p. 503 This sūtra is variously read The द्वायभाग reads न वास्तुविभागो नोदपात्रालङ्कारोपयुक्तवाससामपि प्रचाररथ्यानां विभागश्चेति प्रजापतिः, while अपरार्क reads न चास्ति विभागो नोदपात्रालङ्कारोपयुक्तवाससाह्यप्रचाररथ्यानां विभागश्चेति प्रजापतिः, the नि. र. reads mostly like the द्वायभाग 'न .. नोदपात्रालङ्कारोपयुक्तवाससामपि प्रचार-रथ्यनामविभागश्चेति प्रजापतिः' and explains उदपात्र लोहवारिभाजन, अलकारोद्वन्पस्त एव, अउपयुक्तोपयुक्त तेनैकोपयोगविषयस्तीवाससा न विभाग इति प्राप्यते । अपा प्रचाररथ्यना ज प्रचारणमार्गाद् ।'. मेधा on मनु IX 219 seems to have this sūtra in view If the reading is अउपयुक्त it means 'what is of no use (as books to an ignorant member)', acc. to श्रीकृष्ण. स्त्री refers to women other than female slaves

1104a Compare sections 2 and 4 of the Partition Act (IV of 1893) about the division of a house and *Vaman v Vasudev* 23 Bom 73.

1105. अतिभायं सगोत्राणामा सहसकुलादपि । याजर्षे क्षेत्र च पत्र च कृतास्तुयुक्तं चिह्नः ॥ उद्गन्धश्च acc. to मित्त on या. II. 119, स्मृतिच II. p 277, परा मा III p 564, and व्यास acc. to द्वायभाग VI. 2 25 p 127, नि. र., च. म. p. 130, याज्य याजनकर्मलब्धश्च' मित्तः, 'याज्य यगस्थानं देवता वा न तु याजनलब्धं धनं तस्य विद्याधनत्वेनैव गतार्थत्वाद्' द्वायभाग Acc. to the Dāyabhāga, yājya means 'an idol or place of worship'. Three explanations are given in the च. म. p 130 'वास्तुक्षेत्रयोरविभाज्यत्वमाहुस्तद्धर्मवास्तुगोत्रप्रचारक्षेत्रादिपरम् । प्रतिग्रहोपायो-स्तयोः क्षत्रियादिविभागप्रतिषेधपरं पूर्वोक्तनिषेधात् । अल्पमूल्ययोर्मूल्येन विभागो न स्वल्पत इत्येवंपरं वा' । पितरौ जीवति यस्मिन्वास्तौ येन ग्रहोद्यानादिकं कृतं तस्यैवाविभाज्यं पितर-प्रतिषेधेनाश्रयतत्वात् । द्वायभाग p 128

1106. न प्रतिग्रहपूर्वेषां क्षत्रियादिविभूताय वै । यद्यप्येषां पिता द्यान्मृते विभासतो हरेत् ॥ q. by मित्त. on या. II 119 (without name), ascribed to बृह. by मेधा on मनु. IX. 153. च. म. नि. p. 431, च. म. p 103.

may take it away". Another explanation is that the prohibition refers to a site or dwelling for religious purposes and to a field that is meant for grazing cows. The third explanation is that the prohibition implies that when the house or field is of small value it should not be partitioned by metes and bounds, but there should be partitioning of the price only. The *Dayabhāga* gives yet another explanation (VI. 2. 30 p. 128) that if during the father's lifetime any of the sons builds a house or lays out a garden on a family site, then it should not be divided at a partition but assigned to him only.

The basic verse on things impartible from their very nature is Manu IX. 219¹¹⁰⁷ (= Visnu Dh. S. 18. 44) which says "clothes, vehicles, ornaments, cooked food, water (well etc.), women, *yogakṣema* and ways—these are declared to be impartible". All commentators explain that clothes ordinarily worn by the several members are impartible; provided they are more or less equal in value but not costly ones nor new ones. The same remark applies to vehicles and ornaments. *Pracāra* means either "ways leading to the house, garden and the like" (Mit, Aparārka, and V. P.) and also 'ways and pasture lands for cows and the like' (Sm. C. II. p. 277, Kullūka). The Mit. (on Yāj II. 118-119) states a special rule from Br. that¹¹⁰⁸ the clothes and ornaments worn by the father, the bed and the vehicle used by him should on his death be donated to the brāhmaṇa invited at the father's śrāddha. As to ornaments, the Mit. following Manu IX. 200 says that those ornaments that are ordinarily worn by the respective members or their wives should not be divided, but those that are not so used everyday should be divided. A well is to be enjoyed by turns and not to

1107. वस्त्रं पत्रमलङ्कारं कृताकृतद्वयं स्त्रियः । योगक्षेमं प्रचारं च न विभाज्यं प्रवक्षते ॥ मनु IX, 219, विष्णु reads न विभाज्यं च पुस्तकम्. The express mention of books in Visnu Dh S is an indication of its posteriority to Manu. Several meanings are assigned to पत्र, योगक्षेम and प्रचार by different writers. All commentators of Manu except Nandana explain पत्र as vehicle (i. e. a horse, cart &c.), while नन्दन reads पात्र (water vessel) and अपरार्क p. 725, वि. र. 504, मद्. पा. p. 685 explain पत्र as document evidencing a debt.

1108. पितृधृतवस्त्राणि तु पितृकृत्स्नं विभजता आह्नोभोक्त्रे दातव्यानि । यथाह बृह-स्पतिः । वस्त्रालङ्कारशय्यादि पितुर्यद्वाहनादिकम् । गन्धमाल्यैः समस्यन्त्य आह्नोभोक्त्रे समर्पये-दिति । निता. on या. II, 119.

be partitioned by valuing it.¹¹⁰⁹ If there be a single female slave (not a concubine) she was to be made to work for the divided members by turns, but if there be several slaves they could be assigned to each or their price could be divided. The expression "*yogakṣema*" has been variously explained from very ancient times. Laugākṣi (quoted by the Mit.) states "those who know the truth say that 'yoga' means 'sacrifices' and *kṣema* means *pūrta* (i. e. works of charity like wells). They both (i. e. the money set apart for these or the merit derived from these) are impartible, as are also the bed and the (wooden) seat (used by the father or other member)." From this verse the Mit. concludes that *yogakṣema* means sacrificial acts performed with śrauta or smārta fire and charitable gifts such as constructing a tank or park etc. For *ista* and *pūrta* vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 147, 843-844 and pp. 914-915 n. 2112 for the Mit. on *yogakṣema*. The words "yoga" and "kṣema" occur even in the Rgveda VII. 86. 8, X. 89. 10, X. 166. 5 and in Tai Br III. 9. 19. 3 and Ait. Br. 37. 2. Even though joint family funds are spent for these still they are impartible. The Mit. further states that according to some *yogakṣema* means¹¹¹⁰ "royal ministers and purohita" who bring about the welfare of people, while others hold that the word means "umbrella, *chourie*, weapons, shoes, and the like". From Gaut IX. 63 and XI. 16 it appears that *yogakṣema* came to mean even before Gautama's time "comfortable life" or "easy and happy way of maintenance" (particularly for a learned brāhmana). The V. R. p 504 tells¹¹¹¹ us that,

1109 Vide *Shantaram v. Waman* 47 Bom 389 for the proposition that, both according to the Mit. and the Vyavahāra-mayūkha, a piece of land reserved as a common passage at the time of partition cannot be subsequently divided and *Nathubhai v. Bai Hansgarvi* 36 Bom 379 and *Govind v. Trimbak* 36 Bom 275 for the propositions that rights of way and rights to wells and water belonging to a joint family are, if numerically unequal, indivisible, that there is a presumption that they continue joint and undivided even after partition, unless it is proved that at the partition a right of way or to water was exclusively allotted to a single member (at p. 277 and p. 282 the texts about water are quoted)

1110. योगक्षेमश्चैनं योगक्षेमकारिणो राजमन्त्रिपुरोहितादय उच्यन्त इति केचित् ।
उत्तरचामरशास्त्रीपानलघुतय इत्यन्ये । मिता on वा II 119 Vide *Parthasarathy v. Tiruvengada* 30 Mad 340, 343-44 for *yogakṣema* in the Mit

1111 योगक्षेमं पितृक्रमेण राजकुलादावुपजीव्यमिति प्रकाशः । हलायुधस्तु योगी योग-
हेतुर्नौकादि क्षेमः क्षेमहेतुर्गुणादीत्याह । वि. प 504 The meaning given by *Prakāśa* appears to be the one intended in some medieval grants called *yogakṣema* grants, for an instance of which vide *Yaman v. the Collector of Thanā* 6 Bom. H C. R. (A. C. J.) p. 191 at p. 196.

according to Prakāśa, yogaksema means "maintenance or annuity descending from the father (to the son) at a royal 'palace' and that Halāyudha explained yoga as meaning a ship or the like and ksema as fort. The Sm. C. II p. 277 after quoting Laugākṣi gives an alternative explanation that yogaksema means the wealth gained by a learned brāhmaṇa resorting to a rich man for his maintenance.¹¹¹²

Kauṭ. (III. 5) states¹¹¹³ the view of the ācāryas that those who are poor may divide even their water vessels and Kauṭ. adds that this dictum is fallacious or contradictory. Kāṭ. (882-884) brings together several things that are impartible¹¹¹⁴ "money that is entered in a document and is set apart for a religious purpose, water, women, a *subandha* (periodic gain) that descends hereditarily, clothes worn (on the body every day), ornaments, whatever else that is not fit to be divided—these should be so employed by co-sharers that they may be enjoyed (in common by all) at the proper time. A pasture for cattle, ways, clothes worn on the body (every day), money lent and what is set apart for religious purposes—these should not be divided This is the view of Brhaspati."

Brhaspati (S B. E. 33 p. 382 verses 79-84) has a good deal to say about things impartible. He finds fault with Manu IX. 219 for his somewhat wide proposition that clothes, ornaments

1112. अथवा योगक्षेमार्थं पतिविरसकाशाद् यो रिकथानां लाभः स एवात्र योग-क्षेमशब्देनोच्यते। स्मृतिच II. p. 277. गौ. IX 63 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 63, 1 prescribe योगक्षेमार्थं पतिविरसकाशाद् यो रिकथानां लाभः स एवात्र योग-क्षेमशब्देनोच्यते।

1113. उद्पात्राण्यपि निष्किञ्चन विभजेरभित्याचार्याः। छलनेतदिति कौटिल्यः। अर्थशास्त्र III 5 For the meaning of छल, vide व्याख्येय I 2. 51 कौटिल्य means that if a man has at least water pots he is not निष्किञ्चन so far, as, if he is really निष्किञ्चन, he can have no water pots even.

1114 धन एव निविष्टं तु धर्मार्थं च निरूपितम्। उदकं चैव दाराश्च निबन्धो यः क्रमा-यतः ॥ धृत वस्त्रमलङ्कारो नास्ति यस्तु यद्भवेत्। यथा कालोपर्याग्यानि तथा योज्यानि वस्तुभिः ॥ गोमचारश्च रथपा च वस्त्र यद्याहुर्नो जितम्। प्रयोज्यं न विभज्येत धर्मार्थं च ब्रूहस्पतिः ॥ कात्या 882-884 व by अपरार्क pp 725-726, वि र pp 504-505. स्मृतिच II. p 277 refers to the first and last, दापभाग VI. 2 27 p. 127 has the verse गोमचारश्च ऽऽ and reads प्रायोज्य and शिल्पार्थं for धर्मार्थम् दाराश्च is probably a misreading of दासश्च. The first half may be split up in two 'bond debts and what is set apart for a religious purpose' (देवाराधनाय वृत्तादि—says वि. र p 505); 'प्रयोज्यं प्रयुक्तवृत्तमिति हलायुधः, प्रयोज्यं प्रयोगार्थं युस्तकादि तत्र विभज्येत मूर्खादिभिरिति पारिजातः' वि. र. p. 505.

and the like are impartible. He says¹¹¹⁵ "those who declared that clothes and the like are impartible have not given proper thought. In the case of the rich, their wealth may consist of (valuable) clothes and ornaments. If these (clothes and ornaments) be kept joint (i. e. undivided) they cannot yield subsistence nor can they be assigned to one alone (out of many co-sharers) They should therefore be distributed with skill, otherwise they will become useless. Clothes and ornaments may be divided by selling them (i. e. by dividing the proceeds of sale), debt consigned to writing is divided after recovering it (i. e. the bond itself is not divided), cooked food (may be divided) by exchanging it for uncooked food. The waters of wells that have flights of steps and of other wells is to be enjoyed by drawing it out according to the needs (of the co-sharers); in the same way a field or a water course is to be enjoyed according to respective shares; a single female slave is to be made to work in the houses of the co-sharers according to their shares; if there be several female slaves, they are to be allotted in equal shares (to the sharers); this very rule applies to male slaves also; the income derived from a *yogaksema* grant is to be equally divided and pasture lands (or ways) are to be used by the co-sharers according to their respective shares."

The next points to be dealt with are what persons are entitled to partition and what is the mode of partition. But before doing so some preliminary remarks must be made on the expressions coparcenary and 'joint family', which occur at every step in modern works on Hindu Law. In the *smṛtis* and commentaries we come across the words *kutumba* (Nār., *dattāpradānika* 6 or Yāj II 175), or *ambhakta-kutumba* (Yāj. II. 45). A joint Hindu family consists of all males lineally descended from a common male ancestor and includes their wives and unmarried daughters. A daughter on marriage ceases to be a member of her father's

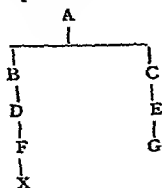
1115 ब्रह्मादयोऽविभाज्या येन तेन विचारितम् । धनं भवेत् समुदायां ब्रह्मादयोर-
संज्ञितम् ॥ मध्यस्थितमनाजीत्य दातुं नैकरय ज्ञायते । युरस्य विभजनीय तदुपपादनार्थं
भवेत् ॥ विक्रीय ब्रह्माभरणदण्डमुद्राद्य लेखितम् । कृताञ्च चाकृतान्नेन परिवार्य विभज्यते ।
उद्धृत्य कृपवाप्यभरत्वमुद्रासरेण युज्यते । तथा भागानुसारेण सेतुस्य विभज्यते ॥ एकां श्रीं
कारयेत्कर्म यथाज्ञेन युद्धे युद्धे । बद्धस्य समांशतो देया दासनागमस्य विधिः ॥ योगक्षेमार्थं
लाभः समत्वेन विभज्यते । मन्वारश्च यथाज्ञेन कर्तव्यो रित्यभि सदा ॥ ब्रह्म १ by अपराकं
p 726, स्मृतिच. II. 277, वि १ pp 505-506 Br. generally holds Manu in the
highest veneration as he says वेदार्थोपनिबन्धनं ब्रह्मात् मायास्यं तु मनुस्मृतौ । मन्वर्ष-
विपरीता या स्मृति सा न मशायते ॥ (१ by अपराकं p 628 and कुतूहल on मनु I 1).
but here he criticizes Manu IX. 219.

family and becomes a member of her husband's family. Under the Mitākṣarā a Hindu coparcenary strictly so called is a much narrower group than the joint family. It comprises only those males who take by birth an interest in the joint or coparcenary property i. e. a person himself and his sons, son's sons and son's grandsons form for the time being a coparcenary. The diagram and the note below¹¹¹⁶ will explain the limits of a coparcenary.

A coparcenary is purely a creation of law; it cannot be created by act of parties, except by adoption. In order to be able to claim a partition, it does not matter how remote from the common ancestor a person may be, provided he is not more than four degrees removed from the last male owner who has himself taken an interest by birth.¹¹¹⁷

Some characteristic features of the Mitākṣarā coparcenary may be briefly stated. There is in the first place *unity of ownership* i. e. the whole body of coparceners is the owner and no individual member can say, while the family is undivided, that he has a definite share, as his interest is always fluctuating, being liable to be enlarged by deaths and diminished by births in the family. There is also *unity of possession and enjoyment* i. e. all are entitled to possession and enjoyment of the family

1116 *Vide Commissioner of Income Tax v Laxminarayan* 59 Bom. 618 at p 621.



Here all are to be assumed to be males A and his sons B and C may form a coparcenary. So also, if B and C have each a son, then A, B, C, D, E, will form a coparcenary. If D and E have respectively F and G as sons, all persons from A to G will form a coparcenary. But here the limit is reached. If X is born during the lifetime of A, he being the son of the great-grandson of A takes no interest by birth and is outside

the coparcenary during A's lifetime. But if X is born after the death of A, then he forms a coparcenary with B, D, F. Suppose that B dies before A. That will not however introduce X into the coparcenary of which A is the head, as X being the son of A's great-grandson F takes no interest by birth in ancestral property held by A. Suppose that B, C, D, E, F and G all die in the lifetime of A, then A becomes the sole surviving coparcener and X is not a coparcener along with A, because he is 5th in descent (counting both A and X) from A. Suppose A the only surviving coparcener dies. Then X will take A's property as an heir and not by survivorship as a coparcener.

1117. *Vide Moro v. Ganesh* 10 Bom. H. C. R. p 444, pp 461-468 where Mr Justice Nanabhau Haridas very lucidly explains by several diagrams the limits of a coparcenary and what persons are entitled to demand a partition and from whom.

property and the possession of one is ordinarily possession on behalf of all. Further, while the family is joint and some coparceners have many children and others have few or none or some are absent, they cannot complain at the time of partition about some coparceners having exhausted the whole income and cannot ask for an account of past income and expenditure. Kāt. (883) expressly states so.¹¹¹⁸ Moreover, the joint family property devolves by survivorship i.e. on the death of a coparcener his interest lapses and goes to the other coparceners, subject to this that if the deceased has left a son, grandson, or great-grandson, the latter represents and occupies the place of the deceased coparcener when a partition takes place. A female cannot be a coparcener (even if she be the wife or the mother). Another characteristic is that each coparcener has a right to enforce a partition. The affairs of the family are managed by the father and if he be very old or dead, by the senior brother or member or by any other member with the consent of the senior member (Nār., dāyabhāga 5 and Śankha quoted above in note 1067). The manager is called *karta* in modern times though the *smṛtis* and digests employ words like *kutumbin* (Yāj II 45), *grhṇ*, *grhapak*, *prabhu* (Kāt 543) and not *karta*. He has special powers of disposition (by mortgage, sale or gift) of family property in a season of distress (for debts), for the purposes and benefit of the family (maintenance, education and marriages of members and other dependents) and particularly for religious purposes (śrāddhas and the like).¹¹¹⁹ The father has the same powers as manager and certain other special powers, which no other coparcener has. The father can separate his sons from himself and also among themselves if he so desires, even if they do not desire to separate.¹¹²⁰ (Yāj. II. 114); while an ordinary

1118. चन्धुनापहतं द्रव्यं बलात् नैव यदापयेत् । चन्धुनामविभक्तानां भोगं नैव यदापयेत् ॥ कात्या. ८ by दायभाग XIII 7 p. 222, वि. र. p. 526. The दायभाग explains 'सामादिना दायो न बलात् अविभक्तो न यदाधिकं धनं तदसौ न दायः' and वि. र., 'तद्विभागकाले नासावधिकोपभोक्ता च भोगं दाययितव्यं इत्यर्थः'. The दायतत्त्व p. 183 says 'अत्रापहतपदं आक्षेपः'.

1119. एकोपि स्वावरे कुर्याद्दानाधमनविक्रयम् । आपत्काले कुटुम्बार्थं धर्मार्थं च विशेषतः ॥ इति । अर्थार्थः । अमात्यवहारेषु पुत्रेषु पौत्रेषु बाह्यज्ञादानादावसमर्थेषु भ्रातृषु वा तथाविधेष्वविभक्तेष्वपि सकलकुटुम्बन्यायिन्यामापदि तत्प्रापये वावश्यकर्तव्येषु च पितृ-आज्ञादिषु स्वावरेषु दानाधमनविक्रयमेकोपि समर्थः कुर्यात् । इति । मिता on या II. 114. The verse एकोपि is ascribed to व्यास by च्यव नि p. 411.

1120. This power of the father has been recognized even in modern times. Vide *Kandasami v Doraisami* 2 Mad 317, 321-322, *Nirman v Fateh* 52 All 178. But it has been held that the grandfather has no power to separate his grandsons *inter se*. Vide A I R. (1945) Mad. 327.

coparcener can only separate himself from the family. The father can make within reasonable limits gifts of ancestral movable property without¹¹²¹ the consent of his sons for performing indispensable acts of duty and for purposes laid down by the texts, such as gifts through affection (to wife, daughter, son or the like), the support of the family and relief from distress. The father can make a gift of even immovable property within¹¹²² reasonable limits for pious purposes only (such as to a family idol or to an idol in a temple at the time of obsequies). The father can sell or mortgage the joint family property to pay off an antecedent debt contracted by him for his own personal benefit, provided it is not illegal or immoral (vide p. 448 above). No coparcener (except the father or manager as stated above) can dispose of his undivided interest by gift, sale or mortgage according to the strict theory of the *Mitākṣarā* except with the consent of the other coparceners. This right to object to alienations made without consent or made without legal necessity is another characteristic of the joint Hindu family under the *Mitākṣarā*. Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 384 verse 93) says¹¹²³ "whether kinsmen are joint or separate they are alike as regards immovable property, since a single one from among them has no power in any case to make a gift, sale or mortgage of it." But in modern times the courts in Bombay, Madras and the Central Provinces have loosened this strict rule by holding that

1121 मण्डिकाप्रवालानां सर्वस्यैव पिता प्रभुः । स्यादस्य तु सर्वस्य न पिता न पिता-
महः ॥ पितुमसादाहं भुज्यन्ते वस्त्राण्यामरणानि च । स्यादस्य तु न भुज्येत प्रसादे सति पैतृके ॥
both quoted by the *mita*. on या. II 114, परा. मा II. 484, (the first) by दायभाग
II. 22 p 33 (attributing it to या.) and the first is ascribed to व्यास by स्वर नि.
p 411 and to विष्णु by विवादसंग्रह folio 100. Vide note 1033 above

1122 Vide *Ramalinga v. Sivachidambara* 42 Mad 440, *Gangai Reddi v. Tammi Reddi* 54 I A. 136, 140, *Sri Thakurji v. Nanda* 43 All 560 for the validity of gifts of small immovable property by the *karta* for religious purposes. But in *Jinnappa v. Chumma* 59 Bom 459 a gift of a small portion of joint family immovable property by the father to his daughter on the ground that she looked after him in his old age was set aside at the suit of his grandsons

1123. यत्तु ब्रह्मसूत्रविवचन-अविभक्ता विभक्ता वा सपिण्डा स्यादरे समाः । एको ह्यमीशः सर्वत्र दानाधमनविकथे-इति तदपि अविभक्तेषु द्वयस्य मध्यस्थत्वादेकस्यानीश्वरत्वात्सर्वोपयुक्त-
ज्ञावस्ये कार्या । विभक्तेषु सरकालं विभक्ताविभक्तसंशयश्चुदासेन व्यवहारसौकर्याय सर्वाप्यनुज्ञा
न पुनरेकस्यानीश्वरत्वेनातो विभक्ताद्युपतिव्यतिरेकेणापि व्यवहारः सिध्यत्येवेति स्यादस्येयम् ।
मिता on या II. 114. The *सृतिच.* II p 309, the *स्व म* p 136 and
some others read दायद्वयः for सपिण्डाः; दायभाग II 27 p 34 reads विभक्ता अवि-
भक्ता वा सपिण्डाः and attributes it to व्यास; अपराकं p 757 attributes विभक्ता
वाविभक्ता वा to कार्या.

a coparcener may sell, mortgage or alienate for *value* his undivided interest in coparcenary property without the consent of the other coparceners¹¹²⁴ and the courts have allowed the undivided interest of a coparcener in joint family property to be attached at the instance of a creditor for the individual debts of a coparcener. This is one of the most serious departures from ancient and medieval Hindu Law made by the Courts on the ground of equity. One more right of all members of the joint Hindu family is the right to be maintained from the property and income of the joint family. Such matters as the remedies of the purchaser or mortgagee from an individual coparcener are here left out of consideration as appropriate only in a treatise on modern Hindu Law.

The conception of a coparcenary under the *Dāyabhāga* system is entirely different from that of the *Mitākṣarā*. Under the *Dāyabhāga*, sons do not acquire any interest by birth in ancestral property, but the son's rights arise for the first time on the father's death and the sons take as heirs and not by survivorship. There is hence no coparcenary in the sense of the *Mitākṣarā* between a father and his sons. The father has absolute power to dispose of all kinds of ancestral property by sale, mortgage, gift, will or otherwise in the same way as he can dispose of his separate property. The son has no right to demand a partition during his father's lifetime. A coparcenary starts on the death of the father between the latter's sons or grandsons i. e. between brothers, uncles and nephews, or between cousins. If a coparcener dies without male issue, there is no right of survivorship in the other coparceners but the deceased member's widow or daughter may succeed to his share and thus even females may become members of a coparcenary under the *Dāyabhāga*. Each coparcener takes a defined share under the *Dāyabhāga* (not an indefinite one as under the *Mitākṣarā*). Any coparcener under the *Dāyabhāga* can sell, mortgage, or dispose off by gift or will his share (*Dāyabhāga* II 28-31)¹¹²⁵

1124. Numerous cases lay down this proposition, vide, for example, *Vasudeva v Venkatesh* 10 Bom. H C R p 139 which was approved of by the Full Bench in *Fakirappa v. Chanappa* 10 Bom H C R. p. 162, *Villa Butten v. Yamenamma* 8 Mad. H C. R 6

1125. On विभक्ता ... एको ह्यनीश etc. the दायभाग (II. 28-30 p 34-35) remarks 'व्यासवचनं तु स्वातन्त्र्येन दुर्बलपुरुषगोचरविक्रयदानादिना कुतश्चिदोपायार्थ-भागिताज्ञापनार्थं निषेधकं न तु विक्रयाद्यनिष्यत्यर्थम् । एवं च स्थावर द्विपद ... विक्रय-द्वयैवमादिकं तद्वत्पदेभ्यो वर्जनीयम् । .. तेन दानविक्रयकर्तव्यतानिषेधात् सत्करणाद् विभक्ति-कृतो भवति न तु दानाद्यनिष्यतिः । वचनशतेनापि वस्तुनोऽन्यथाकरणाशक्तिः ।

Every coparcener is entitled to a share on partition. It has been already stated (on pp. 570-571) how in Bombay a son is not entitled to a partition if the father is *joint* with his own father, brothers or other coparceners and does not assent to the son's claim. There is a volume of case-law about a suit for partition brought on behalf of a minor, but it has to be passed over here, as there is hardly anything corresponding to this in the works on dharmaśāstra. The texts provide for the case of a son who was in the mother's womb at the time of partition but was born after it. If A and his sons B and C, who are members of a joint family, come to a partition and take one third each of the family property and six months later A's wife gives birth to a son D, then the partition has to be reopened and D will get $\frac{1}{2}$ ($\frac{1}{3}$ if the mother is given a share) of the family property that will remain after meeting all proper charges since the first partition and taking into account all income and accretions during the interval. The same rule applies to a partition among brothers, when the widow of a predeceased brother gives birth to a posthumous son conceived before the partition but born after it. Vide Yāj. ¹¹²⁶ II. 122 and Visnu Dh. S. 17. 3. Vasistha (17. 40-41) therefore recommends that when it is known that the wives of some brothers (predeceased) are pregnant the other brothers should postpone partition till the delivery of those women. Where a son is born as well as conceived after partition between a father and his sons the rights of the afterborn son are declared by Gaut. ¹¹²⁷ 28. 27, Manu IX. 216, Yāj II. 122, ¹¹²⁸ Nār (dāyabhāga 44), Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 372 verses 17 and 19) that he takes the share allotted to the father and also all the self-

1126. पितृविभक्ता विभागानन्तरौत्पन्नस्य भागं दद्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 3. इत्याह तद्विभागः स्वादायस्यविशोधितात् । या II. 122, on which the *mitta*. remarks 'एतच्च विभागसमयेऽप्यजरस्य भ्रातृभार्यायामस्यदृग्भार्या विभागादूर्ध्वमुत्पन्नस्यैवापि वेदितव्यम् । स्पष्ट-भार्या तु प्रसवं प्रतीक्ष्य विभागः कर्तव्यः । यथाह वसिष्ठः । अथ भ्रातृणां दायाविभागः । याज्ञा-नपत्याः क्षियस्तास्ताम् पुत्रलाभात् । इति ।'

1127. विभक्तजः पित्र्यमेव । गौ 28. 27; ड्रवैः सह विभक्तेन पित्रा यस्त्वयमर्जितम् । विभक्तजस्य तत्सर्वमनीशा. पूर्वजाः स्मृताः ॥ इहस्पति q. by *mitta*. on या II. 122, हरदत्त on गौ 28. 27, स्मृतिच II p. 307, दायाभाग VII, 6 p. 131, स्प स p. 104.

1128 There is great divergence among commentators about Yāj. II. 122 विभक्तेषु ह्यनो जातः सर्वर्णार्थं विभागमाह । इत्याह तद्विभागः स्वादायस्य-विशोधितात् ॥

acquisitions of the father made after the partition.¹¹²⁹ The Mit. understands that the first half (of Yāj. II. 122) refers to a partition during the father's lifetime and provides that if a son was conceived and born to the father after partition he took the share allotted to the father and all the self-acquisitions of the father made after partition (*tathā vibhāgottarakūlam pītvā yat lañcat aryam tat sarvam vibhaktanasyava*) and the Mit. relies on Manu IX. 216 and Br. for this. The Mit. takes the 2nd half of Yāj. II. 122 as referring to a partition made after the father's death and states that, if a son was in the mother's womb when the brothers separated after the father's death and was born subsequently, the posthumous son would be entitled to reopen the partition and would get a share out of the property (not as it stood at the date of partition) that would be there after allowing for proper expenditure (e. g. payment of debts etc.) and accretions. The Mit. extends the same rule to a posthumous son born after partition to the widow of a brother who died before the partition and

1129. In *Nawal Singh v. Bhagwan Singh* 4 Ali. 427, where after the father separated from his three sons he married a second wife, had a son from her and died leaving certain property inherited by him from a third person, it was held, relying on Manu, the Mit., Br. and the Viramitrodaya, that the son born after partition was entitled to the whole of the property acquired by the father to the exclusion of the three sons that had separated from him. In *Chengama v. Munisami* 20 Mad 75 (where a father partitioned his ancestral property half and half between his two sons, reserved no share for himself and subsequently another son was born to him) it was held that the subsequently born son was entitled to one-third by partition not only in the property as it stood at the date of partition, but also in the property acquired by the two sons by means of the produce of that property (relying on the words of Yāj. II. 122 "*āyavyayavāśodhitāt*") The dates of the partition and of the birth of the son are not clear from the report. In *Ganpat v. Gopalrao* 23 Bom 636 (where in 1875 a father separated his son born of his first wife by giving him one third of the estate and gave two thirds to his two minor sons from the second wife and lived with them and another son was born to him in 1880, who sued in 1894 claiming one-fourth of all property) it was held that the one third given to the son by the first wife could not be affected and the plaintiff was only entitled to claim a share in the property given to the other two sons, and further that the texts of Visnu and Yājñavalkya are somewhat vague and are applicable only to the case of posthumous sons who have no provision made for them. Vide also *Shivayirao v. Vasantrao* 33 Bom 267 for further limitations on this rule in favour of the after-born son.

when the fact of the pregnancy was not known to the separating brothers. Viśvarūpa regards the whole verse as laying down one proposition, the first half declaring that if a son (who had been already conceived) were born to the father after partition with the sons, he would be entitled to the share taken by the father, while the 2nd half declares that if the father took no share then the son so born would be entitled to reopen the partition and take a share of the property remaining after taking into account accretions and expenses. The Dipakalikā seems to be of the same opinion as Viśvarūpa, but it adds that Manu IX. 216 provides for the case where the son is both conceived and born after partition. The Sm. C. (II. pp. 306-307) holds that when in the father's lifetime partition takes place the sons separating should give a share to the after-born son, but the father should retain his, while the whole of Yāj. II. 122 applies to the case where partition is made after the father's death and a posthumous son is born to the mother or to the widow of a brother dying before partition. In such a case the partition should be reopened and a share given out of the property as it stood at the first partition or out of the property as found to exist at the reopened partition after allowing for accretions and proper expenses (for payment of debts, for saṃskāras of brothers and sisters); vide V. P. p. 463 for explanation of 'drśyād' etc. The Vyavahāra-mayūkha (p. 105) follows the Sm. C. and V. R. (p. 539) in explaining the whole of Yāj. II. 122 as referring to the case of a posthumous son conceived before partition made on the father's death but born after partition from the mother or step-mother of the separating brothers or from the wife of a brother dying before partition.

An adopted son, if adopted by a coparcener in a joint family or by a sole surviving coparcener, becomes under the Mitākṣarā law a member of the coparcenary from the moment of his adoption and has the same rights to demand a partition as an *aurasa* son has. Under the Dāyabhāga even an *aurasa* son cannot claim partition during his father's life and so an adopted son would be in no better position. If after a person adopts he has an *aurasa* son, the adopted son's share becomes reduced according to most commentators, but this subject will be dealt with later on under adoption.

The smṛtis and some of the medieval and later digests ever enter into elaborate discussions about the rights of a son or sons born from wives of classes lower than that of the father. Vid

Gaut 28. 33-37, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 10, Kaut. III. 6, Vas 17. 48-50, Manu IX. 149-155, Yāj. II. 125, Visnu Dh. S. 18. 1-33, Nār. (dāyabhāga 14), Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 374 verses 27-29), Śankha (quoted in V. R. p. 531) It is not necessary to deal in detail with the varying provisions made in these works, as marriages with women of a lower class have not been in vogue for several centuries; but a few remarks will have to be made. Manu IX. 153 and Yāj. II. 125, Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 374 v. 27) clearly state that if a brāhmana has sons from wives of the four classes, the whole property should be divided into ten parts which should be distributed as follows:—four for the son of the wife of the brāhmana caste, three for the son of the ksatriya caste wife, two for the son of the vaiśya caste wife and one for the son of the sūdra class wife Manu IX. 154 (almost the same as Anuśāsana 47. 21) further provides that whether a brāhmana leaves sons or no sons born (of wives of the three twice-born classes) the heir shall give, according to the law, to the son of a sūdra class wife no more than a tenth part of his estate. V. P. p. 487 and the Mit (on Yāj. II. 133) after quoting Manu, make this quite clear. But as remarked by the Mit on Yāj. II. 125 the son of a brāhmana from a wife of the ksatriya or other lower class was not to share in land obtained by the brāhmana by way of gift (vide Br. quoted in note 1106 above) though he could share land acquired by purchase or the like. A verse (attributed to Br. by Day IX. 22 and V. R. p. 534 and to Devala by V. P. p. 466) denies altogether a share in land to a sūdra class wife's son of a brāhmana, while Manu IX. 155 (the son of a person of the three higher classes from a sūdra woman gets no share in the paternal wealth) is variously explained, the Mit saying that it applies only where the son has already got some property from his father while the Mayukha and some others say that it applies to the son of a sūdra woman who is not married to the person of higher caste but is only a mistress Kaut III. 6 and Br. (quoted by V. R. p. 534) provide that the *pūtraśava* son gets $\frac{1}{2}$ of his father's estate and the nearest sapinda gets the remaining two thirds. Śankha-Likhita (quoted by Medhātithi on Manu IX. 155) have the same rule as in Manu IX. 155. It is remarkable that early medieval writers like Vijñānesvara (about 1100 A. D.) or even later ones like Mitrāmīśra (first half of 17th century) in V. P. pp. 464-466 enter with zest into elaborate explanations of Manu IX. 153 and Yāj. II. 125 and never expressly state that these provisions had ceased to be applicable in their days, though there

are a few other medieval works like the Sm. C. II. pp. 288-289 and the Madanaratna¹¹³⁰ that either do not explain these verses at all or say that these verses are applicable to a different age. According to Manu (IX. 178, 160) the son of a brāhmana from a śūdra class wife is called śaudra or pārasava, while according to Yāj I. 91 he is called both nisāda and pārasava (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 86-87 for nisāda and pārasava). But he is one of the secondary sons (*gauna-putra*) according to Manu (IX. 180), Vas. 17. 38 and others. Writers from Aparārka downwards quote certain¹¹³¹ verses from Śaunaka on matters forbidden in the Kali age (*kali-varjya*) one of which is the acceptance of sons other than aśura and dattaka.¹¹³²

1130. असवर्णेषु पुत्रेषु गुणवत्तनिर्गुणत्वादिकृतो यो विदेषः स कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजन्मभिः-इति आदिपुत्राणे कलिवर्ज्यकरणे असवर्णपरिणयस्य निषेधात् संप्रत मूर्धावसिक्तादीनां प्रचाराभावेन नेह प्रपञ्चितः । समयनिर्णयोद्योते कलिवर्ज्यकरणेऽस्माभिरुदाहृतेन दत्तौसत्तरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः-इति वचनेन कलौ युगे दत्तौसपुत्रिकापुत्रव्यतिरिक्तानां क्षेत्रजादीनां गौणपुत्राणां निषेधात् संप्रत तेषां प्रचाराभावेन तद्विभागविषयविशेषो नात्र निरूप्यते । मदनरत्न (folio 93a); अत एवास्माभिरसवर्णपुत्राणां दत्तकतरेषां गौणपुत्राणां पुत्रिकायास्तत्तत्स्य च भागविधयो न निषेध्यन्ते । संप्रत्यननुष्ठयीमानत्वाद् वृथा च ग्रन्थविस्तारापत्तेः । स्मृतिच. II p. 289

1131. अत एव कलौ निवर्तन्ते इत्युद्धत्तौ शौनकेनोक्तं दत्तौसत्तरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रह इति । अपरार्क p 739 Vide also परा. मा I. 2. p. 97, व्यवहारमयूख p. 107 (अत्र वचकमिहा गौणः पुत्रा कलौ वर्ज्याः । दत्तौसत्तरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रह इति तन्निषेधेयु पाठात्).

1132 In *Natha v. Chotalal* 55 Bom. 1 the son of a brāhmana from a śūdra wife was held entitled to a tenth share in the estate of his father and uncle and that the remaining nine-tenths would go to the nearest agnate, and Manu and Yāj are relied upon. But this would be opposed to the view of the Mayūkhā that secondary sons are not allowed now and is also against the spirit of the warning given by the Privy Council to Judges of modern times over 75 years ago in *Collector of Madura v Mootoo Ramlinga* 12 Moo. I. A 397 at p 436 "the duty of an European Judge who is under an obligation to administer Hindu Law is not so much to inquire whether a disputed doctrine is fairly deducible from the earliest authorities, as to ascertain whether it has been received by the particular school which governs the district with which he has to deal and has there been sanctioned by usage For under the Hindu system of law, clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law" This passage (omitting the word "European") is quoted by the P. C. in *Atmaram v. Bajirao* 62 I. A 139 where it is further held that in a conflict between smṛti texts and commentators the opinion of the latter prevails in the provinces where their authority is recognized *Natha v. Chotalal* 55 Bom. 1 purports to follow *Bai Gatab v. Jivanlal* 46 Bom 871 In both cases the parties came from

(Continued on the next page)

An illegitimate son has in certain circumstances rights of partition in the property of his putative father. An illegitimate son may be a son by a concubine who is a *dāsī* (i.e. who is in exclusive and continuous keeping) or he may be the son of a woman who is not a *dāsī*. The first is called *dāsīputra*¹¹³³ and the second is hardly ever dealt with in dharmasāstra works¹¹³¹

(Continued from the last page)

Gujarat where the Vyavahāramayūkha is of paramount authority. In both cases not a word is said about the proof of the usage of marriages between a brāhmana and a śūdra woman taking place in Gujarat but reliance is placed solely on the recognition of *anuloma* marriages by Manu and Yājñavalkya, the strong condemnation of pratiloma marriages by both and the inference drawn from the comment of Viṣṇūśeṣvara and the remarks of Nīlakantha that anuloma marriages are not prohibited. With the most profound respect for the learned Judges who decided those two cases, it has to be said that they took up the position of legislators and did not merely interpret the Hindu Law in accordance with usage and ignored the text of the Mayūkha itself stating that all secondary sons (among which the son of a brāhmana from a śūdra caste wife is included by Manu) except aurasa son (who is defined by Yāj. II, 128 himself and the Mit. as the son of a wife of the same class) and dattaka are forbidden in the present age. The decision in *Bai Gulab v Jivanlal* was opposed to the considered view expressed by Chandavarkar J. in *Bai Kash v Jammadas*, 14 Bom. L. R. 547 at p. 552. From this gloss of the Mitākṣarā from which Nīlakantha expressed nowhere any dissent it is reasonable to infer that, according to the leading authorities on Hindu Law as recognised in this Presidency, a śūdra wife is not permitted to a brāhmin, a kṣatriya or a vaiśya "and to the decision of some other High Courts in India (vide 28 All. 458 for example). It should not be supposed that the present writer is entirely against such marriages. What he is coerced to emphasize is that the Legislature should deal with these matters, that Judges should not assume the role of legislators and give rise to conflict of laws which are inevitable if the same kind of marriage is held valid by the Bombay High Court and invalid by the Allahabad or Madras High Court.

1133. *Dāsīputra* occurs in the story of Kāvāsa Ailūsa in the *Āitareya* and *Sāṅkhāyāo* Brāhmanas. 'माध्यमा. सरस्वत्या सत्रमासत तद्वापि कवयो महं निषसाद् त हेमे उपोदुर्दास्या वै त्वं पुत्रोसि न वयं त्वया सह भक्षयिष्याम इति'. श्रौ. भा. XII 3, कवयो वै सरस्वत्या सत्रमासत ते कवयैर्लृप्तं सोमादनयन्दास्याः पुत्रः कितवोऽ-ब्राह्मणः कथं नो मध्येऽङ्गीक्ष्येति । ऐ. भा. 8 1. Vide note 925 for *sūdrāputra* in the *Tāndya Br.* 14. 6. 6.

1134. Yāj. II 290 appears to distinguish between a *dāsī* in general and one who is *avaruddhā* (i.e. the exclusive and continuous keeping of a man). 'अवरुद्धाश्च दासीश्च शुनित्याहुः तथैव च । गम्यान्वापि पुमान्दाप्यः सञ्जात्यपि न दमद्' For the com. of the Mit. vide p. 1595 below.

From ancient times it had been settled that the *dāsi*putra of a person belonging to the twice-born classes is not entitled to a share on partition or to inherit, but is entitled to maintenance only. Gaut 28 37 provides¹¹³⁵ that even the son of a *brāhmana* who is issueless from a *śūdra* woman (a concubine) should receive the means of maintenance provided he is obedient in the manner of a pupil. Br. (S B. E. vol. 33 p. 374 verse 31) contains a similar rule for the maintenance of an illegitimate son born of a *śūdra* woman after the father's death. But as regards the son of a *śūdra* from a *dāsi* Manu IX. 179 provides that such an illegitimate son may take a share in the father's property if the father allows him to do so. The classical passage on the rights of the illegitimate son of a *śūdra* from a *dāsi* is Yāj II. 133-134 which verses are introduced by the V. Mayūkha¹¹³⁶ with the words "Yāj declares a special rule as regards one begotten by a *śūdra* on a woman (of the same caste) not married to him" and which may be rendered thus "even a son begotten by a *śūdra* on a *dāsi* may partake of a share at the choice (of his father). But, when the father is dead, the brothers should make him the recipient of a half share". This passage and the comments of the Mit., the V. Mayūkha, the *Dayabhāga* have been cited and explained in numerous cases. The following propositions as deduced from the texts and the case-law may be set out here:—(1) the illegitimate son of a *śūdra* even under the Mit. does not acquire by birth any interest in the estate held by the father and so cannot enforce a partition in his father's lifetime, but the father may give him a share in his lifetime, which may even be equal to that of a legitimate son (4 Bom. 37, 44-45, 23 Mad 16); (2) on the father's death an illegitimate son of a deceased *śūdra*

1135. अङ्गापुत्रोऽप्यनपत्यस्य शुश्रूक्षेऽलभेत वृत्तिमूलमन्तेवासिविधिना । गौ. 28 37, अनपत्यस्य शुश्रूक्षेणवाच्यं अन्तेयोजि । लभेत जीवनं शेपं सपिण्डाः समवाप्नुयुः ॥ बृह q by दायमान IX. 28 p. 141, च्च नि p 430

1136. अङ्गेणापरीणीतायास्तृपले विशेषमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । जातोपि दास्यां शुद्धेण काम-
तौशचरो भवेत् । सुते पितरि कुर्युस्तं भ्रातरत्नार्थमागिकम् । अभातुको हरेत्सर्वं दुहितृणां
सुतादृते ॥ च्य मयूख pp 103-104, अत्र च अङ्गद्वयणाद् द्विजातिना दास्यास्तृपलं पितृ-
रिच्छयाप्यसं न लभते नाप्यर्थं दूतं एव कुत्सनम् । किन्त्वनुकूलश्चेज्जीवनमात्रं लभते । तिता, ;
विभ्ररूपं quotes a prose text of Erhaspati to the same effect 'यथाह बृहस्पतिः',
कामतश्च अङ्गावरोधजस्य भ्रातुरस्य समानमात्रं भेदे पितरि दद्युः शुश्रूक्षेत् । इति
In *Rahi v Govind* 1 Bom 97 at p 113 and in other cases the word
'*aparīṇīṭāyām*' in the V Mayūkha has been wrongly translated as meaning
'an unmarried woman', when it really means 'a woman not married (to the
śūdra)'.

becomes a coparcener along with the legitimate sons and the former is entitled to seek partition (4 Bom. 37 F. B.); (3) on a partition the illegitimate son takes only one half of what he would have taken¹¹³⁷ if he were a legitimate son i. e. if there be one legitimate and one illegitimate son, the latter would take one-fourth and the former three-fourths, (4) if no partition takes place and the legitimate son or sons all die without partition, the illegitimate son would take the whole as the last survivor of the coparcenary (L. R. 17. I. A. 128); (5) if there be no legitimate sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons of the śūdra father, the illegitimate son takes the whole estate;¹¹³⁸ (6) as the text of Yāj. refers only to a son, an illegitimate daughter is not entitled to any inheritance or even to maintenance (32 Bom. 562); (7) if the śūdra father be joint with his collaterals such as brothers, uncles or nephews, the illegitimate

1137. The decisions establish that *dāsī* is not to be taken in the strict literal sense (a female slave), but means a woman kept as a concubine, the connection being continuous, exclusive and lawful. In order that the illegitimate son of a śūdra may take a share or inherit, it must be shown that the connection between the śūdra man and the woman was not incestuous or adulterous or though adulterous at the beginning had ceased to be so when the illegitimate son was born. Vide *Rahi v Govind* 1 Bom. 97 at p 110, *Sadu v. Baisa* 4 Bom. 37 (F. B.) at p 44, *Vithabai v. Pandu* 28 Bom. L. R. 595, *Soundararajan v. Arunachalam* 39 Mad. 136 (F. B.) pp. 152-159, *Tukaram v. Dinkar* 33 Bom. L. R. 289. But even the son of an adulterous intercourse has been held entitled to maintenance (1 Mad 306, 34 Mad. 68, 47 Bom. L. R. 5 F. B.). The earlier cases in Calcutta (as in 1 Cal. 1, 19 Cal. 91, 28 Cal. 194), held that *dāsī* meant only a female slave and as slavery was abolished in India, there could be no *dāsīputra* strictly so called. But in *Rajannath v. Ntai* 48 Cal. 643 (F. B.) the former Calcutta decisions were overruled and the Bombay High Court's interpretation of *dāsīputra* has been accepted. The passage of the *Dāya-bhāga* (IX. 29 p. 143) which was to be correctly interpreted in the Calcutta cases runs "शूद्रस्य पुत्रपरिणीतादास्यादिशूद्रापुत्रः पितृश्रमण्या पुत्रान्तरतुल्योऽहर्हः । तदाह मनुः । दास्या वा० (मनु IX. 179) । अनुमतिमन्तरेण स्वर्धोऽहर्हः । तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । जातोपि० (या. II 133-34) The *Dāy.* passage is quoted on pp 680 and 723 of 48 Cal. 643 (F. B.)

1138. अत्र बहुवचनान्तर्ध्वं स्वस्वभागादर्थं दृष्टारिति न प्रमितव्यम् । तथा सति बहु-
आतुकस्य ततोप्यतिबहुधनत्वापत्तेरवस्था स्यात् । किं त्वेकपुत्रस्य यावन्भागस्तद्विभाग
शूद्रापुत्रा लभन्ते । ... परिणीतशूद्रापुत्रतत्पुत्राद्यभावे ह दासीपुत्रोऽपि कुलस्य शूद्रस्य पितृधनं
लभत इत्यर्थाद् गम्यते । य य pp. 487-488 विश्वरूप on या II 138 (Tr. edition)
quotes the view of some expressed by शुद्धरूपति in a prose aphorism according
to which the illegitimate son succeeds, when there is no legitimate son,
grandson or great-grandson, to the whole estate with the king's permission.
'अन्वयिनि सर्वे राजा हरेत् तद्व्यञ्जया वाचरोधज इत्येके'.

son cannot demand a partition of the joint family property though he is entitled to maintenance as a member of the family provided the father left no separate estate (L. R. 58 I. A. 402). It has been held that if a śūdra keeps a woman of the brāhmana caste as his exclusive mistress and has a son from her, he is not a dāsiputra (but acc. ancient works a cāndāla) and is not entitled to inherit the estate the śūdra father as an illegitimate son. Vide *Ramchandra v. Hanamnaik* 37 Bom L. R. 920 followed in 18 Lucknow 585. Further rules about the inheritance of the illegitimate son when in competition with the widow, legitimate daughter or legitimate daughter's son will be dealt with later on (vide n. 1356 below).

An absent coparcener stood on the same footing as a minor (vide note 1077 above); in modern times he would be subject to the law of Limitation (Articles 127 and 144 of the Indian Limitation Act of 1908)

The wife cannot herself demand a partition, but if the husband himself separates his sons during his lifetime or if the sons claim a partition during the father's lifetime, the wife was entitled to a share equal to that of a son, according to Yāj II. 115. If there be several wives each gets a share equal to that of a son. There is a proviso that the wife or wives must not be in possession of *strīdhana* property given by the husband or by the father-in-law and that if there is *strīdhana*, then only as much more will be allotted to her as will make her share equal to that of a son (as stated in Yāj II. 148). The Mit. on Yāj. II. 52 states that at the husband's will the wife also gets a share of the family wealth but not by her own will¹¹³⁹. The Madanaratna explains that the meaning¹¹⁴⁰ is simply this that the

1139 तस्माद्भर्तुर्द्विच्छया भार्याया अपि द्रव्यविभागो भवत्येव न स्वेच्छया । यथा वक्ष्यति यदि कुर्वात् . . इति । मिता. on या II 52.

1140 पत्न्य इति बहुवचनान्तादिपत्तिः स्वाशेन समानमंशं गृह्णीयात्तु तावन्. पुत्र्यकु-
कुत्प्राप्तौ देयः । जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते इति हारीतवचनविरोधापत्तेः । मदनरत्न (ms.
folio 91 h) It is curious that the मदनरत्न ascribes जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते to
हारीत; this sūtra is आप धृ च् II 6. 14. 16, vide above p 451 and H. of Dh
vol. II pp 429 and 518 for quotation from Āp and p. 556 for a verse from
Tai Br. quoted in Mit on या II 52 about husband and wife enjoying
together in heaven the rewards of religious acts नात्र जायापत्योर्विभाग उच्यते येन
हारीतवचनविरोधः स्यात् । किं तु पत्यैव पुत्रविभागसमये तावन्तस्मान्नादानं प्रीतिदानवत् ।
व्य. प्र pp 441-442 It is worthy of note that the व्य. प्र. p. 510 elsewhere

father when separating from the sons should take for each of his wives a share equal to that of each son, but it is not meant that the husband is to carve out separate portions of the joint property and hand them over to his wives, since such a procedure would be opposed to the *dictum* "there is no partition between husband and wife". The V P (pp 441-42) after quoting this view of the Madanaratna refutes it by saying that Yāj is not here speaking of the partition between husband and wife but between the father and sons and that the husband assigns to the wife a share as he may give a gift of affection to his wife. It deserves to be noted that the ancient commentator Viśvarūpa (on Yāj II 119 of Trī edition) anticipates modern legislation as he states that the widows of pre-deceased sons and grandsons also should be given the shares that would have been taken by their husbands if living along with his own wives by the father at the time of partition with his sons. Recently by the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act (Act XVIII of 1937 as amended by Act XI of 1938), it is provided that when after the Act comes into force a Hindu governed by the Dāyabhāga School dies intestate or where a Hindu governed by any other school dies living separate property, his widow will be entitled to the same share as that of a son and the widow of a pre-deceased son or grandson shall inherit in the same manner as a son or grandson and further where a Hindu governed by any school other than the Dāyabhāga dies having an interest in joint family property his widow will succeed to a Hindu widow's estate as regards the interest he himself had. This last provision brings the law of the Mitākṣarā into line with that of the Dāyabhāga and makes the widow of a deceased coparcener a member of the coparcenary and at one stroke does away with the fundamental doctrine of the Mit about

(Continued from the last page)

refers the sūtras जापाएत्येनं विभागो विद्यते पाणिग्रहणाद्धि सहस्र कर्मसु to गौतम. It further says that the wife's ownership in the husband's property is only technical and not real and that when the husband dies and his ownership in joint family estate lapses her technical ownership comes to an end. 'पाणिग्रहणाद्धि ग्रहेषु चेति गौतमवचनान्नान्यथा अपि तद्गमेऽतिविकेपि स्वत्वमुपलब्धं तस्मात् किमिति तत्सत्त्वे कल्पयत इति चेन्न । औपपत्तिकोऽस्ति न तु तात्त्विक । एतस्याः पतिव्रत्ये स्वत्वं नीरक्षीरवदेकलोलीभावापन्नं सहाधिकारिकमपि योमि न तु भ्रातृणामिव परस्परम् ।' ब्र म p 510, समाज्ञदानपक्षे प्रमीतमवृत्ता पुत्रपौत्रपत्न्यः स्वपत्न्यश्च भर्तृभगवार्हाः कार्याः । विश्वरूप on या II 119

male coparceners alone taking by survivorship joint family property.¹¹⁴¹

The mother (or step-mother) also, when the sons come to a partition after the father's death, is entitled to a share equal to that of a son in the coparcenary property.^{1141a} But she cannot compel a partition so long as the sons choose to remain joint. But her share is liable to be reduced on account of her possession of stridhana as in the case of the wife. Vide Yāj II. 123, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 18. 34 and Nār. (dāyabhāga, 12). The Mit. (on Yāj II 135) combats the view of some predecessors that the mother does not take a share but only as much wealth as would be necessary for her maintenance, by relying on the words "equal share" occurring in Yāj, Viṣṇu, and Nār which would be meaningless on that view. It also refutes another view that the mother takes an equal share with the sons when the ancestral property is small, while she takes only as much as would be necessary for her maintenance when the property is large, by stating that this view is liable to the fault of *vidhvan ūpya* according to the conclusion established in the Pūrvamīmāṃsā, that is, here the same sentence will be interpreted as laying down two different propositions in different sets of circumstances, which is not a legitimate or reasonable way of interpretation. The Sm C (II p 268) held the same view about the mother having no right to a share and was criticized by the Madanaratna (by name). Several works like the Vyavahārasāra (p 225) and the Vivādacandra (p 67)¹¹⁴² hold the

1141. Vide *Saradambal v S Subbarama* I L R (1942) Mad 630, *Jodu Rosamma v Jodu Chenchiah* (1943) 2 M L J p 172 for the effect of the Act XVIII of 1937 on the status of widows.

1141a. जनस्य स्वधना पुत्रैर्विभागं सप्तं हरेत् इति स्मरणात् । अस्वधना मातृस्त्रिक-
खीभनशून्या जननी पुत्रैर्जीवहिभागे क्रियमाणे पुत्रांशसममेवांशं हरेदित्यर्थः । स्मृतिश्च II
268. This text and the explanation are given also in the सदनरत्न (folio 92 a)
in the same words.

1142. स्त्रीणां सार्तासमनंशत्वमेव । यत्राप्यशश्रवणं पितुरुर्ध्वं विभजतां मातापत्यं सप्त
हरेदित्यादौ तत्रापि किञ्चिद्धानं विवक्षितम् । अर्हति स्त्रीत्यङ्गुत्तो न दायं निरिन्दित्र्या अदाया
पि स्त्रियो मता — इति बौधायनवचनात् । निरिन्दित्र्या नि सत्त्वा इति प्रकाशः । अदाया
अंशं इत्यर्थः । विवादश्च p 67. The स्मृतिश्च (II p 267) also relies on बौधा-
यन. The शौ ध. सू. after the verse पिता रक्षति .. न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति has the sūtra
निरिन्दित्र्या अदायाश्च स्त्रियो मता इति श्रुतिः (II. 2. 53). In the तै सं. VI. 5. 8. 2
we have the words 'तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्दित्र्या अदायादीरपि पापास्तु उपलितरं वदन्ति ।'
Vide Bühler's note in S. B. E. vol 14 p. 231 on the confusion about
this text of Baud. मनु II. 18 is 'निरिन्दित्र्याः श्रमश्चाश्च स्त्रियोऽवृत्तमिति स्थितिः ॥
or "hich नेधातिपि explains 'इन्द्रिर्षं शीर्षं शैवमज्ञाबलादि'.

view that no woman (whether wife or mother) should get a share of the ancestral wealth but only as much wealth as is necessary for maintenance and rely on the words of Baudhāyana "there is a Vedic text that women are devoid of strength and take no share", which refers to a passage in the Tai S. VI 5 8 2, occurring in the context of the ritual of the Soma sacrifice "therefore women being destitute of strength take no portion (of Soma drink) and speak more weakly than even a wretched (low) man". Manu IX 18 also contains an echo of this passage of the Tai S and of Band Dh. S. There was an intermediate stage in the evolution of the rights of the wife or mother. The highest she could get in the husband's wealth was two thousand panas, according to Vyāsa,¹¹⁴³ which is variously read and explained, the Sm. C. (II p 281) saying that it means as much wealth as would every year yield an income of 2000 panas

In modern times some High Courts such as those at Bombay¹¹⁴⁴ and Calcutta allow wives and mothers to have a share when the husband or the sons divide ancestral estate by metes and bounds, while in Southern India the practice of allotting shares to them has gone out of vogue long since and the Madras High Court does not allow a share to the mother but only maintenance. The Dayabhāga seems to have¹¹⁴⁵ held that a step-mother who was herself sonless was not entitled to a share when her step-sons came to a partition, but was only entitled to maintenance (vide *Srimati Hemangini v. Kedarnath* L. R. 16 I A. p. 115 at p 117)

¹¹⁴³. द्विसहस्रः परो दायः स्त्रियै देव्यो धनस्य च । व्यास १ by स्मृतिच II p 281, च्यव. नि p 450, विश्वरूप on या II 119

¹¹⁴⁴ Vide *Dular Koori v Dwarkanath* 32 Cal 234, *Danodardas v Uttamram* 17 Bom 271, *Jairam v Nathu* 31 Bom 54, *Hosbanna v Devanna* 48 Bom 468 for cases of a share allotted to the mother or step-mother. But see *Subramaniam v Arunachelam* 28 Mad 1, 8 for the statement that the right of a mother to a share on a partition between the sons is not enforced in the Madras Presidency. Vide *Nanuram v Radhabai* I L. R. (1942) Nag p 24 where it was held that the mother gets only maintenance when there is only a severance of interest between father and sons but no partition by metes and bounds

¹¹⁴⁵. पितरि चोपपत्ते सोद्वरआहुभिर्विभागे क्रियमाणे मात्रेऽपि पुत्रसमाप्तौ दातव्यः । सर्वांश्चाराणी सातेति वचनात् । साधुपदस्य जननीपरत्वात् न सपत्नीमातृपरत्वमपि सकृच्छ्र-
तस्य मुख्यगोणत्वात् उपपत्तेः । दायभाग III. 29-30 p. 67.

If a person had several wives and several sons from each wife, some of the texts prescribed from very ancient times that the sons should divide according to the wives or mothers (i. e. *patnibhāga*, or which is practically the same thing, *mātrbhāga* was recommended), though the generally recognized rule formerly as well as now is to divide according to the number of sons i. e. *putrabhāga* (ignoring the fact of their being born from ¹¹⁴⁶ different mothers). For example, Gaut 28 15 recommends that partition should be made by grouping the sons according to their mothers and then allowing a special share to the eldest among each group of sons. Both Br. (S. B. E. 33 p 372 verse 15) and Vyāsa ¹¹⁴⁷ lay down that if there be many sons sprung from the same father, who are equal in caste and number but who are the sons of different mothers, a division according to mothers may be legally made. Such a partition on the basis of mothers is recognized in rare cases even now on ¹¹⁴⁸ the ground of custom in certain places and among certain castes.

A paternal grandmother or step-grandmother cannot herself demand a partition, but when a partition takes place between her son's sons, her own son being dead or when it takes place between her son and the sons of a deceased son she is entitled to a share. A text of Vyāsa says ¹¹⁴⁹ "the childless wives of the father are declared to be entitled to a share equal (to that of a son) and all grandmothers are declared equal to the mother". The Allahabad and Bombay High Courts hold that the grandmother is not entitled to a share when a partition takes place between her son and his sons, while the High Courts

1146 प्रतिमातु वा स्वस्ववर्गे भागविशेषः । गौ 28 15

1147 समानजातिसंख्या ये जातास्त्वेकैव धनवः । विभिन्नमातृकास्तेषा मातृभागः प्रशस्यते ॥ व्यास, यथेकजाता बहवः समाना जातिसंख्याया । सापत्न्यात्तैर्विभक्तव्यं मातृभागेन धनैः ॥ बृह, both are quoted by दायभाग III 12, परा मा III. p 503, व्य स p. 102, वि. र p 475 (बृह. only)

1148 Vide *Palanisappa v. Alayan* 48 I A 539 for a case from the Madura District in the Madras Presidency, where a custom among the *chettis* of allowing a partition on the principle of *patnibhāga* (division of property according to wives or mothers) was upheld

1149 अहुतास्तु पितु पत्न्य समानांश प्रकीर्तिताः । पितामह्यश्च सर्वास्ता मातृकुल्याः प्रकीर्तिता ॥ व्यास ९ by अपराकं p 730, दायभाग III 3 2 p. 68, स्मृतिच II. p 267, वि. र. p 484 The मद्र. पा (p 664) remarks यदा तु पितामहोपाजितं धनं पितापुत्रौ विभज्य युद्धांतत्सदा पितामहपत्नी सपुत्रा पूर्वोक्तरीत्या समांशं लभते माताप्यशं सम एवेदित्युक्त्वात् पितामहोपाजितद्रव्यत्वाच्च । यदि पितामहपत्न्यपुत्रा तर्हि स्वालङ्कारं नीतिद्वयं लभते नांशम् । तथा पितामहपत्न्यभागे मातांशं न लभते किं तु स्वामरणादिकमेव ।

of Calcutta and Patna hold that she is entitled to a share even in this last case ¹¹⁵⁰

On account of certain bodily, mental or other defects and certain conduct also persons were excluded in ancient India from demanding a share on partition and also from taking by inheritance Gaut 28 41, Āp Dh. S. II 6 14 1, Vas. 17 52-53, Visnu Dh S 15 32-39, Baud Dh S II 2. 43-46, Kaut III 5 speak ¹¹⁵¹ of various grounds of exclusion from partition (and inheritance) such as lunacy, idiocy, impotence, excommunication for grave sins or lapses of conduct, blindness, incurable disease, entering a different āsrama (viz that of forest hermit or *sannyāsa*). These grounds of exclusion probably arose from the fact of the persons labouring under them being regarded as incompetent to perform religious acts and from the close connection between property and its use for religious purposes Jaimini ¹¹⁵² (VI 1. 41-42) lays down two propositions, viz that one who is suffering from an incurable or irremediable bodily defect is not entitled to undertake vedic rites, such as Āgrihotra, but that one who has some defect which is remediable may engage in them and Sabara gives a blind man, a deaf man and a cripple as persons who are incompetent to engage in Vedic rites The story of the brothers Devāpi and Śantanu (vide

1150 Vide *Vilhal v Prahlad* 39 Bom 373 (partition among grandsons), *Kanhaiya Lal v Gaura* 47 All 127 (partition between grandsons), *Babuna v Jagat Narain* 50 All 532 (partition between one son and his predeceased brother's son), in all of which the grandmother was held entitled to a share See *Sheonarain v Janki Prasad* 34 All 505 (F B), *Jamnabai v Vasudev* 54 Bom 417 for the proposition that in a suit for partition between father and his son only the paternal grandmother is not entitled to a share, but vide *Badri Roy v Bhugvat* 8 Cal 649, *Krishnatil v. Nandeshwar* 4 Pat L J 39, 42-44 (for the opposite proposition that the grandmother would be entitled to a share in a partition between her only son and the latter's son). In view of the fact that Vyāsa declares the grandmother to be equal to the mother it appears that all grand-mothers, whether sonless or not, should secure a share

1151 जडक्लीबौ भर्तव्यौ । गो. 28 41. एकधनेन ज्येष्ठ तोषयित्वा जीवन् पुत्रेभ्यो द्वायं व्यभजेत् सम क्लीबस्युन्मर्तं पतितं च परिहास्य । आप ध सू II 6 14 1, अतीत-व्यवहारान्यासाच्छादनैर्विशुद्धौ । अन्धजडक्लीबिष्यसन्निष्पाधिताश्च । अकस्मिन् । पतिततज्जात-वर्जम् । नौ ध सू II 2 43-46; अनशास्त्वाभ्रमान्त रगता । क्लीबोन्मत्तपतिताश्च । वसिष्ठ 17, 52-53, पतितक्लीबाचिकित्स्यरोगविकलास्त्वभाषहादिण । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15 32, पतितः पतिताज्जाताः क्लीबाश्चानशाः । जडोन्मत्तान्धकुष्ठिनश्च । अर्पशास्त्र III, 5

1152. अङ्गहीनश्च तज्जर्मा । उत्पत्तौ नित्यसंयोगात् । जै. VI 1 41-42.

H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 109) as narrated in the *Bṛhad-devatā*¹¹⁵³ states that the elder brother Devāpi suffered from a skin disease and so refused the kingdom which went to his younger brother Śantanu. We know from the *Mahābhārata* that Dhṛtarāstra who was blind from birth, though elder, had to give up the kingdom in favour of his younger brother Pāṇdu¹¹⁵⁴. The *Mit.* (on Yāj. II. 135) energetically combats the view put forward by some predecessors that all wealth is meant for sacrifices. They relied on two *smṛti* passages¹¹⁵⁵ "all *dravya* (all kinds of wealth or movable property) has been created for the sake of sacrifice; therefore all those who are not competent to perform sacrifices are not entitled to share ancestral wealth but are only entitled to food and raiment. Wealth has been created for sacrifices; therefore one should employ it (or spend it) on purposes of dharma and not on women, fools and irreligious people". *Kāt.* (852) and *Br.* (S. B. E. 33 p. 371 verse 10) contain similar remarks. The *Mit.* does not accept this proposition, which argues that on that hypothesis no gifts (apart from sacrifices) that are recommended by the *śāstras* will be possible, nor can one accomplish two of the *puruṣārthas*¹¹⁵⁶ viz. *artha* and *kāma* (as required by *Gaut.* IX. 46, Yāj. I. 115) and that the verses quoted above only mean that whatever wealth is collected for sacrifices should be spent only for that purpose even by the sons of the man who collected it, since a *smṛti* text condemns generally everyone who does not spend wealth collected for a sacrifice for that purpose to becoming a crow or a *bhāsa* (a cock or water fowl) in the next life. The *Mit.* further argues that the view would be opposed to the conclusion of *Jaimini* III 4. 20-24 that the Vedic injunction "one should wear gold on one's person" is merely *puruṣārtha* and not '*kratvartha*'. *Aparārka*

1153. त्वग्दीपी राजयुवश्च कष्टिपेणसुतोऽभवत् । बृहदेवता VII 156, न राज्यमह-
मर्हसि त्वग्दीपोपहतेन्द्रियः ॥ बृहदेवता VIII 5

1154. अन्ध करणहीनत्वात् वै राजा पिता तत्र । उद्योगपर्व 147 39, vide आदिपर्व
106 (chap 100 of cr. ed.) for the congenital blindness of धृतराष्ट्र

1155. यज्ञार्थं द्रव्यस्य त्वत्वं तत्रानधिकृतास्तु ये । अत्रिक्थभाजस्ते सर्वे यासां व्याद्व-
भाजना ॥ यज्ञार्थं विहितं विचं तस्मात्तद् विनियोजयेत् । स्थानेषु धर्मखण्डेषु न स्वीकृतविधर्मिषु ॥
q. by मिता on या. II 135, परा मा III p 534; compare शान्तिपर्व 26 25. यज्ञाय
दृष्टानि धनानि धात्रा यज्ञाय दृष्टः पुत्रो रक्षितः च । तस्मात् सर्वे यज्ञ एवोपयोऽयं धनं न
कामाय दितं प्रशस्तम् ॥ The *यज्ञ मयूख* p. 157 appears to ascribe the verse यज्ञार्थं ते
देवैः and the दायित्वं p. 172 ascribes it to कात्यायन. Vide यथा यथा विभागान्
धनं यागायतानिनात् । तथा तथा विधानं विद्वद्भिर्भागौतवम् ॥ कात्या 852 q by स्मृतिच
II p. 265, परा. मा. III p. 490.

1156. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 8-9 for the *puruṣārthas*.

also holds the same view¹¹⁵⁷ and adds that women have the authority to perform pūrtadharma (acts of charity such as construction of wells, temples &c.). Vide H. of Dh vol. II. pp. 844-45 for *ista* and *pūta*

The most famous passages on the grounds of exclusion from inheritance are Manu IX 201, Yāj II. 140 and Nār. (dāyabhāga, 21-22). Manu IX 201 provides¹¹⁵⁸ "impotent persons, outcasts (*patita*), persons blind or deaf from birth, insane persons, idiots, the dumb and those deficient in any organ (or sense) are

1157. सर्वस्या एव धनोत्पत्तेर्यज्ञार्थस्ते प्रमाणाभावात् । यैव दि-द्वादश रानीर्दीक्षितो भूतिं यन्नीत-द्वयेवमादिवचनविहिता सैव धनोत्पत्तिः कृत्या । अन्यथा तु पुरुषार्थैव । अपराकं p. 743.

1158. अनशौ क्लीषपतितौ जात्यन्धधिरौ तथा । उन्मत्तजडमूकाश्च ये च केचिन्निर-
न्द्रियाः ॥ मनु IX 201. क्लीषोऽप पतितस्तजः पञ्चगुणमत्तको जड । अन्धोऽचिकित्सरोगार्ता
भर्तव्या स्युर्निराका. ॥ या II 140, मृते पितरि न क्लीषकुण्डलमत्तजडाश्चका । पतितः
पतितपत्य लिङ्गी दायशभाग्निन ॥ तेया पतितवर्ज्यो भक्तवत् प्रदीयते । तस्मिन् पितृदायाश
लभेत् दायपतिता ॥ देवल प by दायभाग V 11 p 102 (which explains लिङ्गी as
प्रव्रजितादि), वि र p 490 (लिङ्गी अतिशयेन कपटवत्चारी), स्मृतिच II. p 272,
पितृहिंसा पतित पण्डो यश्च स्यादौपपातिकः । औरसा अपि नैतेश लभेत् क्षेत्रजा कुत ।
दीर्घतीव्रामययस्ता जघोन्मत्तान्धपङ्गवः । भर्तव्याः स्युः कुले चैते तदुवास्त्वशभाग्निन ॥ नारद
(दाय. 21-22) पितृहिंसा is variously explained, वि र p 489 'द्वेषश्च पितरि जीवति
मारणाद्विफल मृते तु तदुद्देशेनोदकाद्यदानरूपः', 'पितृद्वेषो नाम असौ मम पिता नेत्येवरूपः'
सरस्वतीविलास p 364. In नारद, the मितः, दायभाग, अपराकं, दायतत्त्व and व्य प्र.
read औपपातिकः (which means 'one guilty of उपपातक') Vide मनु XI 59-66
and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र chap. 37 for long lists of उपपातकः such as गोवध, पारदार्य,
अयाज्ययाजन &c. The स्मृतिच. II, p 270 reads अवपातिक and explains अवपातिकः
अवपातितः . . अवपातितस्य महापराधेन बन्धुषादिष्कृतस्य and quotes शङ्खलिलितसूत्र in
support 'आवपातिकस्य रिक्थपिण्डोदकानि निवर्तन्ते', which is read as अपपात्रितस्य by
the दायभाग V 3, p 100. and अपराकं p 720. The मदनरत्न and व्य मयूख p 163
read अपपात्रित in नारद, while कल्पतरु read अपपात्रित and explained it as 'राज-
वधादिदोषिण बाण्यवैर्यस्य घटापवर्जनं कृतम्' (vide दायतत्त्व) The मदनरत्न gave
this very explanation for अपपात्रित The वि र reads अपपात्रित (p 489) and
gives the same explanation of it as the कल्पतरु The व्य मयूख p. 163 says
it is better to explain अपपात्रित (derived from यात्रा meaning 'sea voyage')
differently, disapproves of the explanation of अपपात्रित given by the मदनरत्न
on the ground that for one guilty of sedition or high treason the breaking
of a jar or of excommunication is not prescribed and that अपपात्रित means
'one who goes to another continent or country by sea in a vessel for trade
and the like' Constantly engaging in sea voyage was one of the matters
forbidden in the Kali age, vide 'द्विजस्यावधौ तु नौयातु शोधितस्याप्यसद्वदः' quoted
by नीलकण्ठ, which verse is quoted as from आदित्यपुराण by हेमाद्रि vol III. 2
p. 667. नीलकण्ठ is wrong about high treason गोतन (20 1-4) declares that
one should desert even one's father who is guilty of regicide and describes a
ceremony in which an unclean vessel is brought by a slave or servant from
a dust heap and is filled with water from a jar carried by a female slave and
then the vessel is struck with the foot and emptied with the words 'I make
so and so one who will get no water from me.'

entitled to no share". Yāj II. 140 declares that the impotent, the outcast and his son, a lame man, a mad man, an idiot, a blind man and one afflicted with an incurable disease are not entitled to a share. It will be noticed that Yāj. expressly excludes the son of an outcast, as do also Baud. and Devala. Nār. (dāyabhāga 21-22) says 'one hostile to his father, an outcast (*patita*), an impotent person, one who goes to another continent by sea (from India)—these even though they be *anasa* sons shall not get a share; how can a ksetraja (a son of the wife raised by another person by appointment) get a share (if he has these defects) and persons afflicted with long standing (like phthisis) and severe diseases (like leprosy), persons who are either idiots, insane or lame—these must be maintained by the family, but their sons are entitled to a share'. These verses of Manu, Yāj and Nār. have been quoted and explained in numerous decisions of the courts in India, but all such cases are mostly of academic interest now since the passing of the Hindu Inheritance (Disabilities Removal) Act of 1928 and hence need not be dwelt upon here. The Act (XII of 1928) applies to the whole of British India except to persons governed by the Dāyabhāga school and provides that no person governed by the Hindu Law, other than a person who is and has been from birth a lunatic or idiot, shall be excluded from inheritance or from any right or share in joint family property by reason only of any disease, deformity or physical or mental defect. This Act is not retrospective and does not confer on any person any right in respect of any religious office or service or any right to the management of any religious or charitable trust which he would not have had before the Act. Therefore under the Act the only defects that would disqualify a person governed by the Mitākṣarā school from claiming partition or inheritance are congenital lunacy and congenital idiocy. Under the Dāyabhāga school the grounds of exclusion will still remain as before except as modified by judicial decisions and by other Acts. An important question under the Mit school arises in this way. What is the exact position of a son that is congenitally idiotic or insane Both Manu (IX. 201 and 203) and Yāj (II 140, 141) declare that they are *anamsa* or *marāṣaka* (not entitled to a share of the ancestral estate), but must be given maintenance and if maintenance be not given by those who are liable to give it, they would incur sin (as Manu IX. 202 expressly says) and that the sons of disqualified persons take a share, if they are themselves free from defects. If A has a son B who is congenitally idiotic, is B still a copar-

gener of A (though not entitled to a share or to claim partition) so that A cannot make a gift of the whole or a portion of the property or a bequest thereof to his widow? This question arose in *Anurthammal v. Vallimayal* I L R. (1942) Mad. 807 (F. B.), where it was decided that, when A made a will in the above circumstances bequeathing all family property absolutely to his widow and two sons were born to the disqualified man B after A's death, the father had no power to make a will as the disqualified member B was still a coparcener (though not entitled to a share) and that he transmitted the heritage to his sons. The chief ground of the decision was a passage of the *Sarasvativilāsa* (explained on pp. 817 and 828-830) which is quoted below¹¹⁵⁹.

The grounds of disqualification apply to males and females alike, as stated by the Mit. on Yāj II. 140¹¹⁶⁰. A few remarks will be made on *patita* and his son. The commission of every sinful act did not make one *patita* as the word was technically understood. There were various grades among sins, which will be described in the section on *pātakas*. The grave sins were differently enumerated by different ancient writers. In explaining¹¹⁶¹

1159. अनंशौ क्लीबपतिताविति द्वित्वोक्त्या दायार्हब्राह्मिः रिक्थमाहैर्वा योपिद्व्याहैर्वा पोष्यौ । जात्यन्धवाधिराविति द्वित्वोक्त्या तयोश्चोक्त्यैव किं त्वशयुक्तावपि पोष्यौ विवाहसंस्कार-संज्ञायात् । तथाशब्दमयोगेण पद्व्यादाय विवाहसंस्कारार्हश्चेदशहरा. पोष्याश्चेति रहस्यम् । उन्मत्तजडमूकाश्चेति समुच्चयोक्त्या तेषां भर्तव्या एव नाशहरा । विवाहार्हा न चेदिति शेषः ।
स वि p 364 The S V does not appear to be laying down any novel proposition. All that this passage appears to mean is that though these disqualified persons cannot themselves enjoy a share, yet they do have a share (in theory) and if they can marry or are eligible for marriage their sons that are free from defects do take a share and that one cannot lay down a sweeping proposition that all congenitally dumb or insane persons or idiots can marry, but that there are degrees in these defects and in certain extreme circumstances these disqualified persons cannot marry. Vide Madras Law Journal for 1942 (Journal portion pp 63-82) for a reasoned criticism of the F B. case.

1160 पतितादिषु तु ण्विहित्वमविवक्षितम् । अतश्च पत्नीद्विहितुमात्रादीनामप्युक्तदोष-दुष्टानामनशित्वं वेदितव्यम् । मिता on या II 140

1161 सप्त मर्यादाः कवयस्ततश्चुस्तासामेकामिदं न्यहरो गात् । ऋ X 5 6 ; सप्त एव मर्यादाः कवयस्ततश्च चुक्रुः । तासामेकामपि अधिगच्छन् अहस्त्वान् भवति । स्तेयं तल्पारोहणं ब्रह्महत्यां भ्रूणहत्यां पुण्ड्रकृतस्य कर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेवां पातकं अष्टतोद्यामिति । निरुक्त VI 27. The meaning of this Rgveda verse is doubtful. The Nir. distinguishes between ब्रह्महत्या and भ्रूणहत्या. For the various meanings of भ्रूण, vide H. of Dh vol II p. 131 n. 290 and p 148 n. 334. In the Nir. भ्रूण probably means 'foetus', as it does in Gaut. XXI. 9 'भ्रूणहनिं हिनवर्णसंवाया च क्ली पतति'. Vas 20 23 (भ्रूणहनं वदयामो ब्राह्मणं हत्वा भ्रूणहा भवत्यविज्ञातं च गर्भम्) appears to give two senses to 'भ्रूणहा' (killer of a brāhmana or killer of a foetus when its sex is not known)

Rg. X. 56 "the wise made seven boundaries (restrictions) by transgressing even any one of which a man becomes sinful", the Nirukta VI 27 enumerates the seven sins as "theft, violating the bed (of the *guru*), murder of a *brāhmana*, murder of a *bhrūna*, continual performance of sinful acts, telling a lie as to a sinful matter". In the Tai. S. II. 5 1. I., Śat. Br. XIII. 3 1. 1. and other *Brāhmana* texts, the murder of a *brāhmana* seems to have been regarded as the gravest of all sins (vide H of Dh. vol II p 147 and n 333) In the *Chāndogya*¹¹⁶² Up. V. 10. 9 the five great sinners are declared to be the thief of gold, the drinker of liquor, the violator of the *guru's* bed, the murderer of a *brāhmana* and one who associates with them. Gaut (XXI. 1-3) declares that the murderer of a *brāhmana*, the drinker of liquor, one guilty of sexual intercourse with the wife of his *guru* (elder or teacher) or with women who are the *sapindas* of his father or mother, a thief (who steals a *brāhmana's* gold), an atheist, one who continually does forbidden acts, one who does not abandon a *patita* (son or the like through affection) and one who deserts his relations though they are not *patita* are *patitas* and so is one who incites another to commit a grave sin and also one who associates with a *patita* for a year (as regards a vehicle, a seat and bed). Āp. Dh. S (I 7. 21. 8-11) contains a longer list of grave sins (*pataniya*). Vas (I 19-21) states that there are five grave sins (*mahāpātakas*) viz. violating the bed of the *guru*, drinking liquor, murder of a learned *brāhmana*, robbing a *brāhmana* of gold and contact with a *patita* by being his teacher or pupil or priest or by contracting a matrimonial alliance with him. The Band. Dh. S II. 1. 50-56 has a somewhat different list of *pataniya* actions viz. sea voyage, robbing a *brāhmana* of his wealth and misappropriating a deposit, perjury for land, trading in (forbidden) articles, service under a *sūdra* and having a child from a *sūdra* woman. Manu XI 54, Yāj III. 227 and Visnu Dh. S 35 1 enumerate the five well-

1162. स्तेनो हिंसाश्च स्रस्र पिबंश्च शूरोस्तल्पमावसन्मृदा चेत पतन्ति चत्वारः
यथामश्वचरस्तेरिति । द्वान्द्वोऽप्येव । V 10 9, बृह उप IV 3 22 mentions as great
sinners the thief and the *स्रस्र*. Though some later *smṛtis* employ the word
स्तेप, it is always restricted by the commentators (e. g. Mit on Yāj III, 227) to the theft of *brāhmana's* gold. Vide H, of Dh. vol II p 580 for
ancient texts asking a person to desert one's father who is *patita* or a regicide
&c., but never his mother even though she be *patita*. Vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र
57 1-5 'अथ त्याज्या । बाल्या । पतिता । त्रिषुष्व मातृत्वं विवृतश्चाशुद्धः । सर्वे एवाभो-
ज्याश्चापतितास्तथा ।'

known mahāpātakas, viz. murder of a brāhmana, drinking of liquor, theft, incest and continuous association for a year with these. Association with any sinner of any sort for one year made the associater guilty of the same sin (Yāj. III. 261). *Samśarga* or *samyoga* (contact or association) was of various kinds. Manu XI 180 (= Śānti 165.37 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 88 = Vas. 1. 22) states that a person who associates with a *patita* for a year as regards using the same vehicle or seat or taking food with him in the same row becomes *patita*; but he becomes *patita* at once by being his sacrificial priest or by being his teacher of the Veda or by entering into¹¹⁶³ a matrimonial alliance with him. Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati¹¹⁶⁴ (quoted by Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 261) states that association (*sankāra*) with a *patita* is of nine kinds viz. occupying the same seat or bed, taking dinner in the same row with him, cooking food in his cooking pots, partaking of cooked food prepared by him, being a sacrificial priest or employing him as a priest, being his teacher of the Veda or making him one's teacher of the Veda, giving him one's daughter in marriage or taking his daughter in marriage, taking food with him in the same pot. Devala¹¹⁶⁵ declares that sin is passed on from one man to another by conversation (with a sinner), by touching him, by his breath (coming in close contact with one's nose), by occupying the same vehicle (horse) or seat, by eating (in his company), by being a priest for him or by making him one's priest, by being his teacher of Veda or making him one's teacher or by matrimonial alliance. The same causes that led to a male being *patita* operated in the case of a woman to make her *patita*; there was one additional cause viz. a woman became *patita* by sexual connection with a male of a lower class than herself (Gaut 21 9, Yāj. III. 297 and Śaunaka¹¹⁶⁶). The ancient sages were very considerate even

1163. सवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । एकयानभोजनासनशयने । योनिसौव-
मौरखैः सन्वन्धैस्तु सद्य एव । विष्णु 35 3-5 'सौवशब्देन याजनमभिधीयते मौख(मुख्य)शब्देन
युखभवत्वेनाध्यापनम्' मिता on या. III. 261

1164. यथाह वृद्धबृहस्पतिः—एकशय्यासन पट्टि कर्तृभण्डपक्वान्निभ्रणम् । याजनाध्या-
पने योनिरसथा च सहभोजनम् । नवधा सङ्कर मोक्षो न कर्तव्योऽधमे सह । मिता. on या.
III. 261 (printed text reads पक्वत्तल for पक्वान्, but this seems to be wrong if
we look at the explanation), अपरार्क p. 1086, बृह. र. p. 587 (both ascribe
to बृह.) These verses are ascribed to देवल in दीपकलिका p. 99.

1165. सलापरपशूनिःश्वससहयानासनाशनात् । याजनाध्यापनाद्यौनात्पाप सप्ता-
मते क्षणम् ॥ याजन योनिसम्बन्धं स्वाध्यायं सहभोजनम् । कृत्वा सद्य पतत्येव पतितेन न
संशयः ॥ देवल p. by मिता on या. III. 261, अपरार्क p. 1087

1166. यथाह जौनक । पुरुषस्य यानि पतननिमित्तानि स्त्रीणामपि तान्येव । ब्राह्मणी
ह्रीनवर्णासेवायामधिकं पततीति । मिता. on या. III. 261

to fallen women. They provide that even women that are *patita* and have not yet performed the proper penance were not to be cast on the streets, but they were to be given a hut (near the house) for residence and bare maintenance that would keep body and soul together and were to be guarded against further lapses (Yāj. III. 296). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 571-573.

How far unchastity will debar a female from inheritance will be discussed a little later on. Adultery in general was an *upapātaka* only according to Manu XI. 59 and the ordinary penance for it was *cāndrāyana* or *govrata* (Manu XI. 117). But if the adultery was with a person of low caste, the woman became *patita* and would not have been entitled to a share on partition (as a wife or mother) under the old Hindu Law.

In the case of those guilty of grave sins who did not perform the *prāyaścittas* prescribed for such sins there was a peculiar procedure called *ghatasphota* prescribed for excommunicating them and severing all connection with them and treating them as dead, which has been described in H. of Dh. vol. II p. 388. Vide Gaut. 20. 2-7, Manu XI. 182-184, Yāj. III. 294. But when the sinner performed the appropriate *prāyaścitta* (penance), the *smrtis* declare that he became fit to be associated with (*vyavahārya*), he was to be welcomed by his relatives who were to take a bath along with him in a holy river or the like and who were to throw in the water an unused jar filled with water, he should offer grass to cows in the midst of his relations, they were not to find fault with him later on. Vide Manu XI. 186-187, Yāj. III. 295, 299, Vas. 15. 20, Gaut. 20. 10-14 (which prescribes the recital of certain Vedic mantras and the offering of clarified butter into fire). Ap Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 24-25 and I. 10. 29. 1-2 prescribe for the sinner who kills a *guru* or a *śrotriya* that has performed *soma* sacrifice or a *bhṛūna* certain observances till death, but declare that such a person can never get rid of the loss of the right of association with all people, that there is no return for him to his relatives.¹¹⁶⁷ In the *Nirnaya-sindhu* (III *Uttarārdha* pp. 567-68) and in the *Dharmasindhu* (III *Uttarārdha* pp. 453-54) the rite of *ghatasphota* for a *patita* and the rite for taking him back are concisely described.¹¹⁶⁸

The *smrtis* state that when a man knowingly committed a sin, penances did not necessarily remove the otherworldly con-

1167 शुचं कृत्वा श्रोत्रिय वा कर्मसमाप्तमेतेनैव विधिनोत्तमादुद्धवासश्चरेत् । नार्या-
र्त्तिहोत्रे भव्यापत्तिर्विद्यते कल्मषं तु निर्दण्यते । आ०. ध. सू. I 9 24. 24-25.

1168. Vide Appendix.

sequences of the sin altogether but the sinner became fit to be associated with (Yāj. III. 226). In the case of the *patita*, even his son born after he committed a grave sin was held to be *patita* by most writers of *smṛtis* (Yāj. II. 140, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 35-36, Kaut. III. 5)¹¹⁶⁹. But in the case of the daughter a difference was mercifully made. Vas. (13 51-53)¹¹⁷⁰ states "the sages say that one born of a *patita* becomes a *patita*, except a female child, since she is to go to another (person as his wife); one may marry her without accepting any wealth (of her *patita* father) along with her". Yāj. III. 261 also says that the daughter of a *patita* may be married after making her fast and after making her leave everything (belonging to the *patita* father) in her father's house. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 257) quotes a prose passage from Hārīta to the following effect: the daughter of a *patita* should have fasted one day and night, should take a bath without clothes, should put on white and new garments in the morning, should loudly repeat thrice 'I do not belong to him (my *patita* father) nor is he anyone to me' and then she may be married at a sacred place (river etc.) or in one's (the bridegroom's) house.

These rules about a *patita* led to this result that if a Hindu changed his religion or was excommunicated or was made an outcast for some lapse that his caste looked upon with great disfavour, he was deemed to have lost his rights of partition or inheritance. The Caste Disabilities Removal Act (XXI of 1850) abrogates these rules of the ancient¹¹⁷¹ Hindu Law

1169. तेषां चौरसाः पुत्रा भागहारिणः । न तु पत्नीयस्य पत्नीये कर्मणि कृते खनन्त-
रोपसाः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 34-36. On या. II. 140 the मद्. पा. 681 explains: तज्जः
पतितादुक्तमायश्चित्तादुरपक्षः

1170. पतितेनोत्पन्नः पतितो भवतीत्याहुर्गम्यन् स्त्रियाः । सा हि परागामिनी । तामरिक्त्या-
नुपेयात् । अस्मिन् 13 51-58: कस्या सद्यद्देहेषां सोपवासान्किञ्चनम् । या. III 261, तथा
च हारितः । पतितस्य तु कुमारी विद्वन्नामाह्वयादीराजोपोयिता भ्रातृ कुञ्जेनाहतेन वाससा-
च्छाद्य नाहमेतेषां न ममेत इति त्रिकञ्चैरभिधाय तीर्थे स्नग्दे वोद्देहत् । विश्वरूपेण या. III
257. The मित्ता on the same verse of या. quotes this passage (with slight
variations) as from बृहदारण्यक

1171. Vide *Khunni Lal v. Gobind* L. R. 38 I. A. p. 87 where A and B, being father and son and forming a joint family and A becoming a convert to the Moslem religion, it was held that A did not forfeit his interest in the joint family property and that the only effect of the conversion was that it operated as a severance of A from the family and that one half of the property immediately vested in A and the other half in B. Vide p. 101 where the P. C. say that the Legislature virtually set aside the provisions of the Hindu Law. The Act of 1850 is felt by many Hindus as a great hardship and should be removed from the statute book. In England the Blasphemy Act of 1698 is still in force.

All the smrtis say that those who are deprived of their rights to partition on account of the several defects mentioned are entitled to maintenance out of the family property as long as they are alive (Gaut. 28. 41, Vas. 17. 54, Visnu Dh. S. 15. 33, Manu IX. 202, Yāj. II. 140 etc.). If the disqualified persons want to marry or are married, then their sonless wives that are chaste should be maintained (Yāj. II. 142), but those that are unchaste should be driven out and so also those wives that are hostile to the family; but the Mit. adds that even hostile wives of disqualified heirs must be maintained provided they are chaste. If the disqualified person has an *aurasa* son or *ksetraja* son^{1171a} who is free from the defects mentioned above (such as impotence) he becomes entitled to a share of the joint family property and the daughters of disqualified persons are entitled to be maintained in the family and provision must be made for their marriages (Manu IX. 203, Yāj. II. 141). It follows that disqualified heirs could not adopt, since Yāj. II. 141 mentions only *aurasa* and *ksetraja* sons. Many of the smrtis did not allow even maintenance to the *pāṭka* and his son (vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 46, Kaut. III. 5, Devala, Visnu Dh. S. 15. 35-36). Coparceners were prevented from claiming a share at a partition if at the time of the partition they were labouring under the defects mentioned above. But if after partition¹¹⁷² the defect which disqualified a member be

1171a. तत्र क्लीबस्य क्षेत्रजः पुत्रः सम्भवत्यप्येवमौरसा अपि । औरससंज्ञैव जयोर्ग्रहण-
मितरपुत्रव्युदासार्थम् । मिता. on चा. II. 141. In former ages a क्षेत्रज son was
possible in the case of an impotent person. The अर्थशास्त्र also (III. 5)
states सति भार्यायै तेषामपत्यमतदिष्टं भार्यं हरेत् । शास्त्राद्यादन्विते पतितवर्जाः । तेषां च
कृतदारणां तुल्ये प्रजनने सति । छत्रेयुर्मान्यवाः पुत्रांस्तेषामेकं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥. मनु IX. 203
allows even impotent persons to marry, though he appears to have disapproved
of it. A क्लीब is indicated, acc. to काल्याण, by the following signs: 'न मूर्धं
केनिलं यस्य विद्या चाप्यु निलज्जति । नेद्व्योन्मादुक्षुकार्पा हीनः क्लीबः स उच्यते ॥' काल्या.
q by द्वायमल V. 8. p. 102. नारद (संयुक्तयोग 9-10) states the signs of a potent
man and in verses 11-13 speaks of 14 kinds of impotent persons. The
अर्थशास्त्र in III. 18 declares that the means of judging about impotence are
women, froth of urine and the sinking of the faces in water (क्लीबभावे
स्त्रियः मूत्रफेनमप्यु विष्टानिमज्जनं च). The close agreement between Kauṣ. and
Kāt. may be noted.

1172. एतेषां निभागात् प्रागेव दोषभासावर्जनस्य लक्षणं न उपविभक्तस्य । विभाग-
सकालमन्यौषधादिना दोषनिर्हरणे भाग्यासिद्धयेव । विभक्त्यु कृते जातः सर्वप्रायां विभाग-
भाविष्यस्य समानप्रायत्वात् । मिता. on चा. II. 140. Vide *Deo Kishen v. Budh*
Prakash 3 All. 509 (F. B.) and *Abilakh v. Bhikhi* 22 Cal. 864 for cases
respectively of insanity at the time of inheritance barring succession and
supervening insanity not divesting a person.

removed by medical treatment or the like then the disqualified member was entitled to reopen the partition on the analogy of a posthumous son born after partition. So also if a person is quite free from defect when he takes at a partition a share in joint family property or inherits, subsequently supervening defect does not divest the property once vested in him.

Some of the *smṛtis* contain rules that appear to be only recommendatory. Āp. Dh.¹¹⁷³ S. II. 6. 14. 15 says that if even the eldest son or brother were to waste joint wealth in immoral or improper ways he should be given no share (by the father or brothers at a partition). To the same effect are Gaut. 28. 38 and Manu IX. 214.

Gaut. 28. 43 and Visnu Dh. S. 15. 37 provide¹¹⁷⁴ that the sons of *pratiloma* unions (i.e. of a man with a woman of a higher class) are to be dealt with like the sons of a *brāhmaṇa* from a *śūdra* woman i.e. they would be entitled to maintenance from their father, though *pratiloma* unions were condemned. Kāt. (862-864) provides that the son of a woman married out of her order, one who is born of a *sagotra* union and one who is an apostate from the order of ascetics do not obtain ancestral wealth; but the son of a woman married in the wrong order takes the ancestral wealth if he is of the same class as his father, and the son of a woman who is not of the same caste as the husband (but of a lower caste) and is married in the proper order takes the wealth of the father. But the son of a woman

1173. यद्वत्तर्पणेन द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठोपि तमभारं कुर्वति । आप. व. ६. ॥ II, 6. 14. 15; सर्वानुत्तरोप्यस्याप्यद्वयो न लभेतैकोपाम् । गौ. 28. 38.

1174. शूद्रादुत्तरेत्यतिलोमास्तु । गौ. 28. 43, प्रतिलोमास्तु स्त्रीषु ज्योत्स्नाश्चाभासिनः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 37; अक्रमोदास्तु तत्रैव सगोत्रायस्तु जायते । मन्त्रज्यावसितश्चैव न रिक्तं तेषु चार्हति ॥ अक्रमोदास्तु तस्त्वृक्ष्यी सर्वार्थं यदा पितुः । असवर्णमस्तु तत्र क्रमोदाया च यो भवेत् ॥ प्रतिलोममद्वया या तस्याः पुत्रो न रिक्त्यभाक् । माताच्छादनमत्यन्तं देयं तद्वदनुभिर्नवम् ॥ बभूवसमप्यभावे तु पित्र्यं द्रव्यं तदाप्युपात् ॥ कात्या. (862-864) q. by द्वादशमा V. 14 p. 103, वि. र. p. 491, वि. वि. pp 133-134, च. नयूख pp 163-164. The word *अक्रमोदास्तु* is interpreted in two ways: (1) If a *brāhmaṇa* married a *ksatriya* girl first and then married a *brāhmaṇa* girl, both women became *अक्रमोदा* (as the procedure was against Manu III. 12) The son of the *ksatriya* woman in such a case did not take the wealth of his father but only the son of the other woman took it. The other interpretation (given by the *चवहृत्स्नयूख*) is based upon the doctrine of *परिवेदन*, for which vide H. of Dh vol. II, pp 546-549 and Mann. III. 172. The son of a younger sister married before her elder sister and of the latter married after a younger one were both excluded from inheritance to their father. Kāt. (862) is quoted in *Nātha v. Chotalal* 55 Bom. 1 at p. 8.

united with a man in the reverse order of castes does not take the ancestral estate; but the approved view is that he should be given food and raiment till his death by the kinsmen. In case there are no kinsmen such a son takes the whole wealth of his father and if the father left no wealth kinsmen are not bound to maintain him.

Provision must also be made before ordering partition in a suit for partition by a brother for the marriage expenses of the unmarried sister or sisters of the brothers. Here there has been a great divergence of views among the writers of digests and commentaries. Kaut. III.5 (quoted below in n 1181), Visnu Dh. 8.18, 35 and 15. 31 and Br. simply state that wealth for the marriage expenses of the unmarried sisters must be set apart. But Manu IX. 118, Yaj. II. 124 and Kāt. (858)¹¹⁷⁵ state that the brothers should get their unmarried sisters married by giving them one fourth share. The Mit. explains¹¹⁷⁶ that this does not mean that each brother is to give one fourth of his share to the sister (for in that case if there are five brothers and one unmarried sister she may get more than each brother) but that the unmarried sister is to get one fourth of what she would have got if she were a male and that if a person has sons and daughters from wives of different classes then the unmarried daughter of the wife of each class will take one fourth of what her brother from the same mother would have taken. The Mit. further adds that one should not explain that the word "one fourth" is not to be taken literally and that the unmarried sister gets only as much as is necessary for her marriage, since such an explanation is opposed to the express words of Manu IX. 118 and since Manu declares sinfulness as the consequence of not giving one fourth share. The Mit. informs us that its explanation was the same as that of Asahāya and Medhātithi and that Bhārucci gave another explanation (viz. that an unmarried sister was entitled to as much wealth as would be necessary for her

1175. कन्यकानामर्क्षानां चतुर्थो भाग इष्यते । पुत्राणां तु त्रयो भागाः स्वाम्यं स्वल्पधने स्तुतम् ॥ कात्या. १. by दायभाग III. 35 p 69, स्मृतिच II 'p. 268. वि १ p. 494. This text is cited in 53 Mad. 84 at p. 97.

1176. निजादेशाच्चतुर्थमंशं दत्त्वा । अनेन दुहितरोपि पितृसुखमंशमागिन्य इति गम्यते । न च निजादेशाद् दत्तांशं तु तुरीयकमिति तुरीयांशाविवक्षया संस्कारमात्रोपयोगि द्रव्यं दत्तेति न्यायानं युक्तं मनुवचनविरोधात् 'स्वैर्योशेभ्यस्तु ... पतिताः स्तुतद्विस्तवः ॥' ... पतिता स्तुतद्विस्तव इत्यकारणे प्रत्यवायभ्रवणाद्वचनं दातव्यता मतीयते । मिता on या. II. 124.

marriage and not to a definite share). The *Dayabhāga* held the opinion¹¹⁷⁷ that if ancestral wealth was small, the provision for the marriage of the unmarried daughter should be made by giving her a fourth share but if the wealth was ample then she should get only as much as was necessary for her marriage. The Sm. C., V. R. p. 494, V. C. p. 134 follow the view of *Bhāruḥ*, while the V. M. (p. 106), *Madanaratna* and V. P. (p. 456 ff) follow the Mit. The former group particularly relies on the texts of *Devala*¹¹⁷⁸ (wealth necessary for marriage should be given to unmarried daughters from the paternal estate), *Sankha* (when partition of heritage takes place the unmarried daughter takes the maidenly trinkets, wealth for her marriage expenses and *strīdhana*) and *Visnu Dh. S. 15. 31*. In modern times the Courts allow no share to unmarried daughters but only provision for marriage expenses and this too is restricted to the unmarried sister of a person who requires or sues for partition and does not hold good as to the daughters of brothers or other collaterals¹¹⁷⁹. In *Bhagavati Shukul v. Ram Jatan* 45 All. 297 it was held (at p. 299) that "quarter share" in the text means as much money as will suffice for marriage expenses and that where the daughter was a cripple and blind and all the property was worth Rs 500 an alienation of the whole of it by the widowed mother for raising a dowry for the daughter was justifiable.

1177. अल्पधने पुत्रैः स्वास्वादशादाकृत्य कन्याभ्यश्चतुर्थांशो दातव्यः । यथा मयः स्वभ्यः ० । .. एवं च बहुतेरधने विवाहोचितधनं दातव्यं न चतुर्थानियम इति सिध्यति । दायभाग III. 36, 39 pp 69-70. The दायतत्त्व p 171 says. एवं तृतीयाशदानमतिपाद-कमपि विवाहोचितद्वयदानपरम् ।

1178 कन्याभ्यश्च पितुर्नव्यं देयं वैवाहिकं वस्तु । अश्वकस्य स्वं कन्या धर्मजा पुत्रवद्-रेत् ॥ देवल q by स्मृतिच. II p. 268, यय. नि p. 431, परा मा III p 510; विभज्यमाने दायार्थे कन्यालङ्कारे वैवाहिकं अर्धधनं च कन्या लभेत् । शङ्ख q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 269, वि र. p. 495, परा. मा III. p 511; अश्वदाना स्वविनाहक्येण संस्कारं कुर्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 31.

1179. Vide *Subbbayya v. Anant* 53 Mad. 84, where A had a son S by one wife and a son S1 and three daughters D1, D2, and D3 by another wife and S sued A and S1 for partition and D1 was married after the institution of the suit, one-third of the marriage expenses of D1 were deducted from the one-third share of S1 and as regards one-third of the marriage expenses of D2 and D3 (which were yet to be incurred) his share (one-third) was charged with one-third expenses of marriage, but it was held that he was not liable for the marriage expenses of the daughter of his brother S1.

Mode of partition and allotment of shares.

Before allotting shares provision must be made out of the joint family property for the payment of joint family debts^{1179a}, for the personal debts of the father that are not immoral or illegal, for small gifts of affection made by the father, the maintenance of disqualified coparceners and female dependent members and for marriage expenses. Vide Manu VIII. 166 (as to family debts), Yāj II. 117, Nār. (dāyabhāga 32) and Kat. 850 (for payment of father's debts and gifts of affection) and 542-43 (for the various legal necessities¹¹⁸⁰). If brothers want to separate and some of them are already married and others are unmarried then provision must be made for the *samskāras* (such as marriages) of the latter from the joint family property. Even Kautilya makes provision for the marriage of unmarried brothers and sisters¹¹⁸¹. Yāj II 124, Nār. (dāyabhāga 33), Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 373 verse 21) lay down that the *samskāras* (upanayana, marriage &c) of younger brothers must be provided for out of paternal wealth¹¹⁸².

1179a. ऋणरिक्थयोः समो विभागः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 5; ऋणं मीतिप्रदानं च दत्त्वा शेषं विभाजयेत् । कार्या. 850 q by स्मृतिच II p. 273, स्पष्ट. नि. p. 446 (reads रिक्थं for ऋणं). The verse is quoted in *Ponappa v Pappuvayyengar* 4 Mad. 1 (F. B) at p. 49.

1180. कुटुम्बार्थमशक्तेन गृहीतं व्याधितेन वा । उपह्वयनिमित्तं च विद्यादापकृतं तु तत् ॥ कन्याविवाहिकं चैव प्रेतकार्यं च यत्कृतम् । एतत्सर्वं प्रदातव्यं कुटुम्बेन कृतं भूयोः ॥ कार्या. 542-543 q by अपरार्क p. 647, स्मृतिच. II pp 174-175, नि. र. p. 56 प्रभोः means प्रभुणा

1181. संनिविष्टसमस्तनिविष्टेभ्यो नैवेशनिकं दद्यात् । कन्याभ्यश्च प्रदानिकम् । अर्थ-शास्त्र III. 5; असंस्कृता भ्रातरस्तु ये स्तुस्तत्र यवीयसः । संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिश्चैव पैतृकान्मध्यगा-द्धनात् । बृह. q. by स्मृतिच II p. 269 (तत्राजीवत्पितृकेषु भ्रातृषु), नि. र. p. 492, असंस्कृतास्तु यास्तत्र पैतृकादेव ता धनात् । संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिर्ज्येष्ठैः कन्यकाश्च यथाविधि ॥ बृह. q. by स्प. मयूर p. 106, attributed to व्यास by अपरार्क p. 731, परा मा III. 508, स्प. म. p. 454 (all these read ये तत्र पैतृकादेव ते घनात् or तद्धनात्). संस्कारः परिणयनम् । तत्पूर्वसंस्कृतेरसंस्कृतानां भ्रातृणां कार्यम् । . अस्मादेव च ज्ञायते साधारणद्रव्याद् विवाह-निवृत्तिः । विश्वरूप on या. II. 128 (Tri. ed.); असंस्कृतानां विवाहान्तसंस्कारैरसंस्कृतानां भ्रातॄणां भतीनीनां च विवाहान्तसंस्कारं कृत्वा पश्चाद्विभागः कर्तव्य इत्यर्थः । मद्र. पा p. 648

1182. This rule, according to Yāj. II 124, was restricted to brothers only and was not to be extended. If, for example, there is a joint family consisting of several cousins with their sons and the marriages of some of the sons of the cousins are performed at the expense of the joint family, then when a suit is filed for partition no provision can be made for the marriages of other sons of the cousins. Vide *Ramlinga v. Narayan* L. R. 49 I. A. 168 In *Jairam v. Nathu* 31 Bom. 54, it was held that in a partition suit

(Continued on the next page)

It has already been seen that a father could during his life time separate his sons from himself and also among themselves^{1182a} and that he could assign shares of property to his sons. This power of the father is indicated even in the Tai. S. III. 1. 9. 4 (quoted above in note 1055) which refers to the story of Manu having distributed his wealth among his sons. It is argued by Āp. Dh. S. II 6. 14. 11 that, as this Vedic text (Tai. S.) does not expressly state that any difference was made by Manu as to the shares of his sons, the division must have been equal, that therefore the preference of the eldest son is forbidden by the śāstras and that when the Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 7 states that "they distinguish the eldest by (a larger share of) the wealth" that is not a rule, but a mere *anuṣāda* (a statement of fact) and the Vedic passage only recites what some people do in spite of the rule of the śāstras. The general rule, in the absence of express provision to the contrary, is equal distribution, as stated in Jai. X. 3. 53 (*samam syād-aśruṭāt*) which is relied upon by the *prima facie* view in Mit on Yāj. II. 265. From the Tai. S. it appears that both practices viz. equal division of property among all sons and giving a larger share to the eldest were wellknown in those far-off ages. Āp II. 6.

(Continued from the last page)

between father and sons, a minor son is entitled to have provision made for his thread, betrothal and marriage ceremonies out of the joint family property before the property is partitioned. In *Sundrabai v Shiv Narayan* 32 Bom. 81 it was held that marriage is one of the *samskāras* which both Yāj and Nārada refer to. In 38 Mad. 556 the same principle was established. But in *Venkatarayudu v Sivaramkrishnayya* 58 Mad. 120 and in *Pranjivan v Motiram* 29 Bom L R 1412 it has been held that the decisions in 38 Mad. 556 and in 31 Bom. 54 must be regarded as overruled by the P. C. decision in L R 49 I A. 168, and in 58 Mad. 126 it was held that an unmarried brother is not entitled to have provision made for his marriage in a decree for partition. It is submitted with great respect that these Madras and Bombay decisions are wrong so far as unmarried brothers are concerned, that they go against the express texts of several writers like Kautilya, Nārada, Br., Viśvarūpa, Madanapārijāta (p. 648) and that the Privy Council in 49 I. A. 168 was dealing with the provision for marriages of the children of coparceners and not of brothers.

1182a. It has been held in *Ekallu Subharani v. Ekallu Chenchura ghavan* (1945) 1 M L J. p. 151 that the paternal grandfather has no power to separate his grandsons among themselves and that it is only the father who has this power.

14. 7 clearly¹¹⁸³ states that in some countries gold or black corn or black produce of the earth is the (special) share of the eldest. Almost all the sūtras and smṛtis prescribe the rule of equal division among the sons of wives of the same class as the father (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 2-3, Manu IX. 156, Yāj. II. 117, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 18. 36, Kauṭ. III. 5, Br. S. B. E. 33 p. 371 v. 10, Kāt. 838). Some of these no doubt refer to the special share or provision given to the eldest (called *uddhāna*). Kaut. says "the father in a partition during his own life should not give a special share to one out of several sons, nor should he deprive a son of a share without any cause"¹¹⁸⁴ (such as blindness etc.). Kāt. 843 says the same thing in almost the same words. But from certain passages when construed literally (such as Yāj. II. 116, Nār. dāyabhāga 15) it appears that the early Indian father often distributed the ancestral wealth among his sons just as he pleased. Nār (dāyabhāga 15)¹¹⁸⁵ says: "When a father has distributed his property amongst his sons that is a lawful distribution for them (and cannot be set aside), whether the share of one be less or greater than or equal to the shares of the rest; for the father is the lord of all". To the same effect is Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 370 v. 4) who adds that if they try to alter the arrangement (made by the father) they shall be punished. But later on these passages were either held to apply to former ages (V. Mayūkha p. 99 says so) or to the self-acquired property of the father (Mit. on Yāj. II. 114) or were so interpreted as to mean that the partition made by the father could not be annulled if it was legal, but if illegal it could be set aside (Mit. on Yāj. II. 116, Madanaratna, Madanapārijāta p. 646). Nār. (dāyabhāga 16) himself denies authority to the father to give shares to the sons as he pleases

1183. एकधनेन ज्येष्ठं तोषयित्वा । .. ज्येष्ठो दायदा इत्येको । त्रेशविशेषे सुवर्णं कृष्णं गावः कर्णं भौमं ज्येष्ठस्य । ... तच्छास्त्रे विप्रतिपद्यते । मनु. पुत्रेभ्यो दायं स्वभजद्विषयविशेषेण श्रूयते । अथापि तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्तीत्येकवच्छ्रूयते । अथापि निरपाहुवाद-मविधिमाहुर्न्यायविदो यथा तस्मादजावच पृथङ्नां सह चरन्तीति । ... सर्वे हि धर्मयुक्ता भवन्ति । आप. घ. सू. II. 6 14. 1, 6-7, 10-13.

1184. जीवहिभागे पिता नैकं विशेषयेत् । न चैकमकारणान्निर्भिन्नजेत । अर्थशास्त्र III 5 p 161, जीवहिभागे ह पिता नैकं पुत्रं विशेषयेत् । निर्भाजयेत् चैवेकमकारणमाकारणं विना ॥ कात्या 843 q. by दायभाग I. 84 (p. 56), व्य. प्र p 439.

1185. पित्रैव ह विभक्ता ये हीनाधिकसमैर्धनेः । तेषां स एव धर्मः स्यात्सर्वस्य हि पिता, मनु ॥ नारद (दायभाग 15); समन्यूनाधिका भागाः पित्रा येषां प्रकल्पिताः । तथैव ते पालन्तीया विनेयास्ते स्वरूपथा ॥ बृह. q. by अपराक p. 717, स्मृतिच. II. p. 261, व्यव. नि. p. 413, रि. र. p. 468 (ascribes to नारद, बृह. and या.). The व्य. मयूक्त (p. 99) says. 'यदपि नारद—पित्रैव ... मनु—इति दद्युमातरपरम्' ।

when he is suffering from diseases, is angry (with a son or sons), or is engrossed in pleasures or pursues paths opposed to śāstras.

The eldest son has received special treatment in all ages down to modern times (vide p 566 above). That treatment took various forms. Sometimes the texts say that the eldest son took the whole estate. Āp. II. 6. 14. 6, Manu IX. 105-107, Nār. (dāyabhāga 5) refer to this view. Manu (IX 105-107) allows the eldest son to take the entire paternal estate, provides that the other sons should depend for their maintenance on the eldest son as on the father, remarks that the eldest by the mere fact of his birth enables the father to free himself from the debt to the ancestors and that therefore he (the eldest) deserves to get from the father the entire estate.¹¹⁸⁶

Another mode of dealing with the privileges of the eldest son was to give him some excellent or valuable article and then to distribute the rest equally. The Tai S. II. 2. 2. 7 seems to have been understood by Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 2-5¹¹⁸⁷ in this sense. Manu IX 114 says that the eldest may get the best of all the items of wealth, whatever is the most eminent and the best of a group of ten cattle. Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 371 verse 8) is to the same effect. Kaut. III. 6 points out that according to Uśanas among the sons born of the same mother, goats shall be the special share of the eldest among brāhmanas, horses among ksatriyas, cows among vaiśyas and sheep among śūdras, that if there be no quadrupeds the eldest was to take an additional share of one-tenth of the whole property excepting precious stones, since he releases his father from fetters (of Hell) by offering śrāddha. Kaut. himself holds that the eldest should get the vehicle and ornaments of his father (after the latter's death); the middle-most his bed, seat and the bronze plate from which the father took his meals; and the youngest should get black grain (like sesame),

1186. Compare the Vedic passages about the three debts owed to gods, ancestors and sages quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 270 (n 621), 425 (n. 1008), 560 (n. 1302).

1187. मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो द्वायं स्वभजदिति श्रुतिः । समश्च सर्वानविशेषात् । वरं वा रूप-
लङ्घनेज्ज्येष्ठः । तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्तीति श्रुतिः । बौ. घ. सू. II. 2. 2-5 निरव-
साययन्ति is explained as तोषयन्ति by स्मृतिच. II. p 260 and आप also
(II. 6. 14. 1) employs the words एकधनेन ज्येष्ठं तोषयित्वा (having satisfied the
eldest by giving him an excellent article of wealth). वि. र. p. 467 explains
ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेनोद्धरणलक्षणेन निरवसाययन्ति इतरपुत्रेभ्यः प्रयत्नं कुर्वन्ति.

iron, domestic utensils and the bullock cart. Hārīta¹¹⁸⁸ says : "at a partition the eldest should get a bull, the most precious wealth, the images for worship and the ancestral house, the other brothers should go out and build new houses or if there be a single house the eldest should get the southern (or best) portion". This special allotment to the eldest is called *uddhāra* (lit. what is first taken out) in Manu IX. 115-116 and Visnu Dh. S. 18. 37, and Baud. employs the form "uddharet". There were other methods also prescribed for special distribution of wealth. Gaut. 28. 5 says that the eldest should get one-twentieth of the whole as a special share, a bull and a cow, a cow, a chariot to which horses, asses or mules are yoked and a bull. Manu IX. 112 provides that the special share of the eldest was one-twentieth of the whole property and whatever was the most valuable out of the ancestral property, the middlemost son should get half of this (i. e. one-fortieth part) and the youngest one-fourth of this (one-eightieth of the whole). Manu IX. 117 states that when no valuable items are taken out for the eldest the latter should get two shares, the son next to him one share and a half and the other sons one share each. Vas. 17. 42, Nār. (dāyabhāga 13), Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 371 verse 9) also give two shares to the eldest, the latter¹¹⁸⁹ making it to depend on the possession of learning and good qualities by the eldest. Similarly Nār (dāyabhāga 12), Br. (S. B. E. vol 33 p. 370 verse 5) provide¹¹⁹⁰ that when the father makes a division during his lifetime he may retain two shares for himself. Śankha-Likhita allowed this right to the father only when he had an only son¹¹⁹¹

1188. विभजिष्यमाणे गवां समूहे वृषभमेकधनं वरिष्ठे वा ज्येष्ठाय द्रव्यद्वैवतां गृहं च इतरे निष्कम्य कुल्युः । एकस्मिन्नेव दक्षिणं ज्येष्ठायानुपूर्व्यमितरेषाम् । हारीत q by वि र p. 471 Vide Damodardas v. Uttamram 17 Bom 271, 288, for the eldest son being given the custody of the family idol and the property appertaining to it.

1189 जन्मविद्यालुगज्येष्ठो व्यसं दायानुवाप्तुयात् । समांशभागिनस्त्वन्ये तेपा पितृ-समस्तु स ॥ बृह. q by दायभाग II 42 p 42, वि र. p 480, स्मृतिच. II. p. 266, परा मा III. p 490 व्यवहारसार quotes first half as कार्यापनस (p. 218).

1190 जीवद्विभागे तु पिता गृहीतांशद्वयं स्वयम् । बृह. q. by दायभाग II. 35 p. 36, स्मृतिच II. p. 261, व्यव वि p. 414, व्य म p 444, वि. र p 465.

1191. स यथेकपुत्रः स्याद् द्वौ भागावात्मनः क्षुपात् । शङ्खलिखित q by वि र. pp. 465, दायभाग II. 59 pp 47-48, अथर्वक p 717 (attributes to ब्रह्म). The दायभाग does not take the word एकपुत्र as a बहुव्रीहि but explains it as meaning एकस्य पुत्र (i. e. औस and not क्षेत्रज्ञ), while स्मृतिच. explains it as गलितवयस्क वि. र p 466 says 'परिजातस्तु एकपुत्रः ज्येष्ठपुत्र इत्याह । भाष्यकारस्तु पुत्रशब्दं न पठितवान् । यथेकाकी स्यादिति पठितवान् । यथेकाकी पत्नीविरहितोपि स्यात्तदाप्यश्वयं गृहीयात् । सपत्निकृत्वेनामप्यपरेणाशेन तोषयेत् ।' The भाष्यकार seems to be that of the शङ्खलिखित The मदनमल (folio 91 b) refers to पारिजात's explanation (एक-शब्दोच्य श्रेष्ठयाच्य) The व्य. म p 444 criticizes दायभाग.

In course of time there was a revulsion of popular feeling against allowing a special share to the eldest son and even to the father. *Kāt.* (838)¹¹⁹² states that where the parents and brothers divide the whole joint property in equal shares that is a just (or legal) division. *Br.* (S. B. E. 33)¹¹⁹³ p. 370 verse 2) declares that the father and sons are entitled to equal shares in lands and houses that are ancestral, but in property acquired by the father the sons cannot claim a share against the will of the father. The *V. M.* (p. 95) remarks on this that it follows impliedly that in the wealth acquired by the grand-father or other (remoter) ancestor, the sons can demand a partition even against the father's desire.

According to *Manu IX. 125*,¹¹⁹⁴ if all wives of a person are of the same caste, then the son who is born first (even from a wife who is junior i.e. married later) is the eldest son and that among twins the one that is born first is the eldest (verse 126), just as in the *Subrahmanyā*¹¹⁹⁵ texts the invocation of *Indra* is made by the name of the first-born. But if he has wives of different castes then the son of the wife of his own caste is the eldest (though born later) and the son of a wife of a lower caste though born first would be postponed. *Devala*^{1196a} quoted in *V. R.* p. 477 and *V. C.* p. 128 says the

1192. सकलं द्रव्यजातं यद्भगैर्युक्तं तस्मै । पितरौ भ्रातरश्चैव विभागो धर्म उच्यते ॥ कात्या. 838 q by स्मृतिच. II p 260, मदनमल्ल (folio 91 b), स्व मयूख p 98, स्व, प्र p 448 which last remarks 'मदुपरत्नधृतकारपापनवचनानु सवैया भ्रातृणां पितापुत्राणां च समाश्रयद्वयेनैव मुख्यमिति प्रतीयते । . अत एव योगीश्वरौपि सर्वे वा स्युः समांशिनः इति सर्वपदं प्राग्रहं कृतं । अन्यथा समांशिनो वा कुर्वन्ति सुतानि वदेत् ।'

1193. क्रमागते गृहक्षेत्रे पितापुत्रा समांशिनः । पैतृके न विभागार्हाः सुता पित्र- निष्ठया ॥ बृह. q by स्व मयूख p 95 which adds 'अर्थात्पितृव्यमहाश्रिते तदनिच्छ- यापि विभागार्हा इत्यर्थः ।'

1194. सद्रुक्षीषु जातानां पुत्राणामविशेषः । न मातृतो ज्येष्ठमस्ति जन्मतो ज्येष्ठता मतर ॥ मनु IX 125, the वि. वि. p. 128 after quoting this verse remarks 'तेन नानावर्णास्तु भार्यास्तु पतिसर्वर्णाया पश्चाज्जातो ज्येष्ठ इत्यर्थः' and निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p 251 says 'तेन कनिष्ठया पूर्वजात एव ज्येष्ठो न ज्येष्ठया पश्चाज्जात इत्यर्थः'.

1195 For *Subrahmanyā* invocation, vide H of Dh vol II pp. 1144-45 and note 2550 as to how the names of descendants by the seniority of birth are included in that invocation.

1195a. बहिर्वर्णेषु चारिद्र्याद्यमयोः पूर्वजन्मतः । यस्य जातस्य यमयो पश्यन्ति प्रथमं मुख्यम् । सन्तानः पितरश्चैव तस्मिन्ज्येष्ठत्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् । देवल q by वि र 477, वि वि p. 128, निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p 251 The वैजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 18 37 correctly points out that the word द्वौ तदा भवतो गर्भौ स्तिवैशानिपर्ययात् are quoted by Śrīdhara (in his comment on the भागवत).

same as Manu IX. 125. Manu IX. 123 and Gaut. 28. 16 appear to conflict with Manu IX. 125 and probably refer to some other ancient text or opinion. The V. Mayūkha (pp. 97-98) notes that in some medical works and in the (commentary on the) Bhāgavata Purāṇa III 17. 18, it is said that among twins the one born later is deemed to be the elder, but that this, being opposed to the indications contained in the Vedic Subrahmanyā formula and in Manu IX. 126, has no bearing here (but only in medical matters). The Nirṇayasindhu (III Pūrvārtha p. 251) makes a reference to the Bhāgavata.

General feeling went so much against allowing a special share to the eldest or allowing the father to make an unequal division among his sons, that such action was condemned in the same breath with *niyoga*,¹¹⁹⁶ or the sacrifice of the cow called Anubandhyā. It is very instructive to follow the arguments of the Mit. and other writers on this point. The oldest extant commentator, Medhātithi, on Manu IX. 112 shows that even before his time there were writers that held that the texts of Manu on *niyoga* and on the special share to the eldest at a partition were in vogue only in bygone days and not in their days, that the rules of the *smṛtis* were conditioned by time and country, just as *śāstras* of long duration, though declared in the Vedic texts committed to memory by Vedic students, were not being performed and just as Manu (I. 85) declares that the *dharma*s were different in different *yugas*. But Medhātithi¹¹⁹⁷ does not accept this reasoning, denies that different *dharma*s are prescribed for different *yugas* and holds that there is no restriction as to the *dharma*s to be performed in a country. Though *śāstras* may not be performed now still it is possible to perform them. The argument of the Mit. on Yāj.

1196. For *niyoga* vide H. of Dh vol II pp. 599-607. The *anubandhyā* (or *anūbandhyā*, a barren cow) was sacrificed after the *Udayaniyā* *śrāda* performed at the end of the Agnistoma. Even in the times of the *sūtras* (such as Āp. Śrauta XIII 24 10 and Kāt. Śrauta X. 9. 14-15) *āmsikā* (curds mixed in heated milk) was optionally offered. Vide. H. of Dh vol. II pp. 1200-1201.

1197. इयमृद्धारनियोगस्तृतिरितिकान्तकालविषया न त्वयत्ने । अद्यत्रेये निवृत्तकाल-
त्वात्स्मृतीनामिति केचित् । ... तस्मादुद्धारनियोगगोवधस्मृतय उपदिष्टा नाहतेयाः । तदे-
तदुपेक्षन् । मेधातिथि on मनु IX. 112.

II. 117 is briefly as follows¹¹⁹⁸ :—Unequal division though found in the śāstras (e.g. Manu IX. 105, 112, 116, 117, Yāj. II. 114) should not be practised because it has come to be condemned (or has become hateful to) by the people, since there is the prohibition (in Yāj. I. 156) that an action, though prescribed in the śāstras, should not be performed when it has come to be condemned by the people, since such an action does not lead to the attainment of Heaven. For example, though Yāj. I. 109 prescribes the offering of a big ox or a goat to a learned brāhmana guest, it is not now practised because people have come to hate it; or just as, although there is a Vedic text laying down the sacrificing of a cow "one should sacrifice a barren cow called anubandhyā for Mitra and Varuna", still it is not done because people condemn it. And it has been said "just as the practice of *nyoga* or the killing of the anubandhyā cow is not now in vogue, so also division after giving a special share (to the eldest son) does not now exist". Āpastamba also (II. 6. 14. 1-14) prescribes equal division, refers to the view of some that the eldest takes the whole estate, shows that allotting a special share to the eldest is the view of some and refutes it as opposed to the śāstras by quoting the Vedic text "Manu divided his wealth among his sons". Therefore unequal division though found in the śāstra should not be practised as it is opposed to popular sentiments and to the Veda and so Yāj. (II. 117) gives the restrictive rule that in partitioning there must be equal division. The Sm. C. (II p. 266) tells us that Dhāreśvara also did not discuss passages like Manu IX. 112 since he said that the practice (of *uddhāravibhāga*) had been altogether given up by the people¹¹⁹⁹.

1198 अयं विधमो विभागः शास्त्रदृष्टस्तथापि लोकाविहिद्वत्वात्नाशयेत् । अस्मैर्लोक-विहिद्वं धर्ममप्याचरेत् न-इति निषेधात् । यथा-सहोक्तं वा महान् वा श्रोत्रियायोक्तपेत्-इति विधानेन लोकाविहिद्वत्वादननुष्ठानम् । यथा धा-मैत्रावरुणौ गां वशामनुष्यग्यामाहमेत-इति गवाहम्भनविधानेन लोकाविहिद्वत्वादननुष्ठानम् । उक्तं च—यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नाश-वन्ध्यावधोपि वा । तथोद्धारविभागोऽपि नैव समाप्तिं वर्तते-इति । ... तस्माद्विधमो विभागः शास्त्रदृष्टोपि लोकविरोधाच्छ्रुतिविरोधाच्च नाशयेत् इति सममेव विमजेरक्ति निषस्यते । निता. on या. II. 117. The verse यथा नियोगः is attributed to the स्मृतिसंग्रह by the मदुनरत्न (folio 92a) and स्व. प्र. p. 443 and to the संग्रह by स्मृतिच. II p. 266 which reads "धर्मोऽपि and explains अद्यसंभविशब्दौ कलियुगमनिसंस्थापौकौ. The स्वव. नि. p. 414 ascribes it to प्रजापति, the परा. मा. III 492, व्यवहारसार p. 219, and others attribute it to संग्रहकार.

1199. एतदेव धारेश्वरेणोक्तम् । ज्येष्ठस्य विंश उद्धार इत्येवमादौ नि वाक्यानि न विभा-यन्ते लोकेनात्यन्तपरित्यक्तत्वात् । कलाविनि शेषः । हापरादावच्छेदयत्वेनाप्यन्तपरित्यागमात् । स्मृतिच. II. p. 266,

The Sm. C. finds fault with Viśvarūpa for saying that just as the offering of an ox or a goat to a learned brāhmana is not practised because the practice of the śistas is against it, so *uddhāra* is not practised. It says that when there is a conflict between a *smṛti* text and *śistācāra*, the latter is the weaker (of the two) and cannot refute the *smṛti* text as laid down by Vas. I. 4-5. Further not offering a bull cannot be said to be *śistācāra*, but it is really the absence of *śistācāra*. The Sm. C. finds fault with the Mit. for saying that people have come to condemn a special share for the eldest. It says that, on the contrary, if a special share is given to the eldest who is endowed with learning, good qualities or holy actions then people commend such a procedure. The Madanaratna¹²⁰⁰ quotes the verse "yathā niyoga &c.," and a verse from the Ādipurāṇa The V. P. 1201 (pp 442-443) generally follows the Mit., but criticizes it by saying that there is no real *śruti-mroddha* (opposition to a Vedic text). If that were so, as *śruti* (the Veda) is promulgated for all ages, unequal division would be forbidden in all ages and it would follow that the particular *śruti* passages speaking of

1200. एवमादीनि विषयविभागप्रतिपादकानि मन्वादिबचनानि कालियुगव्यतिरिक्त-
विषयाणि । अत्र एव कलौ विषयविभागनिषेध आदिपुराणे । ऊढायाः पुनरुद्गाहं ज्येष्ठोऽंशं गावधं
तथा । कलौ पञ्च न कुर्वीत ब्राह्मजाया कमण्डलुम् ॥ ज्येष्ठोऽंशं जन्मविद्यादिकृतज्यैष्ठ्यनिबन्धन-
मंशम् । स्मृतिसंग्रहेति । यथा नियोगधर्मो ... संप्रति वर्तते ॥ इति । संप्रति कलियुगे । भट्टनरत्न
(folio 92 a). The verse ऊढायाः is quoted in the Sm C (II, p 266) also
from a पुराण (without naming it) Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar
(In Introduction to V Nir XLIX-LI) wrongly thinks that by स्मृतिसंग्रह is
meant the व्यह नि of वरदराज which quotes the verse यथा नियोगधर्मो नो from
मजापति. He failed to note that the verse यथा नियोगधर्मो नो &c is quoted by
the Mit. on Yāj. II. 117, the Mitākṣarā being one of the authorities quoted in
the V. Nir. Therefore the स्मृतिसंग्रह from which the verse is said to have
been taken is the work of that name also called संग्रह.

1201. अस्वर्त्तं लोकविहिष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेन्न नृ । इति योगीश्वरवचनात् । अत्र लोक-
पदेन युगकल्पते । युगावतरे धर्म्यमपि युगान्तरे यदिहिष्टं प्रतिपिद्धं तस्माच्चरेदित्यर्थः । अन्यथा
धर्म्यत्वात्स्वर्ग्यत्वयोर्व्यापात् । शास्त्रविहिते तदभिज्ञविहिष्टो बाधित एव । तदुपनिष्ठापामरजन-
विहेषस्तु नास्वर्ग्यत्वापादकोऽस्मीयोमीयादिहिंसादावतिप्रसङ्गादित्यादि दूषणं स्यात् । व्य. प्र.
p 442. It should be noted that विश्वरूप reads the verse of Yāj. as अस्वर्त्तं
लोकविहिष्टं and takes अस्वत्त as (अ + हु + अत्त past p participle of अह्)
'अस्वत्तम् अहणतम् । अहणपरिनिश्चितमित्यर्थः'. He then notices another reading
अस्वन्तं which means अशोभनास्तम् (not bringing about welfare in the end). He
further explains 'लोकं कर्मसाध्यं ये जानन्ति ते लोकविदो मन्वावयः तैर्हिष्टं नाचरेत्'.

unequal division are without authority, since it (unequal division) could not have been practised in other ages also (but as a matter of fact it was); besides Baud. sets out another Vedic text which mentions unequal division. The V. P. desiring to guard against the rather wide statement that whatever is condemned by the people should not be practised holds that the word "loka" in Yāj. I. 156 means "yuga"; otherwise there would be confusion about what is proper conduct and what does not lead to Heaven. The condemnation by low or ordinary people who are quite innocent of śāstras cannot make an action incapable of leading to Heaven, since such people might condemn the *himsā* (slaughter) of the animal offered to Agni and Soma. The above discussion illustrates how practices once recognized by Vedic passages and by the people gradually fell into disuse and how reason and the common sense of ordinary people asserted themselves even against Vedic and smṛti texts. The Mit. is very clear in its statement that whatever comes to be hated by the people in general should not be practised, even though it was once practised and has the support and authority of Vedic and smṛti texts behind it. Those who desire change in social customs and the practices of the people in various directions rely on this text of Yāj. and on similar texts¹²⁰² of Manu IV. 176 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 85 and on the Mit. for authority. Orthodox writers like Mitrāmīśra therefore have to twist plain words like "loka", since they cannot tolerate the idea that common people can have anything to say in what these writers believe to be the injunctions of the śāstra. Instead of candidly saying that ancient practices came to be modified by common people, writers like Mitrāmīśra say that common people should not be listened to in these matters, that each *yuga* has its own peculiar practices and that common people have no authority to change śāstric practices prescribed by the texts for a particular age. It is sheer quibbling to say that not offering a bull is not *śistācāra*, but absence of *śistācāra*; what is clear is that common people abhorred the practice of *niyoga* and the killing of a cow in a sacrifice and writers of sūtras and smṛtis fell into line with them and prohibited such practices in the

1202. परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ श्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ । धर्मं चाप्यसुखोदकं लोकविक्रमेव च ॥ मनु IV. 176, धर्मविरुद्धौ चार्थकामौ । लोकविद्विष्टौ च धर्ममपि (परिहरेत्) । विष्णुधर्म-सूत्र 71. 84-85; जनबोधे सति धर्मकर्म न कुर्यात् । बार्हस्पत्य-अर्थशास्त्र I. 95

Kali age, though they were either permitted or (even) enjoined by the Vedic texts; that is, the voice of the common man or his revolt was allowed to prevail over the word of the sacred Veda.

Though the assignment of a larger share to the eldest son or giving him the whole property ceased to be generally prevalent, vestiges of it are still found. There are certain estates in the nature of *zamindaries* or a *rāj* that are impartible and descend by the rule of primogeniture to a single heir. Vide *Baboo Gunesb Dutta v. Maharaja Moheshwar* 6 Moo. I A. 164, *Neelkanto v. Beer Chunder* 12 Moo. I. A. 523, *Mohesh v. Sahughan* 29 I. A. 62, *Ram Nundun v. Maharani Janka* 29 I. A. 178 for examples of impartible estates. Sometimes by custom certain estates such as *Deshmukh* and *Deshpande wats* have been held to be impartible. Vide *Ramrao v. Yeshwantrao* 10 Bom. 327 and *Gopalrao v. Trimbakrao* 10 Bom. 598. In certain other cases a larger share (called *jyesthāmsa* or *motap*) has been allowed by custom to the eldest son at a partition. Vide *Mamkchand v. Hiralal* 20 Cal. 45 (P. C.), *Pruthisingji v. Umedsingji* 6 Bom. L. R. 98, *Malubhai v. Sursangji* 7 Bom. L. R. 821.

The following propositions may be laid down about the allotment of shares on a partition: (1) When there is a partition between a father and his sons each son takes a share equal to that of the father; (2) where the partition is only between brothers all of them share equally; (3) on the death of a member leaving male issue his right to a share on partition passes to and is represented by his male issue; (4) when there is a partition among members who are uncles and nephews or cousins, the allotment is *per stirpes* (according to the stock) as regards each branch and *per capita* among the members of the same branch. This rule is expressly laid down¹²⁰³ by Kaut-

1203. अपितुका बहवोपि च भ्रातरो भ्रातृपुत्राश्च पितुरेकमंशं वरेयुः । सोऽर्थाणामनेक-
पितृकाणां पितृतो द्वापविभागः । अर्थशास्त्र III, 5, अनेकपितृकाणां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना ।
या II. 120 This is read as प्रसीतपितृकाणां in the स्मृतिच. II p 278, च्य. म. p. 449
and a few other digests Vide n. 1068. समवेतैस्तु यत्नात् सर्वे तत्र समाशिनः । तत्पुत्रा
विपमसमाः पितृभागहरा. स्मृताः ॥ बृह. q by अपराकं p 727, स्मृतिच II p 278,
च्यव नि. p 424, वि. र. pp. 481-82, अविभक्तैस्तु जेते तत्सुतं रिक्थभागिनम् । कुर्वीत जीवन
येन लब्धं तेन पितामहात् ॥ लभेतासं स पित्र्यं तु पितृव्यावस्य वा सुतात् । स एवांशस्तु सर्वेषां
भ्रातृणां न्यायतो भवेत् । लभेत तत्सुतो वापि निवृत्तिः परतो भवेत् ॥ कात्या q. by अपराकं
p 727, स्मृतिच. II. p 278, वि. र. p. 482, च्य. म. p. 449. These verses are

III. 5., Yāj. II. 120, Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 372 v. 14) and Kāt. (855-56). This last rule requires to be explained and illustrated. Yāj. II. 120 concisely states: "in the case of those who claim through different fathers, the assignment of shares is according to the fathers". Kāt. says: "if an undivided younger brother dies, he (the elder brother or the other brother) should make the son of the former a partaker of the ancestral wealth, when he has not obtained from his grandfather livelihood (i. e. share of heritage); he should obtain from his paternal uncle or the uncle's son the share which his father would have got (if alive); that very share would be the share according to law of all the brothers (who are the sons of the deceased brother). Or even a son (of that son of the brother dying) would obtain that share; beyond this (i. e. beyond the grandson of the deceased brother) there is cessation (of the right to demand a share)". It was stated that in the ancestral property (*pūtāmaha dravya*) sons and grandsons equally have rights by birth, but in the case of the grandsons assignment of shares is made to them through their

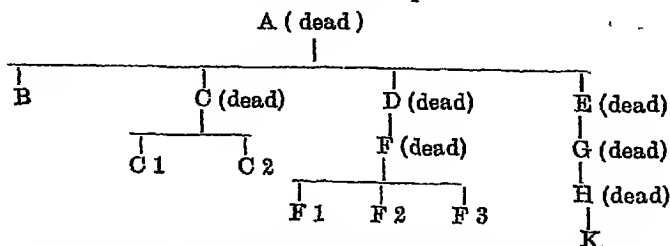
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lucidly explained in *Moro v. Ganesh* 10 Bom H. C R. 444 (at pp 461, 466-67) and are quoted in *Debi Parshad v. Thakur Dyal* 1 All 105 (F B.) at p 111. On these verses of कात्यायन the व्य मयूख (p. 101) says that they do not refer to undivided coparceners, but rather to those who are re-united. Why it says so is not clear. The first verse of Kāt. starts with the words अविभक्तकुले and therefore the topic is that of undivided family and there is no express indication that it has changed to reunion in the following verse. The reason appears to be that नीलकण्ठ takes the verse of देवल 'अविभक्तविभक्तानां कुलपाना वसता सह । भूयो दायविभाग' स्वादाचतुर्थ्यिति स्थितिः' as referring to re-union on account of the word भूयः in it. The words आचतुर्थ्यात् (in देवल) and निवृत्तिं परतो भवेत् (in कात्यायन) mean the same thing and so नीलकण्ठ probably thought that they referred to the same subject. The interpretation of देवल (by नील०) is forced and is opposed to the explanation of most works like the विवादरत्नाकर (p 482) and व्य म. p. 449, रदुतिच. II p. 279. They take अविभक्तविभक्तानां as a *dvandva* compound meaning 'those who are undivided' and 'those who are divided', while नील० takes that word to mean 'those who being once undivided are divided' (i. e. as a कर्मधारय) सह वसता—acc to the other digests means either 'who dwell together' (in the case of the undivided) and 'who reunite' (in the case of the divided) 'अविभक्तानामेव वा विभक्तानां सह वसतां संघटानां वा पुनर्विभागो आनुत्तस्तुतस्तुतपर्यन्तमेव तत्सुताचतुर्थ्याजिवर्तत इति' ति र p 482, पीजि-चतुर्थ्यभिधाय्य दायभाग इत्यर्थः । विभक्तानामपि संसर्गादिना सहवासे सति द्वयव्यवस्था । वसता सहेति वचनात् । व्य. म. p 449. Vide *Moro v Ganesh* 10 Bom. H C R. p. 444 at pp 465-468 for several objections to the explanation of Devala's verse offered by Nīlakaṇṭha.

fathers and not in their separate individual capacity. This may be illustrated by some examples.

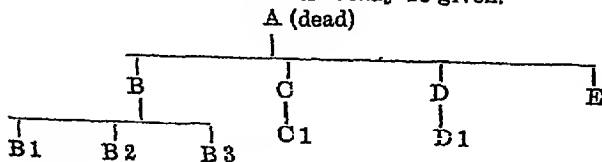
Suppose A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K formed a joint family and that A, B, C, D all die without making a partition, leaving two sons F, G, and D dying leaving three sons H, J, K. If E, F, G, H, J, K want to partition, then these six will not take one-sixth each, but the partition will be through their fathers i. e. E the only son of B will take one-third, F and G (the two sons of C) will take one-third (i. e. each will take one-sixth) and H, J, K will together take one-third (i. e. one-ninth each). The same will be the result if only A, B, C die, leaving D to K. Here D, the uncle of E, F, G, along with his three sons H, J, K will take one-third only.

To take another example.



Suppose A the head of the joint family dies leaving a son B, two grandsons C1 and C2, three great-grandsons F1, F2, F3, and one great-great-grandson K. Here K cannot demand a share, as he is beyond 4th from A the common ancestor A that died last. Therefore the joint property will be divided *per stirpes* into three parts, B taking one-third, C1 and C2 together taking one-third and F1, F2, F3 together taking one-third.

One more illustration may be given.



Suppose A, the head of a Hindu joint family, dies leaving four sons, B, C, D, E and five grand-sons, B 1, B 2, B 3, C 1, D 1 and then B dies. Then B 3 receives his share, which is one-third of one-fourth (=one-twelfth), goes out of the family and the rest continue joint. Then C dies, then D, then E, and then B 2. Then B 1 sues C 1 and D 1 for his share. Here if we again apply the rule of *per stirpes* division, the property that remained at the date of the suit of B 1 will be divided into three parts and B 1, C 1 and D 1 (who represent three stocks, B, C, D) will each get one third of that property. This was so decided in *Priyanandas v Ichhanam* 39 Bom. 734. The Madras High Court, however, holds that the rule of *per stirpes* applies only when all the coparceners desire a partition at the same time and that if only some members separate at one time and others on a later occasion, regard should be had to the share allotted at the first partition in computing the share to be allotted at the second partition. That is, according to the Madras High Court in the above case B 1 will be entitled to one-third minus one-twelfth (which latter was allotted to B 3 when he left the family). The Madras High Court says that its views are based not on strict principles of Hindu Law, but on necessary considerations of equity. Vide *Manyanatha v Narayana* 5 Mad. 362 and *Narayana v Shankar* 53 Mad. 1 (F B at p. 6).

Manu (IX. 47) emphatically states:^{1203a} "once is a partition made, once is a maiden given in marriage, once does a man say 'I shall make a gift of this or that'; these three are done only once by the good". This means that a partition once made is final and cannot ordinarily be reopened. But there are exceptions to this rule. One viz. about the posthumous son born after partition has already been mentioned above (pp. 595-597). Br.¹²⁰⁴ (S. B. E. 33 pp. 373-74 verses 24-26) says, "If a man

1203a. सङ्कटं शो निपतति सङ्कटकन्या प्रदीयते । सङ्कटाद् दद्यामीति वीण्येतानि सतां सङ्कटं ॥ मनु IX. 47 which is the same as नारद (छीपुसयोग 28) and वनपर्व 294 26.

1204. गोत्रसाधारणे त्यक्त्वा योन्यदेश समाभित । तद्वदस्यागतस्यांशं प्रदातव्यो न संशयः ॥ तुतीय. पञ्चमथैव सप्तमो वापि यो भवेत् । जन्मनामपरिज्ञाने लभेतांश्च क्रमागतम् ॥ यं परम्परया मौलाः सामन्ताः स्वामिनं विदुः । तद्वदस्यागतस्य दातव्या गोत्रजैर्मही ॥ इह q by दायभाग VIII. 2-3, स्तुतिच II pp. 307-308, दायतत्र p 180, वि. ८, pp. 540-541. The वि. चि. p 132 seems to ascribe these to कारपायन. For मौलाः vide ये तत्र पूर्वं सामन्ताः पश्चाद्विशान्तरे गताः । तन्मूलत्वात्तु ते मौला इति विभिः सम्प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ कात्या q by मिता. on या II. 151, अपरार्क p. 760 Kāt. derives मौल from मूल and states that they were once neighbours but later migrated and hence they are so called.

leaving the country common to himself and his co-sharers goes to another country, his share must undoubtedly be given to his descendant when the latter comes back to the original country. Whether he (the descendant) be the third or fifth or even seventh in descent (from the man who left the country) he would get the share that descends hereditarily provided his birth and family name are ascertained. The *gotrajas* (agnatic members of the family) should allow (a share in the ancestral) lands to the descendant of a man whom the *maulas* and neighbours know to be a co-owner (in the lands) by descent, when he comes (after a partition) to demand his share". The V. R. explains¹²⁰⁵ that the rule of Devala (given above) about a claim to a share being allowed up to the fourth applies when all the members stay together in the same place or country, while the above rule of Br. allowing even the seventh in descent to claim his share after a partition has taken place applies where such descendant and his forefathers had migrated to a distant land. These rules of Br. indicate that, even after a long time, a descendant could claim his share in a joint family estate and no bar of limitation was allowed.

Another rule is that where some property of the joint family had been fraudulently concealed by one member and was discovered afterwards, or where some property was left out from partition either through mistake or accident, such property should be divided according to their shares among the persons who made the first partition. In this case there is no reopening of the partition once made, but there is another partition. Manu IX. 218, Yāj II. 126, Kauṭ. III. 5 and Kāt 885-86 lay down¹²⁰⁶ this. Kāt. says: 'If (joint) wealth was concealed, but

1205. यस्तु चतुर्थाद्विभक्तविभक्तानामित्यादिदेवलोकनियमः स सहवासोऽपि । अयं तु हतुर्गमनासादावित्यविवेकः । वि. र. p 541. The स्मृतिच. II. p 308 states that the last verse applies only to lands (i. e. a partition can be reopened only as to immovable property). तदनेन चिरमोषितवन्द्येन समन्ताद्वासिभिर्मिलितमज्ञापनपूर्वकं भागवदणं कार्यम् । दायभाग VII 4 Compare Art. 127 of the Indian Limitation Act.

1206. दुर्विभक्तमन्योन्यापहतमन्तर्हितमविज्ञातोत्पन्नं वा पुनर्विभजेत् । अर्थशास्त्र III 5, प्रच्छादितं यदि धनं पुनरासाद्य तत्समम् । भजेत्वा भ्रातृभिः सार्धमभावे हि पितुः सुतः ॥ अन्योन्यापहतं द्वयं दुर्विभक्तं च यद्भवेत् । पश्चात्प्राप्तं विभज्येत समभागेन तद्भूयः ॥ कार्या. 885-886 q by अपरार्क pp 732-733 (which reads last half as हतं नष्टं च यद्वन्द्यं मायुक्तं च पुनर्भजेत्), स्मृतिच. II pp 308-309, दायभाग XIII 4 p. 221, वि. र. 526 विभजेरन्तिनितं वदता येन हृदयते तेनैव न ग्राह्यमिति दर्शितम् । मिता. on या II. 126 ; पूर्व पथा यस्य विभागकल्पना कृता तत्समानैव कार्यो न पुनरपहर्तृरपहर्तृतया अल्पभागे दातव्यो न दातव्य एव नेति समता नयेदित्यस्यार्थः । दायभाग XIII 2.

is afterwards discovered, the sons should divide it equally with their brothers in the absence of the father (i. e. even after his death). Whatever is concealed from each other (by the co-sharers) or what was divided in an unjust manner and whatever was recovered (such as debts) after (partition) should be partitioned in equal shares. This is the view of Bhrgu'.

In the Ait Br. (VI. 7)¹²⁰⁷ it is said 'He who deprives a person entitled to a share of his share, him he (who is deprived) punishes (or destroys). If he does not punish (or destroy) him (the depriver), then he punishes his son or grandson; but he does punish him'. Manu IX. 213 declares that even the eldest brother who through greed deprives his younger brothers (of their shares) ceases to be the eldest (i. e. forfeits his position as the eldest), is deprived of his (special) share (as eldest) and should be punished by the king. From these passages it follows that fraudulently concealing joint property or depriving a person of his share is condemned. This leads on to a divergence of views among commentators and digests. If a man conceals joint property at a partition, is he a wrongdoer or not? What he conceals is partly his own. Therefore the *Dāyabhāga*¹²⁰⁸ (XIII. 8) holds that there is no theft in this case, since a thief is commonly understood to be one who knowing that some thing belongs to another, makes it his own without any ground for so doing; while a co-sharer cannot be said to be no owner at all of the joint property. The *Dāyabhāga* (XIII. 11-12) says that *Visvarūpa* and *Jitendriya* both held the same opinion that even if technically it may be called theft, still there is no sin attaching to it as *smṛtis* allow him also who conceals joint property to share in it at the subsequent partition. The *Vivādaratnākara* (p. 526) states that *Halāyudha* also held the opinion that in suppressing some joint property the co-sharer did not incur the sin of theft. On the other hand the *Mit.*, *Aparārka* (p. 732), V. P. p. 555 hold that in view of Manu IX. 213

1207 यो वै भानिन् भग्यास्तु दत्ते चयते वै न स यदि वै न चयतेऽय इवमथ पौत्रं चयते स्वेवेनमिति । ऐ. मा. VI. 7. This is cited as गौतम's in the *mita* on ya. II 126, in the *vy* m p. 131. The *para* ma. III. p. 566, स. वि p. 438, *vy* m' 555 correctly refer to it as *श्रुति*.

1208 तदुक्तं विश्वरूपेणापि । अतस्तस्करदोषो नास्तीति वचनान्तरभासान्ध्यादि स्तेन-
धात्वर्थनिष्पत्तेरित्यभिप्रायः । .. सत्यपि वा स्तेनेऽप्यहर्तुं विभागवचनदर्शनात् स्तेयदोषः ।
अन्यथा सुवर्णादिनिक्षेपे यतितस्य भागो न स्यात् । दायभाग XIII. 11 and 13
pp. 224-225

(which declares even the eldest as punishable by the king if he deprives his younger brothers of their due share) and the Ait. Br. there is the fault of theft in case a co-sharer fraudulently conceals joint property. The Mit. and V. P. further rely upon an example derived from the Pūrvamīmāṃsā in support of their view. When a *caru* (boiled food) of *mudga* pulse is prescribed and *mudgas* are not available, some substitute must be employed just as when rice is not available *nīvara* grain may be employed. The parts of *māsa* resemble those of *mudga* and some one may plausibly say that in the absence of *mudgas*, a *caru* of *māsas* may be used. To this Jai. VI 3 20¹²⁰⁹ replies that, since *māsas*, *vaśakas* and *kodravās* are forbidden as being unfit for use in sacrifices, one cannot take parts of *māsas* as substitute for parts of *mudgas* though both may be so similar as not to be easily distinguishable. So the general prohibition against depriving another of his wealth holds good even in the case of goods that belong jointly to oneself and to others. The Dāyabhāga (XIII. 16 pp 227-228) tells us that a predecessor of it named Bālaka relied on this very *nyāya* of Jaimini and finds fault with him. It should be noted however that Kāt. (888) recommends that the king¹²¹⁰ even if a complaint be lodged about fraudulent suppression by a co-sharer should not use force against the fraudulent suppressor but should make him give up the concealed property by persuasion or trick. Br. and Kāt.¹²¹¹ declare that if there is a suspicion that some joint wealth has been concealed by a co-sharer, the *kośa* ordeal may be resorted to.

1209. प्रतिपिद्धं चाविशेषेण हि तच्छ्रुतिः । जै. VI. 3. 20, अथ यत्प्रतिपिद्धं अयं क्षिया वै वरका कोद्रवा अपक्षिया वै माषा इति । किं तच्छ्रुतद्रूपपापचारे प्रतिनिधातव्यमुक्तं नेति । किं मातं प्रतिनिधेयमिति । .. एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः । प्रतिपिद्धं च न प्रतिनिधातव्यमिति । अविशेषेण होतुद्रूप्यते न यज्ञार्हा माषा वरका कोद्रवाश्चेति । यज्ञसम्बन्ध एवा प्रतिपिध्यते । शबरः, यथा मोद्रे चरौ विपक्षे सहशतया माषेषु अयक्षिया वै माषा इति नियधौ न प्रविशति सुद्रावयवद्रुध्या युद्धमाणत्वादिति पूर्वपक्षिणोक्तं सुद्रावयवेषु युद्धमाणेष्ववर्जनीयतया माषावयवा अपि युद्धान्त एवेति नियधः प्रविशत्येवेति सिद्धान्तनोक्तम् । तस्माद्वचनतो न्यायतश्च साधारण-द्रूपपापहारे दोषोक्तयेवेति सिद्धम् । मिता. on या II. 126

1210 चन्धुनापहतं द्रव्यं बलालैव प्रदापयेत् । कात्या q. by दायभाग XIII ? (p 222), दापतश्च p. 183, वि र. p. 526, च. प्र 556 which says ' राजे तु भागिभिर्न निवेदनीय राज्ञे निवेदितमपि तेन सामादिनैव दापनीयमिति श्रीरघुपण्डितदादिद्वयमयो-जनकमेव '.

1211. गृहोपस्करवाद्याश्च दोषाभरणकर्मिणः । इदमना विभज्यते कोशो गृहेऽन्वी-ह्यष्ट । कात्या. 342 q by स्मृतिच II. p. 273, वि र p. 498. The स्मृतिच. quotes a very similar verse of बृहस्पति (on the same page) 12. गृहोपस्करवाद्यादि-दोषालङ्कारकर्मिणः । .. गृहे कोशो विधीयते ॥

If there was a dispute whether a partition had already taken place, Yāj. II 149 mentions some of the indications that lead to the inference or proof of partition viz. 'the determination of the dispute follows from the testimony of kinsmen, cognates (like maternal uncle), other witnesses, a deed (of partition) and by (the fact of) houses and fields being separately held' Nār. (dāyabhāga 36-41) gives more¹²¹² elaborate rules on the subject viz. that the status of division can be determined from the fact of their transactions (agriculture &c) being separate, that the separate performance of religious rites is another indication of separation 'Receiving and returning a debt, the beasts (kine &c), food, houses and fields and servants must be separate in the case of those who are divided, as also cooking food, performance of religious rites, income and expenditure. It is only divided persons (and not undivided ones) that can become in respect of each other witnesses, sureties or debtors and creditors. People should regard them to be divided even though there be no deed of partition, in whose case these transactions are entered into openly with their co-sharers' Yāj. II. 52 also declares that between brothers, husband and wife, father and son there cannot be, as long as they are undivided, the relationship of being sureties or witnesses for each other or of being debtor and creditor. Nār. (dāyabhāga 41) and Kāt. (893) state that when for ten years brothers (and other members of a family) reside (separately) doing religious observances separately and have separate transactions, they should be known as separate so far as the ancestral estate is concerned¹²¹³. It is on account of these passages that the courts say that presumably every Hindu family is joint in food, worship¹²¹⁴ and estate and 'that cesser of commensality is an element which may properly be considered in determining the question whether there has been

1212. Vide *Debi Parshad v Thakur Dal* 1 All 105 F B (at p 109) for the verse of Nār. about religious rites being single when there has been no partition

1213. वसेयुर्दश वर्षाणि पृथग्धर्माः पृथक्क्रियाः । आतरस्तेपि विज्ञेया विभक्ता. पैतृका द्विनाद ॥ कात्या. १ by स्मृतिच II p 311, स नि p 348, अपरार्क p. 757 (reads वसेयुर्दशवर्षानि and पैतृके धने) मारद (द्वयभाग 41) is वसेयुर्दशवर्षानि. . । विभक्ता आतरस्ते तु विज्ञेया इति निश्चय ॥ In *Lalubhai v Bai Amrit* 2 Bom 299 (at p 309) the verse of Kāt. is referred to.

1214. Vide *Sri Raghunadha v. Sri Brozo Kishoro* L. R. 3 I. A. 154 at p. 191

a partition of joint family property, but it is *not conclusive*.¹²¹⁵ Br. says that where there are no witnesses nor a document to prove partition, a conclusion may be arrived at by inference.

A few words may be said about the self-acquired property of the father or grand-father. According to the strict theory of the Mit the son¹²¹⁶ acquires by birth an interest even in the self-acquired property of the father, but the Mit. makes it clear that the son has no power to prevent his father from disposing of his own self-acquisitions, but has to give his approval to his father's alienations of his self-acquisitions. The Mit sets out two smṛti texts viz. 'though immovable property and bipeds may have been acquired by the father himself, there can be no gift nor sale of them without (calling together or) consulting all the sons. Those that are born, those that are unborn and those that are in (their mother's) womb expect maintenance (and therefore) there can be no gift nor sale'. But these have been treated by the Mit. and the Dāyabhāga also as more or less recommendatory. If the father alienates his self-acquisitions without his son's consent he may be held guilty of transgressing a smṛti precept but the transaction does hold good and is valid,¹²¹⁷ since a fact cannot be altered by even a hundred texts (as the Dāyabhāga puts it). It should not be supposed that the Mit. was the first to propound this right as to self-acquisitions. Centuries before, the Visnu Dh. S. 17.1 expressly declared that as regards self-acquired property the father has absolute discretion to divide it as he pleases.

1215 Vide *Ganesh Dutt v Jewach L. R* 31 I. A 10 at p. 13. साहसं स्यावरं न्यासः प्रातिवभागश्च सिद्धिनाम् । अनुमानेन विज्ञेयं न स्यात् पञ्चसाक्षिणौ ॥ बृह प by दायभाग XIV. 8, p 231, स्मृतिश्च II p. 310 (reads स्यावरस्वाम्यं), स्य. प्र. p. 564.

1216. तस्मात्पैतृके पैतामहे च द्रव्ये जन्मनैव स्वत्वम् । ... स्यादरे तु स्वाजिते पित्रादि-प्राप्ते च पुत्रादिपारतन्त्र्यमेव । स्यावरं द्विपदं चैव यद्यपि स्वयमर्जितम् । असम्भूय मुक्तान्तर्गतं न दानं न च विक्रयः ॥ ये जाता येऽप्यजाताश्च ये च गर्भेऽप्यवस्थिताः । वृत्तिं च तेभिराहूयन्ति न दानं न च विक्रयः ॥ इत्यादिस्मरणात् । मिता on या. II 114. The first is by the दायभाग II. 29-30 (for which see note 1125). The first is ascribed to बृह. by प्यव नि. p. 411.

1217 पैतृके पैतामहे च स्वाम्यं यद्यपि जन्मनैव तथापि पैतृके पितृपरतन्त्रत्वात् पितृ-स्वार्जकत्वेन प्राधान्यात् पित्रा विनियुज्यमाने स्वाजिते द्रव्ये पुत्रेणाहमतिः कर्तव्या । पैतामहे तु द्वयोः स्वाम्यमवशिष्टमिति निवेद्याधिकारोत्पत्तिरिति विशेषः । मिता. on या. II. 121.

Kāt. (839) also says that the son has no ownership in the father's self-acquisition.¹²¹⁸ When Yāj. II. 114 allows the father either to give the best share to the eldest son or to make an equal division among all sons, the Mit. explains that this unequal division holds good only as to the self-acquisitions of the father. Similarly when Nār. (dāyabhāga 12) or Śankha-Likhita say that the father may take two shares for himself, that is with reference to self-acquisitions, acc. to the Mit. Manu IX. 104 stating that sons have no power over property during the life of the parents refers to the self-acquisitions of the parents. In modern times courts have followed the view that a Hindu father (or any Hindu person whatever) may give, sell or bequeath by will his self acquired property (whether movable or immovable) to any body he likes (vide *Rao Balwant Singh v Rani Kishori* 25 I. A. p. 54 at pp. 67-68 where the two verses cited by the Mit were held to contain only a moral precept and not a rule of law capable of being enforced).

Mr Kishori Lal Sarkar in his Tagore Law Lectures on the Mimāṃsā rules of interpretation states (p 21) that 'Mitakṣarā bears the impress of Buddhistic influence'. For this proposition he advances hardly any substantial evidence that will bear scrutiny. His reasons are mostly subjective and he refers to no ancient or medieval Buddhistic texts that elaborate the principle of taking property by birth or the rule of propinquity in deciding questions of inheritance, which two are the most fundamental tenets of the Mitakṣarā system. It appears that the evolution of the son's right to partition, of his equality with his father, of the absolute rights of a person to his self-acquisitions was a gradual indigenous growth and had nothing to do with Buddhistic thought. Buddhists had hardly any independent set of juristic ideas or works different from those of the Brahmanical jurists and in medieval times countries like Burma professing Buddhism turned to Brahmanic codes like that of Manu for regulating succession, inheritance and allied

1218. पैतामह समान स्यात्पितुः पुत्रस्य जोषयोः । स्वयं जोषयित्ते पित्रा न पुत्रः स्वाम्यमर्हति । कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच. II. pp. 279-280, न्यय. नि. p. 410.

matters.¹²¹⁹ Vide pp. 559-560 about the origin of Dayabhāga doctrines.

In the preceding pages reference has been frequently made to sons, to their rights in ancestral property by birth and to their shares on partition. It is now time to refer to the various kinds of sons, principal (*mukhya*) and *gaṇa* (subsidiary or secondary).

In H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 560-561 passages from the Rgveda, the Tai. S., Śat. Br., Ait. Br., the sūtras and smrtis emphasizing the importance of a son for the spiritual welfare of a man have been cited. The principal purposes served by the birth of a son are succinctly stated in the Ait. Br. 33. 1. viz. the son enables the father to pay off the debt he owes to his ancestors, to secure immortality (*amṛtva*) and heavenly worlds. These were the main purposes deemed to be served by a son in most remote times. Manu (IX. 106-107) and Yaj. I. 78 also mention these benefits. The desire was to continue and perpetuate the family (*vaṁśasya avicchedah* as the Mīt. has it) and to provide for the performance and preservation of religious *sacra* and offerings. This desire was common in ancient societies almost everywhere. The Śat. Br. XII. 4. 3. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 157) states 'the father in later life subsists on the son and the son in early life subsists on the father'. The Nirukta¹²²⁰ (III. 4) quotes a *rk* verse, 'thou

1219. Vide 'Notes on Buddhist Law' by John Jardine and 'Principles of Buddhist Law' by Chan-toon (Rangoon, 1894) for the *Dhammathats* (Dharmaśāstras), their origin from Indian Codes and works and contents and *Mah Nhin Bwin v. U. Schwe* Gons L. R. 41 I A. 121 pp. 131-139 for detailed remarks on the 36 *Dhammathats* of which the Manu Kyay is the most important and which were derived in their remotest origin from the laws of Manu. In 'Champā' by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in Inscription No. 65 of Jayavarman II dated *śaka* 1010 it is said 'He followed 18 titles of law prescribed by Manu ('Manumārga') Manu VIII. 3 employs the words अष्टादश मार्गेषु निबद्धानि. Vide also 'Indian influence on the Literature of Java and Bali' by Himansu Bhusan Sarkar pp. 93-94 and 104 for the influence of Manu on Javanese and Balinese codes and Dr. Majumdar on 'Suvārnadvīpa' part II pp. 1-23.

1220. तदेतद्वक्त्रोकाभ्यामभ्युक्तम् । अष्टादशार्त्तमवसि हृदयादधिजायसे । आत्म वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥ निरुक्त III. 4. This verse is found in कौषीतकि आरण्यक 4. 11 and is prescribed as a *mantra* in the Āp. Mantrapāṭha II. 11. 33 for recital in *jātakarma*, in *आश्व* २ 1. 15 11 and *मानवपृथ्वी* I. 18. 6. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 235 n. 537. It occurs also in कौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 15-16 (as a quotation) and in शङ्खलिखित (q. by वि. २. pp. 554-555). The first half occurs in बृह. उप. VI. 4. 9 in another connection and the whole of it in आदिपर्व 74. 63.

art born from each of the limbs, from the heart (of the father), thou art indeed one's own self called son; mayst thou live for a hundred autumns!'. Gradually the idea arose (probably suggested by etymologists) that the son saved the father from the Hell called *put*,¹²²¹ as stated by Manu IX. 138 (= Ādiparva 229. 14 = Visnu Dh. S. 15. 44). The son's close connection with the offering of pindas to the ancestors is not much emphasized in the oldest works. But in the sūtras, in Manu and the other smrtis this aspect of the benefits derived from the son is far more prominent than the others. In speaking of the putrikā-putra Manu (IX 136) declares 'he should offer pinda' (to his maternal grandfather) and take the latter's wealth. As three descendants (son, grandson and great-grandson) presented pindas to the ancestor, all three had extravagant praises bestowed on them. Manu IX. 137 says: 'a man secures the (higher) worlds through (the birth of) a son, he obtains permanence (in those worlds) through a grandson, through the son of a grandson he wins the world of the Sun'¹²²². The Visnudharma-sūtra 85. 67 declares¹²²³ 'A man should desire to have many sons (with the thought) that some one out of them may go to Gayā or offer the Āśvamedha sacrifice or let loose (in honour of the deceased father) a dark bull'. Br (q. in Par M. I. 2 p. 305) states: 'the pitrs afraid of falling into Hell desire to have sons; (they think) one of them may go to Gayā and that one will save us; he will set at liberty a bull, he may perform sacrifices and execute works of public utility (like tanks, temples and parks), he will take care of us in our old age, he will offer śrāddha day by day'. The Matsyapurāṇa 204 (3-17) contains verses (that are called *putrgāthās*, verses sung by pitrs) which breathe the hankerings of deceased ancestors after what

1221 The *बौ. गृह्यपरिभाषा* I 2 5 quotes 'युवति नरकस्याख्या दुःखं च नरकं विदुः । युधि ज्ञानासतः पुत्रमिहच्छन्ति परत्र च ॥'; *शङ्खालिखित* q. by वि. र p 555 state आत्मा पुत्र इति भोक्तः पितृमार्तुरह्यहात् । पुत्रान्नखायते यस्माद्युवस्तेनास्ति संज्ञितः ॥

1222. पुत्रेण लोकाजयति पौत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते । अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण ब्रह्मस्यामेति विद-पम् ॥ मनु IX. 137. This verse occurs in Vas 17. 5, *बौ. ध. सू.* II 9. 7 (reads last pāda as नाकमेवाधिरोहति), *विष्णुध. सू.* 15. 46

1223 एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गया व्रजेत् । यजेत् वाश्वमेधेन नील वा वृषहस्त्यजेत् ॥ *विष्णुधर्मसूत्र* 85 67 = मत्स्यपुराण 22. 6 = वायु 150 10 = ब्रह्मपुराण 220 32-33 (which reads गौरीं वायुहृदेत्कर्त्तव्या नील &c. मत्स्य (207 39-40) calls this verse an ancient gāthā and reads as in ब्रह्मपुराण. Compare अत्रिस्मृति verse 55 for almost the same verse कांक्षन्ति पितरः पुत्रास्करपातमीरवः । गणां शास्यति यः काश्चित्तोत्सामन्तानपियति । करिष्यति वृषोत्सर्गमिडापूर्तं तथैव च । पालयिष्यति वृद्धत्वे श्राद्धं दास्यति चान्द्रवह्यं । बृह. q. by परा. मा. I. 2, p. 305.

they expect their descendants to do such as offering water in holy rivers, śrāddhas, going to Gayā, gifts of various kinds, construction of tanks, &c.

It is not, however, to be supposed that purely secular benefits to be derived from sons were not thought of at all. People were alive to them but those benefits were submerged under the flood of extravagant ideas about the spiritual benefits derived from sons. For example, the Br.¹²²⁴ Up. I. 5. 16, after mentioning the three worlds of men, *pitṛs* and gods, declares that the world of men can be won only through the son (while in I. 5. 17 there is eulogy of the son and instruction to him that he is Brahma, he is yajña, he is the heavenly world). Nār. IV 5 says¹²²⁵ " fathers wish to have sons on their own account thinking in their hearts ' He will free me from low and high debts ' ". Kāt. (551) has a similar verse and makes the meaning of Nār. clear¹²²⁶. Vide above (under ṛnādāna pp. 416-417).

Besides the *aurasa*, eleven or twelve kinds of subsidiary sons are mentioned by most ancient smṛti writers. Āp. Dh. S. does not recognize any son except the *aurasa*. Āp. quotes certain verses which express the view of an ancient sage called Aupajanghani and which are also quoted by the Baud. Dh. S. according to which the *aurasa* was to be recognized as the only son (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 602 n 1417 for the quotation) Āp. II. 5. 13 10 emphasizes that there can be no real gift or sale of one's child (*dānam krayadhaḥ maścāpatyasya na vidyate*). But Āp. Dh. S. clearly shows that it knew that ksetraja sons were

1224. अथ त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्यलोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रेणैव जन्मो नान्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोकः । बृह. उप. I. 5. 16.

1225. इच्छन्ति पितरः पुत्रान् स्तार्षदितोऽर्थस्ततः । उत्तमर्णधमर्णेभ्यो मामयं मोक्ष-
यिष्यति । नारद (कणादान 5), कृष्ण says to घटोत्कच in श्रीणर्ष 173. 54 ' इच्छन्ति
पितरः पुत्रान् स्तार्षदितोऽर्थस्ततः । इह लोकात्परे लोके तारयिष्यन्ति ये हिता. ॥ ' ' जाय-
मानो ' इति श्रुत्युक्तं पितृकणकुत्तमं बृहस्पतिः देयमधममृणमित्यर्थः । ' वि ता folio 181.

1226. पितॄणां सुखमिजतिर्दानेनैवाधमादृश्यात् । विमोक्षस्तु यतस्तस्मादिच्छन्ति पितर
पुत्रान् ॥ कात्या. q. 4 by स्मृतिच. II. p 168, परा. मा. III. 263.

raised and forbids that practice. In II. 6. 13. 1-5¹²²⁷ it states, 'sons begotten by a man, who approaches in the proper season a woman of equal caste that has not belonged to another man (as wife) and that has been married to him according to the śāstras, have the privilege to follow the occupations (peculiar to their castes) and to inherit property; if a man has sexual intercourse with a woman who had been married before to another or was not married legally to him or belongs to a different caste, they both incur sin and through that (i.e. their sinfulness) the son also becomes sinful'. In II. 10. 27. 2-6 Āp. condemns the practice of *nyoga* 'a husband (or his elders) shall not appoint a wife who occupies the position of a *sagotra* to others (who are not *sagotra*), for they declare that a bride is given to the family (of the husband and not to the husband alone). This (practice of appointment) is forbidden (now) on account of the weakness of (men's) senses. The hand of even a *sagotra* is (deemed in law to be) that of a stranger, as well as that of any other person (except the husband). If the marriage vow is violated, both (husband and wife) go to Hell.' Gaut. 28. 30-31, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 14-37, Vas. 17. 12-38, Arthasāstra III. 7, Śankha-Likhita (q. by V. R. p. 547), Hārta (q. by V. R. p. 549), Manu IX. 158-160, Yāj. II. 128-132, Nār. (dāyabhāga 45-46), Kāt. (q. by V. Nir. pp. 434-435), Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 pp. 375-376 verses 33-35, 39-41), Devala (q. by Haradatta on Gaut. 28. 32, Dāyabhāga X. 7-8 p. 147, V. R. p. 550), Visnu Dh. S. 15 1-30, Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 120 31-34), Brahma-purāṇa (q. by Aparārka p. 737), Yama (q. by V. R. p. 147 and D. C. pp. 80-81) enumerate the several sons in different sequences and sometimes under different names also. Taking the order in the Manusmṛti as the basis, the following table will, it is hoped, convey some idea about their number, rank and importance.

1227. सर्वर्णशुद्धिनिहितार्थां यथार्हं मच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मणिः सम्बन्धः । दायेन .. पूर्ववत्यामसंस्कृतायां वर्णान्तरे च मैथुने दोषः । तत्रापि दोषवात्तु एव । आप. ध. ख. II. 6 13. 1-4, सगोत्रस्थानीयां न परेभ्यः समाचक्षीत । कुलाय हि स्त्री प्रदीयत इत्युप-
विशन्ति । तदिन्द्रियदोषेभ्योऽहिमतिपक्षम् । अविनिर्दिष्टं हि परस्व पाणेः । तद्व्यतिक्तान् खटु-
पुनश्चमयोर्यकः । आप. ध. ख. II 10 27 2-6.

Kind of son (acc. to Manu)	Gautama	Baudhāyana	Kautilya	Vasistha	Hārīta	Sankha-Likhita	Yāj.	Nārada	Bṛhaspati	Devala	Viṣṇu	Ādiśārva	Yama	Brahma-purāṇa
1 Aurasa ¹²²⁸	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2 Putrikāputra	10	2	2	3	5	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	2
3 Ksetraja	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	3
4 Datta	3	4	9	8	7	9	7	9	4	9	8	7	9	4
5 Kṛtrima	4	5	11				9	11	7	11	12	9	10	6
6 Gādhotpanna	5	6	4	6	6	6	4	6	12	5	6	6	6	9
7 Apavidha	6	7	5	11	9	7	12	8	5	6	11		7	8
8 Kānina	7	8	6	5	4	5	5	4	10	4	5	5	5	10
9 Sahodha	8	9	7	7	10	8	11	5	11	7	7	11	8	11
10 Kṛita	12	10	12	9	8	10	8	10	6	12	9	8	11	7
11 Paunarbhava	9	11	8	4	3	4	6	7	9	8	4	4	4	12
12 Svayamdatta	11	12	10	10	11	12	10	12		10	10	10	12	5
13 Saudra		13		12		11			8			12		13

1228. The औरस is called स्वयंजात in आदिपर्व 120 33 I understand प्रणीत, परिकीत and सैरिणीपुत्र in the आदिपर्व to be the same as पुत्रिकापुत्र, क्षेत्रज and गृहज respectively. स्वयंजातः प्रणीतश्च परिकीतश्च यः सुतः । पौनर्भवश्च कानीनः सैरिण्यां यश्च जायते । दत्तः क्रीतः कृत्रिमश्च उपगच्छेत्स्वयं च यः । सहोदो ज्ञातिरेताश्च हीनयोनिधृतश्च यः । पूर्वपूर्वतमामावं मत्वा लिप्सेत वै सुतम् । उच्चमाद्विवरात्पुंसः काङ्क्षन्ते पुत्रमापदि । आदिपर्व 120. 33-35. I take ज्ञातिरेता as an adjective of सहोद and हीनयोनिधृतः as शौद्र It has to be noted that the अनुशासनपर्व (49 3-11) mentions 20 sons in all and employs a peculiar terminology in several cases, viz औरस (also called अनन्तरज), निवक्तन (for क्षेत्रज), पञ्चनज (meaning अनियोगोत्पन्न), पतितात्त्वभार्यायां जात, and speaks of दत्त, क्रीत, अध्वृद (=सहोद), 6 अपध्वंसज (i.e. प्रद्युतोत्पन्न), कानीन and 6 अपसदृश (चाण्डाल, व्रात्य, वैद्य, मागध, शानक and दूत). The Anuśāsana (49. 11) expressly states that it is not possible to deny altogether the status of sonship to these sons (पुत्रा ह्येते न शक्यन्ते निरुया कर्तुं नराधिप). It then says (49. 20-21) that when a boy is abandoned by his parents and he is brought up by another and his natural parents are not known, he belongs to the caste of the man who brings him up and that even for कानीन and अध्वृद (सहोद) sons saṃskāras are to be performed as if they were one's sons (49 25-26)

Viṣṇu Dh. S. (15. 27) mentions 'yatra-kvacanotpādita' (procreated anywhere) as the 12th and last. The com. Vaijyanti explains it in two ways: (1) procreated by a person on a woman, regardless of whether she is his own or another's wife or whether she is of the same caste or not, whether she is married or unmarried, whether her marriage has been consummated or not; (2) the son of a man from a śūdra woman not married to him. Even in the last sense he cannot be called *śaudra* (whom Manu IX. 178 and Yāj. I. 91 define as the son of a śūdra wife from a brāhmana). Hārīta as quoted in the V R p 549 mentions a son called 'sahasā drsta' (seen by chance), who seems to be probably the same as *krtrima*. The *śaudra* is omitted by several writers (even ancient ones) like Gautama, Kautīlya and Hārīta. Manu speaks of only twelve sons (IX. 158) and does not enumerate the *putrikāputra* among them, though he speaks of the *putrikā* (IX. 127 and 134 and elsewhere) as equal to the son. It is therefore that Br. (S. B. E. 33 p 375 verse 33) states that of the thirteen sons mentioned in succession by Manu the legitimate son of the body (*aurasa*) and the *putrikā* (the daughter appointed as a son) continue the family. Vas. 17. 12 emphatically declares (*dvādaśa ityeva putrāḥ putrinadrṣṭāḥ*) that only twelve sons have been noticed by the ancient (sages) and it is no doubt true that most writers generally enumerate twelve. A *smṛti* text quoted by Haradatta on Gautama and by the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā mentions 15 kinds of sons. Vide note below¹²²⁹. The number is arrived at by counting the *putrikā*

1229 औरसः पुत्रिका बीजिक्षेत्रजौ पुत्रिकाहृतः । पौनर्भवश्च कानीन सद्योदो गृहसंभवः । दत्तः क्रीतः स्वयदत्तः कृत्रिमश्चापविद्रकः । यत्र कचोऽप्यादितश्च पुत्राख्या दश पञ्च च ॥ इति q by हरदत्त on गौ. 28 32, दत्त मी. p 68. The compound बीजिक्षेत्रजौ is to be taken as बीजिज and क्षेत्रज. The word *bijin* is the epithet of the man who is appointed to beget issue in the practice of *nyoga*, the बीजिज being the son begotten by such a man, who (the son) is deemed by some to be the son of both (of the begetter and of the husband of the wife). Dr Jolly in Tagore Law Lectures on partition &c. p 146 is wrong in taking 'bijin' as 'the son procreated with another man's wife'. 'Bijin' is employed by Gant. IV 3 and Manu IX 51-53 in the sense given above. Vide H. of Dh II p 599 n. 1409 for *bijin*, *ksetra* (meaning wife) and *krtrika* तद्वत्परिधिः पुत्रौ द्वौ सुतौ कुण्डगोलकौ । परयो जीवति कुण्डः स्याद्वृते भर्तरे गोलकः ॥ औरसः क्षेत्रजश्चैव दत्तः कृत्रिमकः सुतः । दद्यान्माता पिता बापि स पुत्रो दत्तको भवेत् ॥ पराशर IV. 23-24. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (21 14-15) says that though certain sages provide that the Kunda and Golaka sons should have the *samkīrtas* performed on them, that was the practice in other ages and that it is prohibited in the Kali age.

(daughter appointed as a son) and the *putrikāputra* (the son of the appointed daughter) as two, dividing the *ksetraja* into two viz. as the son of the begetter (*bhūn*) and as the son of the wife (i. e. of the husband of the wife) and the son produced anywhere (as mentioned by Viṣṇu Dh. S.) is 15th and the last. The *Parāśarasmr̥ti* (IV. 23-24) mentions, besides *Kuṇḍa* and *Golaka*, only five kinds of sons.

It is necessary, before proceeding further, to give brief definitions of the twelve or thirteen kinds of sons from *Manu* and other writers. The legitimate son (*aurasa*) is one begotten by a man on his own wedded wife of the same caste. The *putrikāputra*¹²³⁰ is of two kinds; (1) a sonless man may appoint his daughter as his son (she is then called *putrikā* and treated as a son); (2) or she may be given to a person in marriage with the stipulation 'I give you in marriage this brotherless girl decked with ornaments; the son born of her will be my son'. In this case the son born of the daughter so given becomes the son of his maternal grandfather. The *ksetraja* (the son of the wife) is one who is begotten on a man's wife (or widow) by a *sagotra* (agnatic kinsman) or by one not of the same gotra, according to the rules of *nyūyoga*, when the man himself is either dead or impotent or suffering from (an incurable) disease. That is the son given (*dattaka* or *dātṛma*) whom his father or mother gives as a son affectionately in a time of distress with water and who is of the same caste (as the adopter). He is the son called *kr̥trma* (made) whom a man makes his son, the latter being of the same caste, being clever in distinguishing between right and wrong and being endowed with the qualities a son should possess. He is the son born secretly (*gūḍhotpanna* or *gūḍhaja*) as he is called by Baud. and Yāj, who is born in a man's house, it being not known who is his begetter; and he belongs to him of whose wife he is born. He is the son called *apaviddha* (cast off) whom a man receives as his son after he has been abandoned by his parents or by one of them. The *kānina* (maiden's son) is one whom a maiden bears secretly in the house of her father and he belongs to him who marries her afterwards.

1230 पुत्रिकापुत्रो द्वेधा । तत्राद्यमाह वसिष्ठः (१७. १७) —अन्नापुत्रो प्रदास्याति तुभ्यं कन्यामलङ्कृतान् । अस्यां यो जायते पुत्रः स मे पुत्रो भविष्यति ॥ इति । अन्वयमाह स एव—
तुभ्यः पुत्रिकैव—इति । अस्मिन्पक्षे कन्ययैव पितरौर्बद्धेदिकादि कार्यम् । पृ. मयूख p. 107
In the first sense mentioned above in the text the word पुत्रिकापुत्र is dissolved as पुत्रिका एव पुत्रः (a कर्मधारय) and in the 2nd as पुत्रिकायाः पुत्रः (a तत्पुत्रय compound). The मित्ता. on पा II. 128 gives the same explanation.

The *sahodha* (received together with the bride) is the son born of a woman who was pregnant at the time of marriage, whether that fact was known or unknown (to the person marrying her) and he belongs to the person who weds the (pregnant) woman. The *kṛita* (son bought) is one who is bought by a person from his father and mother for making the boy his son, whether the boy be equal or unequal (in qualities). The *paunarbhava* (the son of a remarried woman) is one to whom a woman, being abandoned by her husband or being a widow, gives birth after she contracts a second marriage of her own accord. He, who, having lost his parents or being abandoned by them without proper cause, gives himself to a man (as a son) is called *svayāmdatta* (a son self-given). The son whom a brāhmana begets through lust from a śūdra wife is called *pārasava* (or *śaudra*), since he, though living, is (like a) corpse.

The list of twelve or thirteen kinds of sons looks rather formidable, has puzzled and misled even great scholars into making all sorts of sweeping assertions and putting forward untenable theories about the origin and necessity of so many sons. For example, Dr. Jolly in his '*Recht und Sitte*' (English tr. p. 156) observes 'The twelve kinds of sonship, which to some extent are based on the illicit connection of the mother and for the greater part have nothing to do with the blood-relationship of the son with the father, are probably the most striking feature of Indian family law. The cause of this abnormal importance being attached to male issue is to be sought, according to the *smṛtis*, in the offering of sacrifices to the *manes* which depends upon the male issue; yet, however, originally an economic motive was perhaps a more important factor in it—to get for the family as many powerful workers as possible'. The learned writer appears to hold that the *smṛtis* regarded all the secondary sons as equally competent to confer spiritual benefit and that at one and the same time a man could have all or most of them as sons. But he is mistaken in both these respects. The very definition of *putrikāputra*, *ksetraja*¹²³¹ and *dattaka* given by many of the *smṛtis* show that one who has already an aurasa

1231 अपुत्रोऽनेन विधिना सुता कुर्वीत पुत्रिकाम् । मनु IX. 127, पितृव्यजे-
तुत्रिकामनपत्योऽपि प्रजापतिं चैष्ट्वाऽस्मादर्थमपत्यामिति सवाच । गो 28. 16, देवराट्टा
सपिण्डाद्वा स्त्रिया सम्बन्धनियुक्तया । प्रजैः पितृभिर्गन्तव्या सन्तानस्य परिसरे ॥ मनु IX, 59,
अपुत्रेणैव कर्तव्यं पुत्रपतिनिधि. सदा । पिण्डोदकक्रियाहेतोर्यस्मात्समाप्त्ययत्नत. ॥ अत्रि 52
q. by दत्त. मी. p. 3 and दत्त. च. p. 2.

son, grandson or great-grandson could not have a putrikāputra, a ksetraja or an adopted son. If the definitions of all the 12 or 13 kinds of sons are carefully analysed, it will be quite apparent that the long list is due to the ancient writers' great *penchant* for divisions and sub-divisions based upon very slight differences of circumstances. The several kinds can be classified into three or four groups as done by Devala.¹²³² All the five sons called *dattaka*, *kṛita*, *kṛtrima*, *svayamdattu* and *apavidha* are sons who are affiliated by a person under various circumstances. There is no tinge of any illicit connection of the mother in any one of these, the one thing common to all of them being that they are the sons of one man and are treated by another as his. Similarly the *paunarbhava* and *śaudra* are the legal sons of the man himself, but there is opprobrium attaching to them, because in the first case the mother contracted a re-marriage (which was very much condemned by the *smṛtis*) and in the other a brāhmaṇa married a śūdra woman (which also was looked down upon, if not absolutely forbidden as done by Yāj. I. 56). The *paunarbhava* son of a *druja* is still called a *dvija* by Manu III. 181, but Manu only provides that he is not fit to be invited at a śrāddha. The putrikā (the daughter appointed as a son) is the man's own child and the putrikāputra also is the man's own grandchild and both these are special cases of adoption and no question of mother's illicit connection arises in these. So out of 13 kinds of sons, nine were entirely free from any taint of illicit connection. There remain only the four viz. ksetraja, gūdhotpanna, kāulina, sahodha. The ksetraja was in a class by himself and was a survival of an ancient practice prevalent in many countries all the world over, which had been condemned in India by Āp. (as shown above on p 644) and his predecessors several centuries before the Christian era. It may, however, be pointed out that some medieval writers held the view that several secondary sons like the *dattaka*, *kṛita* &c. could be had by a man having no *aurasa* son.^{1232a}

1232 एते द्वादश पुत्रास्तु सन्तत्यर्थमुदाहृताः । आत्मजा. परजाश्चैव लब्धा यादृ-
च्छिकास्तथा ॥ देवल १ by दायभाग X. 7 p. 147, वि. र. p. 550, हरदत्त on गौ
28. 32. The औरस, पुत्रिका, पौनर्भव and शौद्र would be आत्मज, the क्षेत्रज would
be परज, the दत्तक, कृत्रिम, क्रीत, स्वयंदत्त and अपविद्ध would be लब्ध (and also
परज) and गूढज, कान्तिन and सहोदर may be called यादृच्छिक.

1232a. Vide the वृत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी of बालकृष्ण (D. C. Ms. No. 203 of
1886-92, folio 11b) 'तस्मादुक्तमकारेणोक्तविधेः काम्यत्वमसाधनद्वारा यावत्कामनासिद्धि-
पर्यन्तं पुत्रान्तरमदहन्य शास्त्रसिद्धयोर्योक्तं दत्तादिभिः पुत्रैर्गृह्युत्पत्त्यं पितुः सममाणनेवेति
सिद्धान्तः ।

The chief concern of the *smṛtis* as shown clearly by the *Anuśāsanaparva* (chap. 49 quoted above on p. 645) and the com. of Nīlakanṭha was to provide for the maintenance and the performance of the *samskāras* of those children that may be either abandoned by their parents or may be under the cloud of illegitimacy.

There is great confusion and contradiction among the *sūtras* and *smṛtis* about the place of the several kinds of sons and about their rights. For example, Gautama (probably the most ancient among extant *sūtrakāras*) assigns the 10th place to the *putrikāputra*, while Baud., Kauṭ., Yaj., Br. and Devala give him the 2nd place and Vasistha, Sankha-Likhita, Nār., and Visnu put him 3rd. The *dattaka* is placed very low in the list by most works except by Manu, Gaut., Baud., Br. and Brahmapurāṇa (which put him 3rd or 4th). The 12 kinds are put in two groups by some works. Gaut. (28. 30-31) provides that the *aurasa*, *ksetraja*, *datta*, *krtrima*, *gūḍhotpanna* and *apavidḍha* are *rikthabhājah* (take the wealth) and also belong to the *gotra* of the man whose sons they are, while the other six take only the *gotra* but not the wealth. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 36-37) employs the same words *rikthabhājah* and *gotrabhājah* but differs from Gaut. in including *putrikāputra* among '*rikthabhājah*' and omitting him from the group of '*gotrabhājah*'.¹²³³ Another division (each having six kinds) is into *bandhu-dāyāda* or *dāyādabāndhava* (Manu IX. 158-159 and Nār. *dāyabhāga* 47) and *adāyādabāndhava* (Manu IX. 160, Vas. 17. 38, Nār. *dāyabhāga*. 47). The first group, acc. to Manu, comprises *aurasa* (also *putrikā*), *ksetraja*, *datta*, *krtrima*, *gūḍhotpanna* and *apavidḍha*. They are so called because they take the wealth of their father and also of his kinsmen (in the absence of nearer heirs), while the members of the 2nd group (which acc. to Manu IX. 160 comprises *kānina*,

1233. पुत्रा औरसक्षेत्रजकृत्रिमगूढोत्पन्नापविद्धा रिक्थभाजाः । कानिनसहोदयौनर्मव-
पुत्रिकापुत्रस्वयंवृत्तकीता गोत्रभाजाः । गो 28 30-31; एते गोत्रभाजो गोत्रमेव केवलं भजन्ते
न रिक्थम् । पूर्वे तु रिक्थभाजो गोत्रभाजश्चौरसेन सहाभिधानात् । सर्वे चैते सजातीयाः ।
हरदत्त. What is meant by रिक्थभाजाः is not quite certain. Does it mean
'they take the wealth of their father and of his kinsmen' or does it mean
'they take the wealth of their father alone and of no one else' देवल
appears to hold that बन्धुदायाद् has the first sense तेषां बन्धुदायादाः पूर्वोक्ते
पितृरेव बन्धु । देवल q. by दायभाग X 7 p 147 Both the मित्ता on या II 132 and
the दायभाग explain बन्धुदायाद् in the first of the two senses set out above, 'और-
सादयः बन्धु न केवलं पितृदायहराः किन्तु बन्धूनामपि सपिण्ठादीनां दायहराः । अन्ये परस्वराः
पितृरेव पर दायहरा न सपिण्ठादीनाम् । दायभाग X. 8 p. 147. स्वयजानः पितृवन्धूनां
च दायादः । परे जातः संस्कारैरेव न बन्धूनाम् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 7.

sahodha, kṛita, paunarbhava, svayamdatta and śaudra) are only bāndhavas (i. e. belong to the gotra of their father), but cannot succeed to the wealth of their father's kinsmen. Here also there is no agreement among the smṛtis. Vas. (17. 5-25), Śankha-Likhita (q. in V R p 247), Nār. dayabhāga 47 and Hārīta include in the first group aurasa, ksetraja, putrikāputra, paunarbhava, kānina and gūdhaja and the rest in the 2nd group. Kaut asserts that only the aurasa son succeeds as heir to the kinsmen of his father while the others (that are not procreated by him) succeed only to the father who brings them up, but not to his kinsmen Yāj II. 132 states that each of the twelve kinds mentioned by him takes the wealth of the father and offers *pṇḍr* to him in default of the preceding one and further requires that this is so only if it is certain that the sons are of the same caste as that of the father. Gaut. 28. 32 states that¹²³⁴ the kānina and the other sons called *gotrabhājah* (in 28. 31) take only one fourth of the estate of the father if no aurasa nor any of the other sons called *rikṭhabhājah* exists (and the rest of the estate is taken by the sapindas), while Kaut, Devala and Kāt. (857) state that the dattaka, ksetraja and other kinds of sons are entitled to one third share only if an aurasa is born provided they are of the same *varṇa* and that if they are of a different caste, they are only entitled to food and raiment. If a man, having no son, made his daughter a putrikā or thinking himself to be impotent had a ksetraja son or adopted a son and then an aurasa son was born, difficult questions of the distribution of his property arose on which there was no unanimity. Manu IX. 163 says that only the aurasa son is entitled to all the paternal wealth and all the other kinds should be given maintenance in order to avoid the fault of being cruel. But as regards the case where a putrikā is first made and then an aurasa is born Manu (IX. 134) prescribes that these two should divide the paternal estate equally,¹²³⁵ while

1234. चतुर्थीशिन औरसायमावे । गौ. 28 32 ; तेषां सवर्णा ये पुत्रास्ते वृत्तीयांश-
भागिनः । हीनास्तद्व्यपजीवेदुर्ग्रासाच्छादनसंभृता. ॥ देवल q by दायभाग X 7. p 147.
उत्पत्ते स्वीरसे पुत्रे चतुर्थीशहरा सुता । सवर्णा अस्तवर्णस्तु ग्रासाच्छादनभाजनाः ॥ कात्या.
q. by मित्र. on या II. 132 दायभाग X. 13 p. 148 and वि. वि p 150 read वृत्ती-
याशहरा in कात्या. ; औरसे ह्युत्पत्ते सवर्णास्तु वृत्तीयाशहरा । अस्तवर्णा ग्रासाच्छादनभागिनः ।
अर्थशास्त्र III. 7. The मदनरत्न (folio 93b) says कल्पतरु read 'वृत्तीयांशहराः'

1235 बुद्धयपति appears to combine Manu IX 163 and 134 'एक एवैर
विभवे धने स्वामी प्रतीतिः । तदुक्त्या मुचिका मोक्षा भवेत्प्राप्तये स्मृतः' q. by वि.
p. 541, च्या. वि. p. 427. मदनरत्न (folio 93b)

Manu IX. 164 asks the aurasa to give 1/5 or 1/6 of the paternal wealth to the ksetraja. This confusion and contradiction about the places and the shares of the several sons leads one to infer that the institution of several kinds of sons was not very common or generally recognized, was rather confined to some localities or communities and was dying out even in the times of the ancient smrtis, if it ever existed in full force at all at any time.

As regards gūdhaja, kānina and sahodha there is this to be said. They were the result of illicit connection; but some one had to maintain them, to bring them up and be their guardian. The smrtis when they assign these as the sons of the husbands of the women of whom they are born are really providing for these matters of maintenance and guardianship. Br. says that dattaka, apaviddha, kṛita, kṛta, and śaudra, if of pure caste and pure actions, are middling, while the ksetraja, paunarbhava, kānina, sahodha and gūdhaja are condemned by the good (S B. E. 33 p. 376 verses 40-41).¹²³⁶ The kānina was to be under the guardianship of the father of the girl (Yāj. II. 129) till she remained unmarried, but when she married the damsel's son came under the dominion of the person who married her (Manu IX. 172). The very fact that the kānina was assigned to the husband who married the girl shows that this was done because it was deemed that by marrying such a girl the husband condoned her past lapses. Similarly in the case of sahodha, it was deemed that either the child must have been procreated by the husband himself before marriage or that he condoned the conduct of the wife. It appears to have been thought that when the husband (the party most concerned) did not openly object it was not open or allowable for any one else even by proof that the child was kānina or sahodha to call

1236. वृत्तोपविद्धः क्रीतश्च कृतः शौद्रस्तथैव च । जातिमुद्धाः कर्ममुद्धा मध्यमस्ते
 ह्यता मताः ॥ क्षेत्रजो गर्हितः सन्निस्तथा पौनर्भवः सुतः । कान्नीनश्च सहोदश्च गूढोत्पन्नस्तथैव च ॥
 बुद्ध. q. by वि. र. p. 552; हारीत (q. by वि. र. 552) designates क्रीत, स्वयंवृत्त and
 शौद्र as काण्डपृष्ठ शूद्राणुजाः स्वयंवृत्ता ये ज्येते क्रीतकास्तथा । सर्वे ते शौद्रिकाः पुत्राः काण्ड-
 पृष्ठा न संशयः ॥ स्वकुलं पृष्ठतः कृत्वा यो वै परकुलं व्रजेत् । तेन दुश्चरितेनासौ काण्डपृष्ठो न
 संशयः ॥ The 2nd verse is quoted by अपराक p. 455 नारद IV 60 calls a ब्राह्मण
 who persists in the profession of arms after a season of distress is over
 काण्डपृष्ठ. The अनुशासनपर्व 23 22 has that word. कुल काण्डमिति ख्यात यस्मात्
 रूपाणि ते जङ्घाः । तत्र ज्येष्ठतरो य. स्यात्त वै काण्डं विनिर्वृक्षेत् । यम q. by व. य. p. 486
 which also quotes the verse स्वकुलं from यम and हारीत both separately काण्डपृष्ठ
 literally means one who carries on his back arrows' (i. e. probably
 , brāhmaṇa whose profession is that of a soldier).

for the abandonment of the child. Similar remarks apply to the gūḍhaja. As shown in H. of Dh vol. II pp. 571-573 if the wife was guilty of adultery the husband had certain powers of correction over the wife, but if he chose to be complaisant, then the smṛtis did not compel him to disown or abandon the child. These very smṛtis (like Gautama, Vas., Nār.) that are very harsh on women for adultery allow the gūḍhaja, kānina and sahoḍha to be secondary sons. So the only way in which these two attitudes can be reconciled is by holding that when the husband condones moral lapses on the part of the woman whom he had accepted as his wife the smṛtis provide for the maintenance, guardianship and succession of such offspring of illicit connection. Even among medieval commentators there was divergence about paunarbhava, kānina, sahoḍha and gūḍhaja; Medhātithi on Manu IX. 181 holds that they are entitled to nothing but food and raiment in any case, while the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 132) holds that even the kānina and the rest take the father's wealth in default of aurasa and the other kinds of sons. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 90) however holds that kānina, sahoḍha and gūḍhaja being the outcome of adultery cannot be savarna with the husband of their mother, are really different from savarna sons and even anuloma and pratiloma sons.

A good deal can be said about the spiritual benefit supposed to be derived from secondary sons.

The high eulogy bestowed on the son in the Vedic and smṛti literature has reference only to the *aurasa* son. Manu IX. 180 asserts that the eleven kinds of sons viz. ksetraja and the rest (except aurasa and putrikā) are merely substitutes for the real son, admitted to prevent the cessation of religious rites and in IX. 181 Manu states the final conclusion that such sons as the *ksetraja* that are procreated from the seed of others really belong to him from whose seed they spring and not to the other man (who takes them up). Br ¹²³⁷ (S B E. 33 p. 375 verses 35-36) declares: 'thirteen sons were enumerated in

1237. पुत्राख्योदुक्ता गोक्ता मद्युक्ता येष्टपूर्वकाः । सन्तानकारणं तेषामौरसः पुत्रिका तथा ॥ आज्यं हिना यथा तेलं सन्निधिं स्मृतम् । तथैकादश पुत्रास्तु पुत्रिकौरसयो-
रिना ॥ बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 735, ब्रह्म. नि. p. 439. The 2nd is attributed to
इक्ष्वाकुस्यति by कुल्लूक on मनु IX. 181. The कृत्यरत्नाकर (p. 73) quotes मैत्राय-
णीयपरिशिष्ट as follows 'आज्याभावे तैलं प्रतिनिधिरत्नामे दधिपयसी तद्वलाभे तद्वल-
पितानि वाग्निः संसृज्याज्यार्थं कुर्वन्ति' The सत्याप्याडगीतम् III 1 provides: यथा
यूनाकमे सद्विदोऽपाने तैलम्

order by Manu, out of whom only the *aurasa* and *putrikā* are the cause of propagating the line. Just as oil is declared by the good to be a substitute (in sacrifices) in the absence of clarified butter, so the eleven kinds of sons in the absence of *aurasa* and *putrikā*¹²³⁸ (are admitted merely as substitutes and not the real thing). Although Yāj. II. 132 declares that each succeeding one out of the twelve kinds of sons takes the estate in the absence of each preceding one and offers *pinda* to the deceased owner, yet the efficacy of the *pindas* offered by the several sons was deemed to differ very much. Manu leaves no room for doubt on this point when he says (IX. 161) 'a man desiring to cross beyond the gloom (of bad worlds, hells) through (or with the help of) bad sons (such as the *ksetraja*) secures a result similar to what a person crossing (a sheet of) water in a leaking boat secures'. The idea is that secondary sons cannot confer the same spiritual benefit as the *aurasa* son can. Medhatithi on Manu IX. 166 and the D. M. explain this very clearly. An *aurasa* son confers the highest spiritual benefit. The substitute sons (as indicated by the very use of the word *pratimūhi*) confer a much less benefit. Even a man's widow can perform his *śrāddha* if he be sonless, but as she could not offer the *pūrvana śrāddha* her act was not deemed to be as efficacious as a *śrāddha* performed by a son.¹²³⁹ Jaimini devotes several sūtras to the subject of *pratimūhi* (a substitute) in VI. 3. 13-41. The main conclusion established is that generally speaking there can be no substitute as regards the *devatā* (the deity to which a particular offering is directed by the Veda to be offered in a particular sacrifice), the fire (*āhavanīya* and other consecrated fires), the *mantra* (which is to accompany a particular offering) and certain rites specifically prescribed to be done in a sacrifice (such as 'samidho yajati' in Darśa-pūrnāmāsa) and the *svāmīn* (the sacrificer) On Jaimini VI.

1238. कानीनसद्विद्वयौनर्भवच्छ्रौत्येका न रिक्थमाजः वृत्तकाव्यस्तु रिक्थमाजोऽस्त्यौ-
रस्ते कानीनाद्वयश्च सत्यौरस्ते न पितृधनहराः द्यासाच्छादमनाजः केवलं सत्यसति चौरस्ते ।
मेधा. on मनु. IX. 181; औरसाद्यभावे तु कानीनादीनामपि सकलविधधनग्रहणमस्त्येव ।
पूर्वभावे परः परा—इति वचनात् । मिता. on या II. 132.

1239. यद्यपि पुत्रभावे तु पत्नी स्यादित्यादिना पत्यादीनामपि क्रियाधिकारः श्रूयते
तथापि नापुत्रस्य लोकोत्थीत्यादिश्रवणात् पुत्रकृतक्रियाजन्या लोका न कृयादिकृतक्रियाया
जन्यन्त इत्यवश्यं वाच्यम् । ... उक्तं च मेधातिथेना । यदौरसस्य मधमकालिकत्ववचनं तत्र
व्यवहारोपयोगि किं तु उपकारातिशयाय । यथौरसो भूयांस शक्नोत्युपकारं कर्तुं न तथेतर
इति । उपकारापञ्चपाणिमास्य प्रतिनिधिष्यवहार इति । सूच. सी. pp. 38-39 The
passage quoted from मेधा occurs in his भाष्य on मनु IX. 166 (with slight
variations)

3. 35 Śābara makes¹²⁴⁰ it clear that in employing a *pratnuidhi* the vedic rite becomes deficient and does not yield the full reward of the religious act. The Satyāsādha Śr S. III. 1. asserts¹²⁴¹ that there can be no substitute for the sacrificer, the wife, the son, the place, time &c. (prescribed by the Vedic texts for any rite). Therefore it is clear that there was difference of view among very ancient writers about the spiritual benefit to be derived from substitute sons. The natural human tendency to simplify matters and water down strict injunctions prevailed and it began to be thought that even subsidiary sons conferred some spiritual benefit (though not as much as the *aurasa* son). For about two thousand years the *ksetraja* and other sons have been prohibited by the *smrtis*. For example, Br states that Manu first describes the procedure of *myoga* and then forbids it, that it is impossible to practise *nyoga* in the *dvāpara* and *kali* ages owing to the deterioration in man's knowledge and *tapas* (vide H. of Dh vol. II. p. 603 n. 1418 for the quotation). The passage from Śaunaka forbidding sons other than *aurasa* and *dattaka* in the *Kali* age quoted by Aparārka and others has been cited above (n. 1131).

A few remarks will be made on each of the several sons.

Aurasa. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 14, Manu IX. 166, Vas 17. 13, Visnu Dh. S. 15 2, Kaut. III. 7 and others define the *aurasa* as the son procreated by a man himself from his wife married acc. to sacramental forms prescribed by the *śāstra*. From Āp. (quoted above in n. 1227) and Baud it follows that the *aurasa* is only the son procreated on a wife of the same *varna* as that of the husband; but this was the purists' view. Others including

1240 अभावे हि श्रुतस्यानुकल्पः प्रतिनिधिः। श्रुते हि सकला व्यक्तयः। प्रतिनिधिो विकलाः। शबर on जै VI 3 35.

1241 न स्वानित्वस्य भार्यायाः पुत्रस्य वैशस्य कालस्याग्नेर्देवतायाः कर्मणः शब्दस्य च प्रतिनिधिविधेते। सत्याषाढश्रौत III. 1 The D. M. (pp 33-34) explains this sūtra about there being no प्रतिनिधि in place of a son by saying that it is restricted to certain śrauta matters only such as the 'Pitāputriya sāmān', or the uttering of a benediction in the words 'tantave jyotismatim &c' and that if the sūtra were taken as forbidding a substitute for a son everywhere, it would be opposed to Manu (IX. 180 पुत्रप्रतिनिधिनाहु) and Atti: यदपि 'न स्वानित्वस्य .. प्रतिनिधिः' इति सत्याषाढवचनेन पुत्रप्रतिनिधिनिराकरणं तत् 'तन्त्वे ज्योतिष्मती सामाशिवमाशासते' इत्यादौ अपुत्रस्य पुत्रप्रतिनिधिं कृत्वा आशीर्वाको-समनिवृत्त्यर्थम्। अत एव श्रुतिः यस्य पुत्रो जातः स्यात् तन्त्वे ज्योतिष्मतीमिति ब्रूयात्। ... न पुन सर्वथैव पुत्रप्रतिनिधिनिराकरणार्थम्। पुत्रप्रतिनिधिं कर्तव्यं पुत्रप्रतिनिधीनाहुदित्यादि-स्मृतिविरोधात्। दृष्ट. मी. pp. 33-34. Vide ते सं. I. 5. B,

such medieval works as the Mit. (on Yaj II 133), the Pārijāta and Aparārka hold that even the son procreated on a wife married in the anuloma order¹²⁴² (e. g. the son of a brāhmana from a ksatriya wife or of a ksatriya from a vaiśya caste wife) was also *aurasa*. The exception was the son of a brāhmana from a śūdra wife, who was called *śaudra* or *pāraśava* and distinguished from the technical *aurasa*. From the definition of *aurasa* given by all *smṛti* writers (and the dicta of such commentaries as the Mit.) it follows that in order to be an *aurasa* the procreation and the birth of the son must both be after the marriage. But the Privy Council held long ago in *Peedda Amani v Zenundar of Marungpur* (1 L. A. 282, 293) that procreation after marriage is not distinctly necessary for legitimacy as a son even according to the ancient texts, that to hold so would be an inconvenient doctrine and that the Hindu Law is the same in that respect as the English Law.¹²⁴³

From the times of the R̥gveda people prayed for the birth of an *aurasa* son and did not like to adopt the son of another. A R̥gvedic poet exclaims (VII. 4. 7-8) 'As the wealth (son)

1242 स्वयजातः कृतक्रियायामौरसः । अर्थशास्त्र III 7, सवर्णायां सङ्कृतायां स्वय-
जुपादितमौरस पुत्रं विधात् । बौ. ध. सू. II 2 14, 'सवर्णां द्विजस्य द्विजा, शूद्रस्य शूद्रा,
न तु ब्राह्मणस्य ब्राह्मणी क्षत्रियस्य क्षत्रिया, अन्यथा ब्राह्मणपरिणीतक्षत्रियापुत्रादेर्होदा-
पुत्रान्तर्भावो न स्यादिति पारिजात । वि १. p. 554, 'तथातुल्यमजाना मूर्धावसिक्तादीना-
मौरसैस्त्वन्तर्भावातिपातक्यभावे क्षेत्रजादीनां दास्यहस्त्वं बोद्धव्यम् । शूद्रापुत्रस्त्वौरसोऽपि
कुलस्य भागमन्याभावेति न लभते । यथाह मनु (१ १५४) । मिता on या II 133, अन्वेष्ट-
तुलोमजैर्वौरसेषु सत्सु न प्रतिनिधिरस्ति । अपरार्क p 740 Vide मनु पा p 651 for the
same views The मदनरत्न (folio 93a) however remarks, 'साम्यत मूर्धावसिक्तादीनां
प्रचाराभावेन जेह प्रपञ्चितः' Vide n 1130 above The position of the Mit is
somewhat remarkable The Mit. admits that *niyoga* is not allowed in the
present Kali age (vide above p 628) and it quotes a *smṛti* text to that
effect, but it allows the sons of anuloma marriages to be *aurasa* and to
succeed before every other kinds of sons Therefore it follows that the
Mit. either did not know the passages of Saunaka and of the
Nāradyāpurāṇa (pūrvārtha 24 13) which forbade marriage with
asavarna girls for the twice-born classes in the Kali age or did not hold
them to be authoritative द्विजानामसवर्णास्तु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा । एतात्प्रमत्तं कालि-
युगे वर्यानिनाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ बृहत्सारदीयपुराण (पूर्वार्थ 24. 13 and 16)

1243 As this is a decision of the highest tribunal for British India it
must be taken to be the law The Privy Council was probably influenced
by the description of such secondary sons as the *sahodha* The decision is
in accordance with English Law and section 112 of the Indian Evidence
Act. Vide Dr Bannerjee's 'Marriage and stridhana' p. 177 for criticism
of the P. C. decision

of another (who is unconnected) is to be avoided, so may we be masters of wealth of our own (i. e. son of our body); O! Agni, the child of another cannot be one's offspring; it may be so in the case of the fool; do not spoil our path. A stranger, born of another's loins, though very pleasing, should not be taken, should not be even thought of in the mind (as one's son). Then he goes back to the same house (from which he came); may a vigorous, victorious, newly born son come to us! "1244

In modern times the courts generally recognize only two kinds of sons, viz *aurasa* and *dattaka*, the other kinds of sons being held to be long since obsolete. Vide *Nagindas v. Bachoo* 43 I. A. 56, 67. But two more kinds of sons have been recognized in modern times in certain provinces only, viz. the *krtrima* in Mithila (modern Tirhoot) and the *putrikāputra* among the Nambudri brāhmaṇas of Malabar, both of which will be dealt with below.

Putrikāputra. The two meanings of this word given by the Mit. and others relying on Vas. have been stated above (p. 647) Kaut III. 7, Yaj. II. 128, Manu IX. 134 declare the *putrikā* or *putrikāputra* to be equal to the *aurasa* son. The conception underlying the *putrikā* has a hoary antiquity. There are traces of the *putrikā* in the Rgveda itself. Vas¹²⁴⁵ XVII. 16 refers to

1244. परिवर्धं ह्यरणस्य रेक्णो निरस्य रायः पतयः स्पाम । न शेषो अग्रे अन्यजात-
मस्त्यचेतानस्य मा पयो वि दुक्षः ॥ न हि ग्रभाधारणः सुशेवोऽन्योद्वयो मनसा मन्तवा उ । अथा
शिदोक्तः पुनरित्स एषा नो वाज्यभाषद्विह नयः ॥ ऋ. VII 4, 7-8. The verses are
rather obscure, particularly the first one. The meaning given above is that
of such an ancient writer as Yāska in Nir. III 1-3. He says that these two
verses support the view that the son belongs to the begetter (and not to
the adopter): 'तद्यथा जनयितुं प्रजा एवमर्थयि ऋचापुदाहरिण्याम । परिवर्धं १.'
Compare आप. घ. सू II 6 13. 5 'उत्पादयितुः पुत्र इति हि ब्राह्मणम् । The निर्णय-
सिन्धु says that the verse (न हि ग्रभाय) does not really mean to prohibit the
adoption of sons but is intended to extol the *aurasa*, as otherwise it would be
opposed to the indications contained in the story of the acceptance of
Śnnaḥśepa as a son and to the words of the latter 'may I become your son',
योपि न हि ग्रभाया . . मन्तवा उ—इति श्रुतौ दत्तकानिषेध. सोऽप्यौरसातिशयार्थः, अन्यथा
ह्यन शेषाद्विप्रतिग्रहश्रौतलिङ्गविरोधापत्तेः । उपेयां तव पुत्रतामित्युक्तेः । नि. सि. III
पूर्वाप p 250 उपेयां तव पुत्रताम् are the words of शुन.शेष in वे. वा. 33. 5

1245. विज्ञापते अग्रावुका पुंसः पिबूनभ्येति प्रतीचीर्न गच्छति पुत्रत्वम् । वसिष्ठ
17 16: अग्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गतास्तिव सनये धनानाम् । जायेव परय उक्ताती सुवासा
उपा शेषेव नि विणीते अप्स । ऋ. I. 124. 7, the निरुक्त (III 5) comments 'अग्रावुकेय
पुंस' पिबूनभ्यमित्युक्ती सन्तानकर्मणे पिण्डदानाय न एतिम् । ... उपा हसना इव दन्ताम् विवृ-
ष्टे रूपाणि । अमूर्या यन्ति योपितो हिरा लोहितवाससः । अग्रातर इव जामयस्तिष्ठन्तु
एतवर्चस ॥ अथर्ववेद I 17. 1. The निरुक्त III. 4 reads अयातर इव योपास्तिष्ठन्ति
एतवर्चस. and explains अग्रावुका इव योपास्तिष्ठन्ति सन्तानकर्मणे पिण्डदानाय एतवर्चसः ।
इति अग्रावुकाया अनिवारि औपमिकः ।

Rg. I. 124. 7 in connection with putrikā. That verse contains four similes in describing the advent of *Uṣas* (Dawn) 'As a woman that has no brother comes back to (her) male relations,... like a smiling damsel the Dawn unmasks objects (or her beauty)'. The Nirukta (III. 5) explains the first quarter as meaning that a brotherless maiden (after marriage) comes back to her paternal line for continuing that line and for offering *pinda*s (to her paternal ancestors) and does not go to her husband's line. The Rg. in several places refers to the difficulty of getting brotherless maidens married and to the fact of their remaining in their father's house as old maidens; vide Rg. II. 17. 7 'amūjūṣa pitroḥ sūcū satī' and IV. 5. 5. The Atharvaveda I. 17. 1 states 'like brotherless sisters let these stand still with their splendours gone'. Yāska explains that, as brotherless maidens, when married, bar the way to the continuance of the family of their husbands and to offering of *pinda*s (through their son), so are these red arteries &c. Yāska (Nirukta III. 4) relies for the appointment of a brotherless daughter as a son upon another very obscure verse of the Rg. (III. 31. 1)¹²⁴⁶ 'the husband declares (or promises) that the father may regard (the daughter's son) as his son's son'. The Nirukta¹²⁴⁷ (III. 5) quotes a Vedic text 'one should not marry a brotherless (girl), for she becomes (her father's) son' and holds that it expressly prohibits marriage with a brotherless maiden and also declares that such a girl becomes a son to her father. The brotherless maiden is appointed as a son by express agreement, but according to Gautama 28. 17 the opinion of one school (which he does not approve) was that a brotherless girl became a putrikā by the mere unilateral intention of the father and therefore one should not marry a brotherless maiden for fear that the father (without expressly stipulating so) might intend her to be putrikā. Manu III. 11 contains a similar caution. This recommendation not to marry a brotherless maiden continued down to the days of Yāj. (I. 53 'aroginīm bhrātṛmatīm'), though in modern times many would prefer to marry such a girl, provided the father was well-off. Manu IX. 140 states that the

1246. शासद्बहिर्दुहितुर्नयं गार्हिष्ठं ऋतस्य दूधितिं सपर्यन्तं । पिता यत्र दुहितुं
लेकमुञ्जन् स शत्रवेन मनसा दूधन्ते ॥ ऋ III 31 1. The Nirukta III 4 explains
प्रशस्तिं बोद्धा सन्तानकर्तॄणे दुहितुः पुत्रभावम् । न तस्मादुपायमहं दूहित्रं पौत्रमिति ।

1247. नाम्नात्रीहययच्छेत्ताकं ह्यस्य तद्वति—इति अत्रातुकाया उपयमनमतिवैधः
मयसः पितुश्च पुत्रभावः । निरुक्त III 5 विश्वरूपेण या I. 53 states that नाम्नात्री
&c. is a text of the Bhāṭṭavins मेधः on मनु IX 132 quotes नाम्नात्री ... तद्वति.
अभिस्निधमात्रादुन्निकेत्येकैवायं । तस्मादात्मोपयच्छेद्विद्वत्कायम् । गो. 28. 17-18.

three pindas that the putrikāputra offered were respectively to his mother, to the mother's father and to the mother's paternal grand-father.

The putrikāputra is no longer recognised anywhere in India except among the Nambudri brāhmanas of Malabar. Vide *Tnakoor Jeebnath v. Court of Wards* 2 I. A. 163, 167, *Babui Rila v. Babu Puran* 1 Pat. L. J. 581, *Kumaran v. Narayanan* 9 Mad. 260, *Chemnauth v. Palakuzhu* 25 Mad. 662, 31 Mad. 310. It appears that even a Madras authority like the *Smrticandrikā*¹²⁴⁸ was not aware of the prevalence of the putrikāputra in Malabar.

Ksetraja This kind of son arose from the practice of *niyoga*. The origin of this practice and the limitations under which it was allowed have been dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II pp 599-607. One matter not mentioned therein is this that the *Brahmapurāṇa* states that *ksetraja* sons were very common among *ksatriyas* since they had no progeny either because they were cursed (by sages for their misdeeds) or because they were constantly engaged in war.¹²⁴⁹ The *Baudh.* S. II. 2. 21-23 and *Kauṭ.* III. 7 declare the *ksetraja* to be the son of two fathers, to have two *gotras* and to offer pindas to both fathers (provided there is no *aurasa* son born subsequently) and to take their wealth and that in offering each pinda they have to associate it with two names.¹²⁵⁰ It is to be noted that the *Mit. on Yaj.* II. 127 introduces the *ksetraja* as *dvyāmusyāyana*, although that word, as will be seen later on, has another significance also. The *Madanapārijāta* (p. 651) also regards *ksetraja* and *dvyāmusyāyana* as synonyms. The *Vivādata-dava* (folio 122) states that the *dvyāmusyāyana* and sons of intercaste marriages being forbidden in *Kali* it does not enter into any discussion about the rules of allotting shares to them.

1248 अन एवास्मिन्भित्तवर्गकुत्रापि वृत्तकेतरेषां गोणपुत्राणां पुत्रिकायास्तत्सुतस्य च भानविधये न निषेधयते संत्यनसुप्रियमानत्वाद् वृथा च ग्रन्थविस्तारापत्तेः । स्मृतिच. II. p 289. Vide n 1130

1249 राज्ञां तु शापदग्धानां नित्यं क्षयवतां तथा । अथ संयामशीलानां न कदाचिद्वयति ते । औरसो यदि वा पुत्रस्तपसा पुत्रिकास्तुतः । विद्यते न हि तेषां तु विज्ञेया- क्षेत्रजादयः । ब्रह्मपुराण quoted by अरराक p 737.

1250 स एव द्विविधः द्विगोत्रश्च द्वयोरपि स्वधारिण्यभावाभावेति । अथाप्युदाहरति । द्विपितृ- पिण्डदानं स्यात् पिण्डे पिण्डे च नास्तीति । त्रयश्च पिण्डाः चरुगां स्तुरेणं कुर्वन् स्रज्यति । इति । वा ध सु II. 2. 21-23 . जनयितुरसंयमहेमन्तुये स एव द्विपितृका द्विगोत्रो वा द्वयोरपि स्वधारिण्यभावाभावेति । अधशास्त्र III 7 . 'द्व्यामुष्यायणस्य विजातीयानां च विभक्तौ विदधः कदाप्यसंभक्तव्यते' वि. ता. folio 122.

Dattaka. This will be dealt with separately later on.

Kṛtrima—(or *krta*, as in Nār. *dāyabhāga* 46). According to Manu IX 169, Yāj. II. 131, Baud. Dh. S II. 2 25 and the Mit. and other works a *krtrima* is a person (of the same caste as the adopter) who has no parents and who is adopted with *his own consent* by the tempting offer of wealth. He is distinguished from the *dattaka* by the fact that he is not given by the father or mother and by the fact that his own consent is necessary (so that he must be major according to the ancient Hindu Law). Such a son is recognized in modern times only in Mithilā (Tirhoot) and the adjoining districts and among the Nambudri brāhmanas of Malabar (as held in *Vasudevan v Secretary of State* 11 Mad. 157). Considerable case law exists about the *krtrima* adoption, for which Mulla's Hindu Law pp 563-564 (9th ed.) and Mayne's Hindu law (10th ed.) pp 293-294 may be consulted.

Gūḍhaja. There is probably a reference to such a son in the Rg. II 29. 1¹²⁵¹ 'O! Ādityas, that uphold the moral law, that are always active, keep away from me sin as a woman giving birth to a child in secret (removes it)'.

Kānina. This word is derived from the word 'kanyā' (a maiden). Pāṇini IV. 1 116 (*kanyāyāḥ kanina ca*) derives the word in the sense of "child of a maiden" and the Kaśika gives Karna and Vyāsa as instances of *kānina* sons. The word *kānina* occurs in the Atharvaveda V. 5. 8 and *kumūriputra* occurs in the Vājasaneyasamhitā 30. 6. Nār. (*dāyabhāga* 17) 1252 says that the *kānina*, *sahodha* and *gūḍhaja* are the sons of the man who marries the mother of these and they take the wealth of the husband of their mother. The Pārijāta (q by V. R. p. 565) states that the *kānina* and *sahodha* become the sons of their mother's father if the latter is sonless, but if he has a son then they become the sons of the husband of their mother and if both have no sons then they become the sons of both.

Kṛita—(the son bought). Vas. (17. 30-32) states that Hāriscandra purchased Śunahśepa from Ajigarta and that

1251. धृतव्रता आदित्या इषिरा आरे मत्कर्त रहस्यविगः । ऋ II. 29 1.

1252. कानीनश्च सहोदश्च गूढायां यश्च जायते । तेषां बोद्धा पिता ज्ञेयस्ते च भागहरा स्मृताः ॥ नारदः, दायभाग 17, on this वि र p 565 states 'अथापुत्रो यदि मातामहस्तदा तस्य पुत्रः कानीनः सहोदश्च । सपुत्रश्चेत्तदा बोद्धः, उभयोरपुत्रत्वे चोभयोरिति पारिजातः ॥'. The मद्. पा p 562, however, says about कानीन 'तत्र बोद्धुरित्युपादानादिविवाहितो चेत्तदा बोद्धोर्न चोभयोरित्युपादानादिविवाहितो'.

Śunahśepa was a kṛita son. *Svayāmdatta*—Vas. (17. 33–35) says that Śunahśepa became the svayāmdatta son of Viśvāmitra as stated in the Ait. Br. (referred to above in n. 1244). *Paunarbhava* (the son of a *punarbhū*)—vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 608–610 for the meaning of *punarbhū* and the remarriage of widows (pp. 611–621).

CHAPTER XXVIII

DATTAKA (adopted son)

No branch of Hindu Law in modern times has been so fruitful in litigation as adoption. There are instances, where, fifty years after a point in the law of adoption was deemed to have been settled by a Full Bench decision, the Privy Council intervened and overruled the Full Bench decision in spite of its usual practice to follow the rule of *stare decisis*. The medieval digests are full of varying interpretations of the same *smṛti* texts and the law of adoption differs from province to province according to the authoritative medieval works and modern case law. Voluminous works like those of Shastri Golapchandra Sarkar and of Mr. Kapur have been written on the subject of adoption in all its details. There is so much bewildering confusion and so much case law on the several aspects of adoption that it is only legislation that can resolve the tangled skein of the modern law of adoption. In this section an attempt will be made to present the law of adoption as evolved by the *smṛtis* and medieval works and only some important cases bearing in various ways on the ancient law will be cited.

It has been shown above (pp. 641, 657) how even in the times of the R̥gveda the son of the body was eagerly sought for and how the adoption of another man's son was declared to be not worthy of being thought of. Even so late an author as Śūkra (II. 31) says that the adopted and other secondary sons should never be thought as one's sons, since on seeing a rich man they desire to be adopted^{1252a}. Yet Vedic Literature contains some references to adopted sons. In the Tai S. VII. 1. 8. 1 we come across the story of Atri,^{1252b} who gave an only son in adoption to Aurva in these words: 'Atri gave his son in adoption to Aurva

1252a. मनसापि न मन्तव्या दत्ताया. स्वयता इति । ते दत्तकान्मिच्छन्ति इदं पदं धनिकं नरम् । छाकनीति II 31.

1252b. अत्रिर्वद्विषीष्य यज्ञं पुत्रकामाय । स त्रिरिचानोऽमन्यत निर्दीपं क्षिप्रिलो पातयामा स एतं चतुर्त्रयपदयत्तमाहरत्तेनापजत ततो वै तस्य चरवारो वीरा अजायन्त सुहोता दत्ताता स्वयवर्त्तु सुसमेयः । ते स VII. 1. 8. 1. For चतुर्त्रय, vide कात्या. श्रौ 23. 1. 7 and आम्ब. श्रौ. XI 1. 16-26.

who desired to have a son. He (Atri), having become empty (as it were, by giving away his only son), thought himself to be destitute of strength, to be weak and worn out (lit. stale). He (Atri) saw this *catūrātra* (a sacrifice of that name lasting for four days). He made preparations for it and performed that sacrifice. Then he had four valiant sons born to him, a good Hotr, a good Udgātr, a good Adhvaryu and a good *sabheya* (skilful speaker in an assembly)'. The story of Sunaṣṣepa in the Ait. Br. (33) shows that Viśvāmītra, though he had already one hundred and one sons, adopted Sunaṣṣepa under the name Devarāta, with the consent of his fifty-one sons (with Madhucchandas¹²⁵³ at their head), though the elder 50 sons disobeyed their father. It must be supposed that the later rule allowing only a sonless man to adopt did not apply to Viśvāmītra.

The sūtras and smṛtis contain hardly anything about the dattaka except his name (among the 12 kinds of sons) or the definition, as in Baud. Dh. S. II 2. 24, Manu IX 168, Yaj. II. 130, Visnu Dh. S 15 18-19, Nār. (dāyabhāga 46) The Vas Dh. S is an exception. It not only gives a definition (in 17 28-29), but is one of the earliest smṛti texts to dilate on the rules about adoption (in 15. 1-9). What it says may be set forth in one place. "Man produced from seed and blood owes his birth to his mother and father. (Hence) the mother and father have power to give, to sell or to abandon him. But one should not give or accept an only son, for, he is required to continue the line of his ancestors. A woman should neither give nor receive a son (in adoption) except with the permission of her husband. One about to take a son in adoption should, after having invited his kinsmen, having informed the ruler (of the intended adoption) and having performed in the middle part of his house a *homa* with the *vyāhritis*, take only him who is closely related and who is a kinsman not remote (in habitation and speech) If a doubt arises (as to the family of the person to be adopted) he (the person desiring to adopt) should treat one whose kinsmen are in a remote place as if he were a śūdra; for it is declared (in the Brāhmaṇa or Vedic works) 'by means of one (son, aurasa or adopted) he (the adopter) saves many.' If, after a son is taken (in adoption), an aurasa is born (to the adopter) the adopted son shall be the recipient of a fourth

1253. सद्योवाच मधुच्छन्दाः । पञ्चाशता सर्पे यज्ञः पिता सजानीते तस्मिन्स्तिष्ठामहे
ययम् । इदंस्त्वा सर्वं कुर्महे त्वामन्वच्छो वयं स्मरति । इति । ऐ. ब्रा 33, 6 This is q, by
the दत्त. नी. p. 17

share" 1254. Manu IX. 141 refers to the adoption of a son who is not of the same gotra as the adopter and IX. 142 sets out the results of adoption. The other principal ancient texts quoted by the D. M. and V. Mayūkha are those of Atri, Śaunaka, 1255 Sakala and the Kālikapurāṇa. The Mit. does not contain more than a few lines on the *dattaka*. It is only in such late works (belonging to the 17th century and later times) like the V. Mayūkha, the Dattakamīmāṃsā, the Samskāra-kaustubha, the Dattakacandrikā, that the dattaka receives an elaborate treatment. In modern times the D. M. and D C (which is branded as a forgery by some Bengal writers) 1256 have been regarded by

1254. शुक्रशेषितसम्भवः पुरुषो भवति मातापितृनिमित्तकः । तस्य प्रदानविक्रयस्या-
 गेषु मातापितरौ प्रभवतः । न त्वेकं पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृहीयाद्वा । स हि सन्तानाय पूर्वेषाम् । न स्त्री
 पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृहीयाद्वा न्यत्राह्णज्ञानाद्भूतः । पुत्रं प्रतिगृहीष्यन् बन्धूनादय राजानि च निषेध
 निषेधानस्य मध्ये व्यावृत्तिभिर्हुत्वा अदूरबान्धवं बन्धुसंनिकृष्टमेव प्रतिगृहीयात् । सन्वेहे
 चोत्पत्ते दूरेबान्धवं शुद्धमिव स्यादयेत् । विज्ञायते ह्येकेन बहून्नापत इति । तस्मिन्नेत्यतिगृहीत
 औरसः पुत्र उत्पद्येत चतुर्थभागभागी स्यात्सकः । वसिष्ठ 15. 1-9 The Band.
 Grhyaśeṣasūtra II 6 has the first five and the last sūtras out of these. In
 Aparārka pp. 737-738, V R. p. 568, the V. Mayūkha p. 112, V. P pp.
 477-478 and in the D M this passage is quoted The V Mayūkha reads स हि
 त्रापते पुरुषं for स हि -पूर्वेषाम्, while the वि ता. (folio 124) reads स हि ..पूर्वेषाम्.
 The Mit on Yāj II 130 quotes a portion of this passage. On स हि सन्तानाय the V R p. 569 explains 'सन्तानोच्छेदे हि पिण्डोदकक्रियानिवृत्तिर्महान्दोष
 इति मकारः' Aparārka pp 737 and Sm C II. p 192 read असंनिकृष्टमेव
 and explain respectively 'असम्बन्धिनमेव' and 'संनिकृष्टभ्रातृपुत्रादित्यतिरिक्तमेव
 गृहीयात्', but these explanations are not good, since the brother's son is
 recommended as the best for adoption according to others Therefore the
 explanation of V R. p. 569 that असंनिकृष्टमेव means असंनिकृष्टमपि is
 preferable. The whole of this passage of Vas except the last sūtra is quoted
 in *Ganga Sahas v. Lekhraj* 9 All 253 at p. 300 and the first five sūtras in
Tulshi Ram v. Behari Lal 12 All. 328, 338 and *Jogesh Chandra v. Nityakati*
 30 Cal 965 at p. 972.

1255 Vide Appendix for Saunaka's verses on adoption and for Baud
 grhya-śeṣasūtra

1256 As to the tradition among Bengal Pandits that the Dattaka-
 candrikā was fabricated by a pandit called Raghumani to support the claim
 of an adopted son to a Rāj, vide Golapchandra Sarkar's Tagore Law Lectures
 on adoption (2nd. ed. of 1916 pp. 122-126) It may, however, be noted
 that in *Bhagwan v Bhagwan* 17 All. 294, 313 Mr. Justice Banerji refused
 to place any reliance on the tradition.

the Privy Council as of the highest authority in matters of adoption. In *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo* 12 Moo. L. A. 397 at p. 437 the P. C. observe: 'Of the Dattakamīmāṃsā of Nanda Pandita and the Dattaka. Candrikā of Devanna Bhatta, two treatises on the particular subject of adoption, Sir William Macnaghten says that they are respected all over India; but that when they differ the doctrine of the latter is adhered to in Bengal and by the southern Jurists, while the former is said to be the infallible guide in the provinces of Mithila and Benares'. But Jolly (T. L. L. p. 166) gives a far more correct estimate of the value of the D. M. when he says 'It is simply a misfortune that so much authority should have been attributed in the courts all over India to such a treatise as Nanda Pandita's Mīmāṃsā which abounds more in fanciful distinctions than perhaps any other work on adoption and it is high time that the numerous other treatises on adoption should be thoroughly examined and given their due weight'. In *Bhagwan v. Bhagwan* 26 L. A. 153 at p. 161 the P. C. observe 'To call it (the Dattakamīmāṃsā) infallible is too strong an expression and the estimates of Sutherland and of West and Buhler seem nearer the true mark; but it is clear that both works must be accepted as bearing high authority for so long a time that they have become embedded in the general law'. Yet even these works have been set at naught and departed from by Courts in India on many points as will appear in the sequel.

The principal matters to be discussed under adoption are: object of adoption, persons that may legally take in adoption, persons that may give in adoption, persons that may be taken in adoption, the requisites and ceremonies of adoption and the results of adoption.

The objects of adoption—Atri (verse 52) quoted above in note 1231 declares that that man alone who has no son should always secure a substitute for a son with all possible effort for the sake of securing the offering of pindas (funeral and śrāddha cakes) and water. The D. C. quotes this verse and also another ascribed by it to Manu¹²⁵⁷ in which the object of adoption is said to be twofold, viz securing spiritual benefit from the pindas and water (offered by him) and perpetuating the name and family of the adopter. In one of the latest cases on adop-

1257. तत्राह मनु । अश्वमेज सुतः कार्यो पादकृ तादृक् प्रयत्नतः । पिण्डोदकक्रियाहेतोर्-
नानिस्तद्वर्तिनाय च ॥ दत्त च p. 2.

tion that revolutionized the law the Privy Council¹²⁵⁸ emphasize the peculiar religious significance that has attached to the son among all classes of Hindus, refer to the 9th chapter of Manu verses 106, 107, 137, 138 of which are instinct with this doctrine, hold that the foundation of the Brahminical doctrine of adoption is the duty which every Hindu owes to his ancestors to provide for the continuance of the line and the solemnization of the necessary rites and that in this doctrine the devolution of property, though recognized as the inherent right of the son, is altogether a secondary consideration.

Persons who can give in adoption—The primary right to give in adoption is that of the father, who can do so without consulting the mother.¹²⁵⁹ The mother cannot without the husband's permission give her son in adoption while the father is alive and capable of consenting. But the mother alone can (as said by Manu IX. 168, Yaj. II. 130) give her son in adoption if the father be dead or if he is incapable of giving consent or has entered the order of ascetics, provided he has not expressly or impliedly prohibited her to do so. If both parents are dead no one else, not even the paternal grand-father or the step-mother or a brother, can give a man in adoption. If A has a son B and is then given in adoption by his mother into another family, it was held in *Martand v. Narayan* that A still retained his power as father to give away B in adoption (1 L. R. 1939 Bom. 586 F. B.). This decision has been dissented from by the Nagpur High Court in *Sharadachandra v. Shantabai* (1 L. R. 1944 Nag. p. 544, F. B.). But the reasons given by the Nagpur High Court are not convincing and the judges seem to be influenced by the dictum of the P. C. that the adopted son is

1258. Vide *Amarendra Man Singh v. Sanatan* 60 I A. p. 242. Though it may be conceded that in the majority of cases the object of the *adopter* is religious, the object of the *giver* and of the *person adopted* (if he is grown up) is far from religious. The main object of the latter two at least in modern times is to secure wealth without effort and hardly any religious motives enter into their minds. No one gives a son in adoption to a poor man, though a poor man has a soul to save as much as a rich man. Besides in adoption by widows, their motive is very often far from religious. They often adopt out of pique against their husband's brothers or nephews and for benefiting themselves monetarily by making agreements with the adopted sons to share the property with them.

1259. अत एव माता पिता वा दद्यातामिति सन्तुना मातुर्भर्तृज्ञानसापेक्षत्वाज्जयस्यार्थं रूपवृत्तान्तैरेवैषयाद् पितुर्मध्यमत्वं जनकतासामान्यादुभयोर्दुरुपलभ्यमित्येव पूर्वपूर्वात्तरसा-दुत्तरोत्तरमभिविद्यत् । वृत्त. मी pp. 119-121.

just like an aurasa son except in a few well defined cases. It cannot be supposed that the P. C. knew all the texts of the *nibandhas* dealing with adoption. Though the Bombay High Court held in *Putalabai v. Mahadu* 33 Bom. 107 that a mother did not by her remarriage forfeit her right to give in adoption her son by the first husband, that decision was subsequently overruled in *Fakirappa v. Savitreva* 23 Bom. L. R. 482 (F B.) which decided that after remarriage a widow has no power to give in adoption her son by the first husband. The same High Court held in *Shamsing v. Shantabai* (25 Bom. 551) that a Hindu father, who, after the birth of a son, became a convert to the Moslem faith, did not by reason of his conversion lose his power of giving his son, who remained a Hindu, in adoption though the physical act of giving in adoption, being accompanied by religious ceremonies, may have to be delegated by him to a Hindu. This decision was based on the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1851 (for which see above p. 547, n. 1021). This decision is against the spirit of the ancient Hindu Law.

What persons may adopt a son.—Every male Hindu, who is of sound mind and has attained the age of discretion though he may be a minor according to the Indian Majority Act (III of 1875), can take a son in adoption provided he has no son, grandson or great-grandson, natural or adopted, living at the time of adoption. The word 'aputrena' in the verse of Atri (quoted above in n. 1231) is explained by the D. M. as meaning¹²⁶⁰ one who had no son at all or whose son is dead and as including the grandson and great-grandson. It would appear from a Bombay decision that even if a Hindu has a son, grandson or great-grandson disqualified from inheriting on the grounds mentioned above he cannot adopt (vide *Bharmappa v. Ujjangauda* 46 Bom. 455). In the *Dattasiddhāntamañjarī* of Bālakṛṣṇa (folio 11b) it is stated that if the aurasa son of a person is congenitally blind, dumb or deaf he can take a boy in adoption. In *Krishna v. Raghavendra* I. L. R. (1942) Bom. 492 it has been held, relying upon 46 Bom. 455, that a widow

1260. अपुत्रोऽजातपुत्रो मृतपुत्रो वा । अपुत्रो मृतपुत्रो वा पुत्रार्थं सप्तपुण्यं च—इति सौनकीयात् । ... अपुत्रेण इति पुत्रपदं पौत्रमपौत्रयोरप्युपलक्षणम् । पुत्रेण लोकाजयति (मनु १. १३७) इति पात्रादेना विशिष्टलोकमतिपदनेन नापुत्रस्य लोकोत्तीत्याद्यलोकतापयितारत् । दत्त मी p 3 and p. 18; अत्र पुत्रपदं पौत्रमपौत्रयोरप्युपलक्षणम् । तयोरपि पित्रदातृत्ववशकरत्वाविशेषात् । दत्त च p. 3; अत एव जन्मान्धमूकबधिरौरसपुत्रवतः पितृ-दत्तमदणं सङ्गच्छते । दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी folio 11 b.

idea is that the permission (*anujñāna*) of the husband is not required to be given just at the time of the adoption and that it may be given long before the actual adoption. (3) In Madras a widow may also adopt without¹²⁶³ her husband's authority, provided she secures the consent of the father-in-law or (if the latter be dead) of all the co-parceners of the husband, if her husband died as a member of a joint family, and if the husband was separate at the time of his death, then the consent of the father-in-law or (if he were dead) of a substantial majority of her husband's nearest sapindas. In this view the word 'of the husband' (in Vasistha) is taken as only illustrative and not literally. (4) The Vyavahāramayūkha,¹²⁶⁴ the Nirṇaya-sindhu, the Samskāra-kaustubha, the Dharmasindhu, that are regarded as authoritative in Bombay and Western India, hold that the passage of Vasistha refers only to a wife whose husband is alive and that a widow may adopt without the husband's authority. According to this school the husband's authority to adopt is always to be presumed, unless he has prohibited his widow expressly or by necessary implication from adopting. The D. C. appeals to the general maxim 'another's (or the opponent's) view if not dissented from may be taken as having been approved'.

1263 In *Balsubramanya v M Subbaya* L. R 65 I. A. 93 at p. 99 the Privy Council say. 'their Lordships are not laying down that the requisite authority must necessarily be express but they agree with the District Judge that in order to constitute an implied authority there must be circumstantial evidence of a cogent character'. Vide *The Collector of Madura v. Mootoo* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 pp. 435-36 where three of these four interpretations are pointed out.

1264. भर्तृहृता तु सधवाया एव हृदार्थत्वात् । विधवायास्तु तां विनापि पितृस्तदभावे ज्ञातीनामाज्ञया भवति । .. अतो यस्यामवरथायां भर्तृहृता मासा सैवान्तर्याते न त्वपूर्वा विधीयते । अतो विधवाया भर्तृराज्ञां विनाप्यधिकारः । एष मयूख p. 113 ; तत्रैव वसिष्ठः । न त्वैकं पुत्रं .. भर्तुरिति । इदं च भर्तृसत्त्वे । अन्यथा दद्यान्माता पिता वा यं स पुत्रो द्विभिः स्मृत इति यस्यास्यचोविरोधः स्यात् । दानं प्रतिग्रहोपलक्षणम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्धे p. 249, श्रियास्तु जीवति भर्तुरिति तद्व्युत्पत्तौ । श्रियते स्मृते वा तद्व्युत्पत्तां विनापि । यथा वसिष्ठः । 'न स्त्री ... भर्तुः' । इति । अतुमतिश्चामतिविधेयि भवति । अमतिविद्ध परमतमनुमतं भवतीति न्यायात् । दत्त. च p 18, तच्छास्त्रास्त्रित्यकार्यव्रतादिधर्माचरणे इव पुत्रप्रतिग्रहेपि ना-पुत्रस्य लोकोत्तीत्यादिसामान्यशास्त्रादेव विधवाया अधिकारः । उक्तविधदत्तकस्वीकारः शुभिरिव स्त्रीभिरपि सधवाभिर्विधवाभिश्च कार्यः । वन्ध्या वा सुतपुत्रा वा पुत्राणि ससुपोष्य चेति शौनकीयवचनपरिशेषवचनात् । सं कौ p 160, It will be noticed that the सं कौ. reads वन्ध्या वा सुतपुत्रा वा for अपुत्रो सुतपुत्रो वा in शौनक's text which is the reading of all other works, the former being probably a fabrication inserted to support widow's claims to adopt. The D. M p. 3 notices the reading वन्ध्या सुतपुत्रो वापि in Saunaka's text. For the maxim अमतिविद्ध &c. vide साङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 4. 12.

There is a large volume of case law about the construction of the authority to adopt, about the rights of co-widows in the matter of adoption, about the limits of a widow's power, which are deemed to be outside the purview of this work.

As regards the power of a widow to adopt in the Bombay school, when her husband was joint at the time of his death, the case law has fluctuated from time to time. Only a few cases may be referred to here. In *Ramji v. Ghamau* 6 Bom. 498 (F. B.) a Full Bench of the Bombay High Court held that a widow, whose husband was a member of a joint family at the time of his death, could not adopt when she has not the authority of her husband or the consent of the husband's undivided coparceners. After this decision had stood for 50 years the Privy Council held in *Bhimabai v. Gurunathgouda*¹²⁶⁵ L. R. 60 I. A. p. 25 that the Full Bench decision had already been overruled in *Yadao v. Namdeo* (48 I. A. 513) and that a Hindu widow can adopt without the consent of her husband's

1265. In *Bhimabai's* case the Privy Council purport to follow the case of *Rakhmabai v. Radhabai* 5 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) p. 181. But in that case the husband was separate at the time of his death. The P. C. however point out that in *Yadao v. Namdeo* (48 I. A. 513 at p. 529) it was said that the decision in *Rakhmabai's* case was not based on the fact that the husband was separate at his death or on the fact that the widow when she made the adoption had the estate vested in her and it was held that that decision was equally applicable where the husband was joint. Apart from the fact that the decision of the P. C. is opposed to the general sentiment of Hindu society at present, with the greatest respect two criticisms have to be offered against the decision in *Bhimabai's* case. The passage of the *Vyavahāramayūkha* relied upon in *Rakhmabai's* case and in *Bhimabai's* case has not been correctly understood. The *Mayūkha* was combating the view of others that a widow cannot adopt at all. Therefore he tried to establish that a widow can adopt without her husband's authority. But the *Mayūkha* did not say expressly that she can adopt without any body's authority or that she can adopt even in a joint family without the consent of the coparceners or even against their wishes. On the contrary if we look at the whole context where he quotes Yāj. I. 85 and a verse of Śrī. (930) it would appear that he meant to convey that the consent of the father of the husband or of his kinsmen would be necessary. Further, no one drew the attention of the P. C. to another passage of the *V. Mayūkha* where it summarizes the rite of adoption and states 'Women whose husbands are alive are entitled to adopt with the permission of their husbands; failing the husband, a woman can adopt with the permission of the (husband's) father and the rest': 'स्त्रीणां स्वयन्तर्गतं भर्तृपुत्राय भर्तृभते पित्रादीनाम्' इय. मयूख P. 120.

co-parceners, when the husband was a member of a joint family at the time of his death. This decision was carried further by Amarendra's case (60 I. A. 242) by holding that when a widow, who had authority to adopt, adopted even after the estate had devolved on a male collateral heir such adopted son would take the estate and deprive the heir of it. As any widow was held to be able to adopt in Bombay without anybody's consent, hundreds of adoptions have taken place, which came and are coming before the courts. Another Full Bench case held that when a Hindu coparcenary came to an end on the death of the last surviving coparcener and the family property became vested in his heir, a subsequent adoption by the widow of a predeceased coparcener was valid, but it did not revive the coparcenary nor did it vest the property of the former coparcenary in the adopted son (*Balu v. Lahoo* I. L. R. 1937 Bom. 508). When a co-parcenary was broken up by partition among the members, it was held¹²⁶⁶ that the widow of a coparcener who died long before the partition cannot make a valid adoption and reliance was placed on a passage of the *Viramitrodaya* (quoted below).¹²⁶⁷

But these decisions have been dissented from in *Bajrao v. Ramkrishna* I. L. R. (1941) Nagpur 707 and in *K. R. Sankarlingam Pillai v. Veluchami Pillai* I. L. R. (1943) Mad. 309 (F. B.), where it has been laid down that when the surviving coparceners of a joint Hindu family were in possession of the joint family properties which they obtained in a partition among themselves after the death of a coparcener and subsequent to the partition a valid adoption was made to the deceased coparcener by his widow the adopted son was entitled to reopen the partition. They rely by way of analogy on the provisions of Yaj that the posthumous son can reopen a partition already made and also on that of the disqualified heir when the disqualification is removed and on the dicta in some cases that an adoption dates back to the date of the death of the adoptive father. But no *smṛiti* text and no digest has extended the exceptional rules about the posthumous son and the disqualified heir to a son

1266 Vide *Hirachand v. Soyhal* I. L. R. 1939 Bom. 512 and *Irappa v. Rachayya* I. L. R. 1940 Bom. 42.

1267. अथ ब्रूत । प्रत्येकवृत्तीनि सम्बन्धाविशेषास्त्वानि स्वाभ्यानि च सन्त्येव । परस्पर-विभागागते परस्परस्वाभ्यान्पदीयद्भ्ये तानि नश्यन्ति । परमरणपारिव्राज्यादिनेवेति न काच्यनुपपत्तिः । व्यवस्थापनमपीदमेव, अन्यथैकदेशे उत्पादनमित्येव वदेत् । अत एव विनाश-नाशकल्पना न तु स्वत्वान्तरतोपादकल्पना । च म. pp. 431-32.

adopted after partition. Their reasoning as regards the Bombay cases is not satisfactory. It amounts to this that as between the separating co-parceners the coparcenary may be extinct but as to the subsequently adopted son it exists i. e. a coparcenary is extinct and existing at the same time, which, to use no stronger expression, appears rather strange. Besides the general rule is that partition is made only once (Manu IX. 47). The cases of the posthumous son and of the disqualified heir are expressly provided by way of exceptions. The usual rule is that exceptions are to be strictly limited to the matters expressly stated and are not to be extended by analogy to cases not covered by the words of the exception and that other cases are governed by the general rule. It is a canon of interpretation in Hindu Law that a special text forming an exception to a general text should be construed strictly and applied only to the cases clearly falling within it (*Ganqu v. Chandrabhagabai* 32 Bom. 275, 283, *Hanmant v. Ganesh* 43 Bom. 612, 624). Further, a Hindu widow is not compelled to adopt at any particular time; she may adopt at any time during her life. In *Raje Vyankatrao v. Jayavantrao* 4 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) 191 it is noticed that the widow in that case adopted 71 years after her husband's death. If the reasoning of the learned Judges of Nagpur and Madras is correct then when three or four generations have succeeded to the separating coparceners, an adopted son can reopen the partition after three quarters of a century. This result, to say the least, would be most unreasonable. The Nagpur High Court observes that every Hindu widow is a potential mother. This is a fiction which has been carried too far by that court and by the Privy Council. A woman in the order of nature can hardly ever have an *ausasa* son beyond the age of fifty or so, but when a fiction is employed a woman can bring into existence a son even when she is 80 or 90. The Privy Council have approved of the Nagpur and Madras decisions recently in *Anant v. Shankar* 46 Bom. L. R. 1. They hold that a Hindu family cannot be brought to an end while it is possible in nature or law to add a male member to it or while there is still a potential mother if that mother in the way of nature or law brings in a new member. In *Ramchandra v. Shankar* 47 Bom. L. R. 121 (F. B.) the Privy Council decision in *Anant v. Shankar* has been followed and it is held that the decision in *Balu v. Lahoo* has been expressly overruled by the Privy Council. The consequences of these latest decisions will be most disastrous for Hindus. In Amarendra's case the P. C. state that there

must be some limit to the power of a widow to adopt or some conditions in which it would be contrary to the spirit of the doctrine to admit its continuance or inequitable in the face of other rights to allow it to take effect (L. R. 60 I. A. 242 at p. 249). In *Madana Mohana v. Purshothama* L. R. 45 I. A. 156 the P. C. approving of *Ramkrishna v. Shamrao* 26 Bom. 526 (F. B.) held that, when a man dies leaving a widow and a son and that son dies leaving his own son or a widow to continue the line by adoption, the power of the former widow comes to an end and cannot be revived; that is, they were prepared to hold that the grandmother succeeding to her grandson who died unmarried could not make a valid adoption and allowed the grandfather and his ancestors to remain without the religious benefits that a son adopted by the grandmother would have conferred (in spite of the 9th chapter of Manu on which they rely in Amarendra's case). According to the recent rulings any widow whose husband died a member of a joint Hindu family may adopt at any time even when the other members become separate and may remain separate for 50 years or more and yet a large slice of the estate may be taken away after several generations have succeeded, laboured and acquired a vast estate. Further, it is not clear how far the P. C. will go in their solicitude for the adopted son. Suppose three brothers separate and one of them sells the property that came to his share. If the partition is to be opened for the benefit of a son subsequently adopted by a predeceased member's widow, will the purchaser be affected or not (supposing the sale is within 12 years of the adoption)? Supposing that the last surviving member of a family dies leaving a married daughter and a predeceased son's widow and the daughter inherits an absolute estate (as she does in Bombay) and remains in possession for 30 years, is it meant that a son thereafter adopted by the widowed daughter-in-law can divest an estate vested for thirty years in a married daughter who is not a member of the family at all after her marriage? The recent P. C. decision in *Anant v. Shankar* appears to indicate that whatever the length of time the adopted son will oust a collateral to whom the estate may have gone by inheritance. Intending purchasers have become afraid that there is no knowing how far the P. C. may go. These decisions will lead on to hurried sales of joint family property at whatever price may be fetched immediately a coparcener dies leaving a widow. The result of the several decisions of the P. C. has been that properties of

Hindu families in which widows of predeceased coparceners exist are not easily saleable and do not yield their proper market value. The inroads on the ancient joint family system of the Mitākṣarā have been so many that only the shell remains; the burdens are there, but the soul is gone, what with the right of each coparcener to alienate his share for consideration, the Gains of Learning Act, Act 18 of 1937, the decisions of the P. C. about adoption, sec 39 of the Transfer of Property Act. It would be better if the Legislature declared that the joint family system of the Mitākṣarā type has been abrogated, if all the innovations introduced by legislation and judicial decisions are to be kept intact.

A widow who has attained years of discretion may adopt although she is a minor according to the Indian Majority Act (of 1875) It has been held in Bengal that an unchaste¹²⁶⁸ widow cannot adopt, but in the Bombay Presidency it has been held that a sūdra widow, though unchaste, may make a valid adoption.¹²⁶⁹ If a man dies leaving a widow D and two sons A and B, who form a joint Hindu family, and subsequently A dies leaving a widow C and his brother B, and if B dies unmarried and the mother D succeeds as heir to her unmarried son B, she has still the power to adopt a son. The duty of continuing the line was cast upon both A and B and not on A alone and therefore when A dies that duty is cast on the surviving coparcener B. Therefore the proposition laid down in *Ramkrishna v Shamao* cannot apply and the mother of B can adopt (vide *Anant v. Dnyaneshwar* 46 Bom. L. R. 353)

Who may be adopted.

The person to be adopted must be a male according to the Vyavahāramayūkha¹²⁷⁰ which relies on the analogy of *upanayana* (that only a male undergoes, as stated in the ancient text 'astavarsam brāhmaṇam-upanayita'). This has been followed by

1268. Vide *Sayamalal v Saudamini* 5 Beng L. R. 362.

1269. Vide *Basvant v Mallappa* 45 Bom 459

1270. दत्तकश्च पुमानेव भवति न कन्या । स ज्ञेयो दत्तिम. सूत्र (मनु १. १६८) — इति संज्ञासंज्ञिसम्बन्धोपक्रमपणनेन स इति सर्वनाम्ना मातापितृकर्तृक-प्रीतिजट्टगुणकापत्ति-मित्तकदानकर्मीभूतसजातीयपुंस एव—अदवर्षे ब्राह्मणसुपनयनीत नमःपापयनीत—इति तच्छब्देनादवर्षे—ब्राह्मणपुंस्त्वोपनयनादिसंस्कृतरूपेण परामर्शति । न च मयूख pp. 108-109 For अदवर्षे ब्राह्मणसुपनयनीत, vide आप. वृ IV 10.2 and सुवर्षानाचार्य's gloss thereon The धर्मसिन्धु says एवं दत्तकन्याया अपि स्वीकार उक्तविधिना कार्यः । तत्र परगोत्रोत्पत्त्याया अहणे विवाहे -त्रैवर्षवर्जने मान्यत् । पुत्रपत्न्योरभावे दत्तकन्येव पित्रधन-भागिनी । (III पूर्वाह्न p. 162)

the Indian Courts.¹²⁷¹ But the D. M. (pp 112-116), Sam. K. (p. 188) and Dharmasindhu¹²⁷² relying upon such instances as that of Śāntā, the daughter of king Dasaratha (who was adopted by king Lomapāda) and of Prithā, who was the daughter of Śūra and was adopted by Kuntibhoja, say that even a girl may be adopted Pannalal in 'Kumaun local customs' states that a girl may be adopted as a daughter in Kumaun by custom. The person to be adopted must be of the same caste as the adopting father Yāj. II. 133, providing that the twelve kinds of sons that offer the pinda and take the wealth one after another in order, applies only to sons of the same caste. Śaunaka also requires sameness of caste. Manu IX 168 employs the word 'sadṛśam', which was interpreted by Medhātithi as meaning 'similar to the adopter in qualities and not in caste'. Medhātithi¹²⁷³ expressly states that a brāhmana may adopt a ksatriya boy. But Kullūka and the other commentators of Manu, the V. Mayūkha and other works hold that the boy must be of the same caste. The Sam K. p 150 and Dharmasindhu go a step further by saying that even a brāhmana should adopt another of the same country. The Vāyupurāṇa (99 137-139) narrates that Bharata, son of Dusyanta, adopted Bharadvāja, son of Brhaspati and a brāhmana, who then became a ksatriya.¹²⁷⁴ The courts accept the view of Kullūka and the rest. It is likely that courts may allow a boy from a subcaste of each of the four principal varnas to be adopted by a man belonging to another subcaste of the same varna.^{1274a} Śaunaka and Vṛddha-Yāj q by D. C. provide

1271. Vide *Gangabai v Anant* 13 Bom 690, where the Vyavahāramayūkha is expressly referred to and followed in preference to D. M. and Samskāraustuhha. Vide also *In re Munshuram* 12 Lahore 658 at p 661.

1272. For the quotation from the सं को. vide H. of Db vol I, p 449 n 1119. The D. M. adds passages from the स्कन्दपुराण, लिङ्गपुराण, हरिवंश and आदिपर्व. Vide आदिपर्व 111. 2-3 (cr. ed chap 104) for the adoption of कुन्ती, and रामायण, बालकाण्ड, 9th chap. for that of ज्ञान्ता

1273. सदृशं न ज्ञातिः किं तर्हि कुलानुरूपैर्गुणैः । क्षत्रियादिरपि ब्राह्मणस्य वृत्तको वृज्यते । मेधा on मनु IX. 168. विप्रदीनो वर्णानां समानवर्ण एव । तत्रापि देशभेदप्रयुक्त-शुर्जरत्वान्धत्वादिना समानजातीय एव । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p 158

1274. तस्माद् द्विष्यो भस्त्राजो ब्राह्मण्याक्षत्रियोऽभवत् । द्विष्टव्यायननामा स स्मृतो द्विषितुकस्तु ॥ बायु 99 157. द्विष्टव्यायन seems to be a corrupt form of द्विष्टव्यायन

1274a In *Ray Nandini v Aswini Kumar* I. L. R. (1941) 1 Cal 437 the adoption of a Vaidya child by a Kāyastha was upheld in the Sylhet district, as both are now treated as śūdras

that the *dattaka* may be of a different caste, but that such a son will not take the wealth ¹²⁷⁵ In spite of the words of Vas. 15. 3 and of Śaunaka (that one having an only son should not give him) the courts have held that even an only son may be given or taken in adoption and that the words of Vasistha are merely recommendatory. Vide *Sri Balusu Gurulingaswami v. Sri Balusu Ramalakshimamma* 26 I. A. p. 113 and *Vyas Chimanlal v. Vyas Ramchandra* 24 Bom. 367 (F. B.) In connection with the force of the words of Vas. 15. 3-4 stating why an only son should not be given or taken, Jaimini's rule contained in what is called the 'hetuvan-nigadadhikarana' ¹²⁷⁶ (Jai. I. 2. 26-30) came in for very exhaustive discussion in *Beni Prasad v. Hardar Bibi* 14 All. 67 (F. B.) and *Radha Mohun v. Hardar Bibi* 26 I. A. pp. 113, 146. There are several Vedic passages like this, 'he offers the grains into the fire with a winnowing basket, for food is prepared with the help of it' (Tai Br. I. 6. 5). The question is whether such sentences put forward a reason for what is enjoined in the preceding portion or whether they are intended merely as *arthavādas* (i. e. for the praise of what is stated in the preceding part of the passage). Jaimini concludes that they are for the purpose of praise ¹²⁷⁷ alone.

1275. यदि स्याद्व्यजातीयो यद्दीतोपि सुतः कश्चित् । अशभाज न तं कुर्याच्छौनकरम्
मर्तं हि तत् ॥... व्यक्तमाह बृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यः । सजातीयः सुतो ब्राह्म पिण्डदाता स रिक्थभाक् ।
तद्वभावे विजातीयो वक्षमात्रकर स्मृत । ब्राह्मणाच्छाद्वनमात्र तु लभते स तद्विविधः ॥ इति ।
दत्त. च. p. 7. दत्त. श्री. quotes the verse यदि स्यात् & as शौनक's (p. 104) and
also as बृद्धगौतम's (p. 52)

1276 हेतुर्वा स्याद्व्यवत्तोपपत्तिः याम् । स्तुतिस्तु शब्दपूर्वत्वाद्बोधना च तस्य । जे.
I. 2. 26-27 : अथ ये हेतुवस्मिन्ना द्युर्णेण लुहोति तेन ह्यन्न क्रियत इत्येवमाद्यस्तेषु सन्देहः ।
किं स्तुतिस्तेषां कार्यसुत हेतुरिति । किं भाषम् । हेतुः स्याद्व्यकरण होमस्य । शबर, इह ये हेतुव-
स्मिन्नेत्यन्ते दिशब्दादिभिर्न च परमार्थहेतवस्ते उदाहरणम् । तन्त्रवार्तिक

1277. Nigada means 'a sentence or sacrificial formula' and 'hetuvat' means containing a word or words (like 'hi') which are generally used to indicate a reason for a statement already made. In preparing food from grains, the *śūrpa* is required for winnowing them to free them from husk &c. as also are required the pan or pot for boiling the grains and a ladle for stirring the grains when they are being boiled. The *Śruti* passage provides that with the help of a *śūrpa* the homa is made of *Karambhapātras* (pots full of husked grains of *yava* slightly fried on the *Dakṣiṇa* fire, ground and mixed with curds) in the *Varunapraghāsa*, one of the *cāturmāsya*s. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1095-96 and 1098 for the *śūrpa* used as a *juhū* ladle. If the latter part of the passage contains a reason for the first part, then it would follow that the pot or ladle (both of which are useful in getting food

(Continued on the next page)

The eldest son also should not be taken in adoption, since, as the Mit. (on Yaj. II, 130) puts it, it is the eldest son alone who is the foremost in serving the purposes of a son as regards his genetive father acc. to Manu IX. 106 which says 'a man becomes one having a son (a father) by the mere fact of the birth of his (first) son and becomes free from the debt owed to

(Continued from the last page)

prepared) may equally be used instead of the śūrpa. But the object of the latter half is not to assign a reason, but rather to praise and recommend the śūrpa as the means of making the homa and so nothing but the śūrpa can be employed in making the offering. The Veda is the final authority in all matters pertaining to sacrifice; it does not stand in need of giving reasons for its prescriptions but it may enlogise an act to induce people to perform it. Therefore in the hetuvan-nigadādhikarana Jaimini does not lay down (as thought by Mandlik and by the High Court in 14 All. 67, pp 73, 84, 125) that when a text is supported by a clause containing words of reason, it should be regarded as merely recommendatory (and not obligatory), but what Jaimini lays down is that clauses containing words generally meaning 'reason' are to be construed as *arthavādas* (praises) of the obligatory rule contained in a previous clause. Mr. Mandlik says (p 499 of his 'Hindu Law') 'It is a rule of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that all texts supported by the assigning of a reason are to be deemed not as *vidhi* but simply as *arthavāda* (recommendatory). When a text is treated as an *arthavāda* it follows that it has no obligatory force whatever. Śābarasvāmī constructs an *adhi-karana* on this head which he calls 'hetuman-nigadādhikarana' (quoted in 14 All. 67 at p. 73). This is entirely wrong as shown above and the *adhi-karana* is not called 'hetuman etc.' but 'hetuvan etc.'. Acc. to Jaimini's rule the words of Vas 15. 3 'naikam putram' contain a *vidhi* (an obligatory rule), while the following clause containing the word 'hi' (indicative of a reason) 'sa hi santānāya pūrvosam' is merely an *arthavāda*, which praises the *vidhi* by emphasizing the importance of a son. Sarkar in his 'Mīmāṃsā Rules' (pp. 175-176) correctly represents the meaning of Jaimini, though in somewhat obscure language. The decisions in 14 All. 67 and 26 I A. 113 are correct so far as the Mit. and the Mayūkha are concerned, though the judgments in the former case are wrong in what is regarded to be the meaning of Jaimini's aphorisms constituting 'hetuvan-nigadādhikarana'. The Privy Council in 26 I A. 113 at p. 146 refer to the supposed rule of Jaimini that all precepts supported by the assignment of a reason are to be taken as recommendations only, but they express themselves guardedly and say that the rule is rather startling and they would not admit it to be true unless they made an intimate study of the *smṛtis*. The commentaries will make the Pūrvamīmāṃsā position clear. अस्मत्पक्षे पुनः श्रुयं स्तुयते । तेन ह्यर्थं कियत् इति दृष्टान्तान्धारणाय न च दृष्टान्तज्ञापनाय किं तर्हि मरोचनायैव । तस्माद्धेतुवर्जिगद-स्यापि इतिरेयं कार्यमिति । शबर on जै. I. 2. 30. The शास्त्रदीपिका states 'न च वेदेनोच्यमानं श्रुतस्य होमसाधनत्वं हेतुमपेक्षते वेदस्यैव तत्र प्रमाणत्वाद् । अर्थवादस्त्वपेक्षितः मरोचनायैवेन । तस्मादर्थवादत्वम् ॥'.

the *pitr's*. But, in modern times this rule is taken to be only recommendatory and the adoption of the eldest son is held valid as also that of an only son¹²⁷⁸. The V. Mayūkha (p. 108) states: acc. to the Mit. the prohibition to give the eldest son affects only the giver but not the adopter and he criticizes the Mit that Manu IX. 106 does not forbid the giving of the eldest son, but only provides that by the birth of the first son a man becomes free from debt (to *pitr's*). So the V. Mayūkha goes a step further and holds that there is no prohibition at all either to give or take in adoption the eldest son, while the Mit., though it does not hold the adoption bad, seems to hold that the giver incurred blame. The Sam. K. p. 150 also does not allow the adoption of the eldest son. Two or more persons cannot adopt the same boy and if they do so the adoption by each is invalid¹²⁷⁹. The Dvyāmusyāyana adoption, to be described later on, is an exception.

The texts contain rules about preference in selecting a boy for adoption, when several are eligible The Mit.¹²⁸⁰ on Yāj. II. 132 declares that the verse of Manu IX. 182 stating that 'when out of several brothers who are sons of the same father one has a son all of them become through that son persons having a son' does not provide that he becomes really the son of all but it indicates that when a brother's son is available

1278 Vide *Kashiba v Tatia* 7 Bom. 221, *Tukaram v. Babaji* 1 Bom. L. R. 144 (for valid adoption of eldest son), where at p. 152 the following passage from the Mayūkha is referred to: ज्येष्ठेन जातमात्रेण पुत्रीभवति मानव इति ज्येष्ठस्यैव पुत्रकार्यकरणे मुख्यत्वात् न द्वेष इत्यपमपि निषेधो दातुरेव न प्रतिग्रही-
तुरित्यपि सः । स्वाद्यं प्रतिषेधो दातुरेव यथेतस्य ज्येष्ठदाननिषेधकत्वात् । न ह साति । मानाभावात् । पुत्रीभवतीत्यनेन पुत्रित्वावोक्त्या कृणापाकरणोक्तिमात्रपरत्वाच्च । अत एव पितृणामष्टमश्चैव स तस्मात्सर्वमर्थति—इत्युत्तरार्थे सङ्गच्छते । न च मधुसू p 108 The same passage of the Mayūkha is referred to in *Vyas Chamanlal v Vyas Ramchandra* 24 Bom 367 (F. B.) at p. 375.

1279 अपुत्रेणेत्येकत्वश्रवणाच्च न द्वान्या त्रिभिर्वा एकः पुत्रः कतव्य इति न्यते ।
इति मी 'p. 25.

1280. यत्तु-आवृणामेकजातानामेकश्चेत्पुत्रवानभवेत् । सर्वे ते तेन पुत्रेण पुत्रिणो मधुर-
जनीत—इति (सङ् १. १२२) तदपि आवृणुष्वप्य पुत्रीकरणसम्भवेऽन्येषां पुत्रीकरणनिषेधार्थं,
न पुनः पुत्रत्वमतिपादनाय तत्सुता गोत्रजा वन्धुरित्यनेन विरोधात् । मिता. on य. II. 132.
The same verse is कसिष्ठ 17. 10 (with variations). स्वय. नि. p. 440 quotes
similar verses of हारीत and बृहस्पति Compare विष्णुष्य स. 15 42 also
'आवृणन्तराणां पुत्रवत्त्वोक्तिर्ग्रामस्य तात इति वदोरसमन्सायाः । यत्तु संग्रहकारेणोक्तं यत्नेकजात
जह्यो आवरन्तु सहोदराः । एकस्यापि सुते जाते सर्वे ते पुत्रिणः सृताः—इति तस्य ... देव-
स्वामिना तात्पर्यं उक्तः—उभयत्रापि नाग्यः प्रतिनिधिः कार्य इति ब्रूयेन । स्मृतिच. II
p. 289. Vide स वि. p. 395 for quotation of this passage of स्मृतिच.

for adoption another boy should not be adopted. A similar explanation had been given by an ancient commentator Deva-svāmin. The D. M., D. C. (pp. 5-6) and Sam. K. p. 150 quote passages of Śaunaka¹²⁸¹ and Śākala that a man should prefer a sapinda or a sagotra to one who is not a sapinda or of the same gotra. The D. M., D. C., the Sam. K. p. 150, the Dharma-sindhu recommend the following order: the full brother's son, then a sagotra sapinda, then a sapinda though not of the same gotra (such as a boy from one's maternal uncle's line or a paternal aunt's descendant), then one not a sapinda though of the same gotra, then one who is neither a sapinda nor a sagotra. This order is purely recommendatory and an adoption in breach of it is quite valid. It has been recently held that an adoption is invalid if the boy adopted be congenitally and incurably deaf and dumb though not an idiot. *Vide Surendra v Bholanath* I L. R. (1944) 1 Cal. 139

As to the age of the boy to be adopted there is great divergence among the medieval writers which is also reflected in the case law. In this connection certain verses of the *Kalīkapurāṇa* assume¹²⁸² great importance. The V. Mayūkha and the D. C

1281. ब्राह्मणानां सपिण्डेषु कर्तव्यं पुत्रसंग्रहः । तदभावेऽसपिण्डो वा अन्यत्र तु न कारयेत् ॥ शौनकः, सपिण्डापर्यक्तं चैव सगोत्रजमपि वा । अपुत्रको द्विजो यस्माद्युवस्ते परिकल्पयेत् । समानगोत्रजाभावे पालयेदन्यगोत्रजम् । शाकलः, both q. by वृत्त. मी. p. 41 and 48, and वृत्त. च. pp. 5-6. A comparatively late work called अस्तपिण्डासगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहपरीक्षा (composed after about 1700 A. D., since it mentions the वृत्तकमीमांसा and संस्कारकौस्तुभ) after an elaborate discussion of Rg. VII 4. 7-8 and the above passages of Śaunaka and Śākala states the following conclusion (D C College Ms No 133 of 1886-92 folio 16 b) 'यथा ... दाक्षिणात्यैः समर्पितं मानुलकन्यापरिणयनं ... तथा अस्तपिण्डासगोत्रपरिग्रहोऽपि यस्मिन् देशे येषां कुलेऽनादिदत्तसंस्काराणि नान्येषामिति व्यवतिष्ठते'.

1282. पितृगोत्रेण यः पुत्रः संस्कृतः पृथिवीपते । आचूडान्तं न पुत्रः स पुत्रतां याति चाप्येत ॥ चूडोपनयसंस्कारा निजगोत्रेण वै कृताः । वृताद्यास्तनयास्ते स्वरूपया दास उच्यते । ऊर्ध्वं तु पञ्चमाह्वयार्थं वृताद्याः कृता द्रुप । यहीरवा पञ्चवर्षीयं पुत्रोऽर्पे प्रथमं चरेत् ॥ कालिका-पुराण q. by वृत्त. मी. p. 122, नि. सि. III पूर्वार्थ p. 250, न्य. मयूख p. 114, वृत्त. च. pp. 31-33 (reads यदि स्थाकृतसंस्कारो यदि वारितज्ञैः वाः ग्रहणे पञ्चमाह्वयं पुत्रोऽर्पे), सं. कौ. p. 169 (reads चूडाया यदि and अन्यथा अवाप्तः) The cūḍā was usually performed in the third year and the locks that were kept on the boy's head depended upon the number of the *pravara* sages of the gotra of the father. *Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 260-265 for cūḍāraṇa*. So if a boy (who was अस्तगोत्र) was adopted after cūḍā, his position would be this that some संस्कारा would have been performed with one gotra, while others would be performed with another gotra i. e. he would thus belong to two gotras. To prevent this and to complete his affiliation into the adoptive family the *putrestū* had to be performed.

hold that the passage is of doubtful authenticity (as the verses are not found in several mss.), while the D. M. and the Nirṇaya-sindhu hold them to be genuine and the Saṁ K. pp. (169-172) after referring to these views states that those verses are opposed to what is stated in the Ait. Br. about Śunahśepa who was adopted by Viśvāmitra as a son even after upanayana. The verses are. 'O King! that son, whose *samskāras* up to (including) the *cūḍā* (tonsure) ceremony are performed with the gotra of his (natural) father, does not (i. e. cannot) attain the status of the adopted son of another. When the ceremonies of *cūḍā* and upanayana are performed under his own gotra (by the adoptive father) the *dattaka* and the other kinds become (recognised as) sons (in the adoptive family); otherwise they are called *dāsa* (slave). After the fifth year the adopted son and the rest cannot be (recognised as) sons. Having taken one who is five years old, one (the adopter) should first perform the *putrestī*'. These verses state four propositions: (1) If all *samskāras* from *jātakarma* to *cūḍā* (i. e. including it) have been performed in the family of birth that boy cannot be adopted in another family; (2) if a boy's *cūḍā* and other later ceremonies are performed in the family of adoption he is fully an adopted son; (3) a boy over five years of age cannot be adopted at all, (4) a boy whose *cūḍā* has been performed in the family of birth may be adopted up to five years, provided the rite called *putrestī*¹²⁸³ is first performed in the adoptive family before any other ceremony is performed on the adopted boy. The D. M. says that the best time for adoption is up to three years, then from three years to five is the next best (*gauṇa*) and that after five no boy can be adopted. The D. C. (p. 36) holds that a boy of the three higher classes can be adopted up to *upanayana* and that a śūdra boy can be adopted till his marriage. The Nirṇaya-sindhu seems to be of the same opinion. The V. Mayūkha¹²⁸⁴

1283 About the पुत्रेष्टि, the दत्त. मी p 132 says 'अग्रे पुत्रवते पुरोडाशमहा-
कपालं निर्वपेदिन्द्राय पुत्रिणे पुरोडाशमेकादशकपालं प्रजाकांम । अग्निरेवासौ प्रजो मजनयति
बृहस्पतिर्नमः प्रयच्छतीति वाक्ये प्रजाफलकत्वमिष्टे श्रूयते । तद्यज्ञादुत्पन्ना प्रजा तत्र तदुत्पत्तिरेव
भाष्या यत्र उत्पन्ना परिशुद्धते तत्रोत्पत्तेरेवाभावात्तस्याः प्रजात्वमेव भाग्यमिति कल्पयते प्रकृत-
विश्वव्याजुपपत्तेः ।'. The सं. कौ p 173 contains the words अग्रे मयच्छति
Vide आश्व श्री II. 10 'पुत्रकामेष्ट्यामग्निं पुत्रो '

1284. दत्तकस्तु परिणीत उत्पन्नपुत्रोपि च भवतीति तात्पर्या । दत्त चैव बाधका-
भावात् न. म. p 114 When Nīlakantha says that the three verses of
the Kāhikāpurāṇa refer to the adoption of an *asagotra* boy, that is not his
real opinion; he only concedes that that passage may, if at all, refer
to the adoption of an *asagotra* boy, एवं च शूद्राणां दत्तपुत्राणां तद्विज्ञानमद्वितीयं
विजातीनामुपनयनलाभः शूद्रस्य तु विवाहादिलाभः । दत्त. च. p 36

and Sam. K. both hold that even a boy not of the same gotra may be taken in adoption after upanayana or after marriage and even when the person to be adopted has himself had a son. In Bengal, Benares¹²⁸⁵ and Bihar the courts hold that the boy must be adopted before *upanayana*. The same rule holds good in Madras¹²⁸⁶; but there it is further held that if the boy to be adopted is of the same gotra as the adopter, the adoption may be made after upanayana but before marriage. In Bombay a person may be adopted at any age, even after marriage and even after he has had children and he may be even older than the adopter.¹²⁸⁷ In the whole of India, a *sūdra* may be adopted only before his marriage, but in the Bombay Presidency the adoption of a married man and of one having even a child is allowed also among *sūdras*¹²⁸⁸.

1285. *Vide Ganga Sahai v. Lekhra* 9 All. 253 (at p. 306 the translations of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* verses by Sutherland and Colebrooke are quoted and at p 318 the authenticity of those verses is held to be extremely doubtful); *Raja Mukund v. Jagannath* 2 Patna 469, 477 (where the passage of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* is quoted), in which it was held that a boy may be adopted till upanayana and that it does not matter if the *cūḍā* ceremony is performed in the family of birth and the *putreṣṭi* is omitted at the time of adoption; *Chandreshwar v. Bisheshwar* 5 Patna 777 at p 844 (where the passage as to five years was held not binding); vide *Surabala Devi v. Sudhirkumar* AIR (1944) Cal 265.

1286. *Viraragava v Ramalinga* 9 Mad 148 (F B) for the validity of the adoption of a sagotra after upanayana and *Pichuvayyan v. Subbayyan* 13 Mad 128 for the invalidity of a married man's adoption

1287. *Vide Dharma v Ramkrishna* 10 Bom 80, 84 (where it is said that though Nīlakantha's explanation that the *Kālikāpurāṇa* verses refer to an asagotra causes a difficulty, yet it does not follow that he adopts that interpretation as his own) in which the adoption of a married asagotra brāhmana was upheld; *Kalgavda v Somappa* 33 Bom. 669 where the adoption of a married man having a son was upheld, but it was decided that the son born before adoption remained for purposes of inheritance in the natural family; *Balabai v Mahadu* 48 Bom 387 (where the adopted man was older than the adopter)

1288. *Lingayya v. Chengalammal* 48 Mad. 407 where it was held that even a *sūdra* cannot be adopted after his marriage, (which decision follows the D. C.)

Śaunaka required that the boy to be adopted must be *putracchāyāvaha*¹²⁸⁹ (one who bears resemblance to or is a reflection of the *aurasa* son). This has led to differing explanations by the commentators and contradictory decisions in the several Indian High Courts. The D. M. and D. C (p 21) both explain that the resemblance consists in the possibility of being procreated by the adopter himself by *niyoga* and the like. The meaning of the D. M. is: A brother's son or a sapinda's son or a sagotra's son can be adopted because the adopter could have procreated a son by the practice of *niyoga* on the wife of a brother or a sapinda or a sagotra (according to the rules of *niyoga*); but he could not have done so as regards his mother, or grandmother, daughter or sister or his mother's sister. Therefore a man cannot adopt his own brother, paternal or maternal uncle, a daughter's son or a sister's son and the like. One strange thing is that, though *niyoga* had been forbidden for many centuries before the D. M., the author of it brings in the rules of the long obsolete practice of *niyoga*¹²⁹⁰ to find out who could or could not be adopted. But stranger things were to happen. Sutherland who translated both the D.M. and the D.C explained in his notes the word '*niyogādīnā*' as 'by such an appointment or marriage and the like'. Vide Stoke's Hindu Law Texts p. 590 (Dattakamīmāmsa, sec. V. *placitum* 16.note). There was no warrant for introducing the word 'marriage' after '*niyoga*'. The rules of *niyoga* are different from those of marriage. The judges most of whom were generally ignorant of Sanskrit and had yet to decide cases among Hindus according to Hindu Law as understood by them (vide 26 I A. 113 at page 128 about the ignorance of Sanskrit among judges) seized upon this explanation and evolved the curious rule that no one could be adopted whose mother the adopter could not have married in her maiden state (i. e. the relationship has reference to a time prior to

1289. पुत्रच्छाया पुत्रसादृश्यं तच्च नियोगादीनां स्वयद्व्यादनयोग्यत्वं यथा आदृतपि-
ण्डस्योत्रादिपुत्रस्य । न चासम्बन्धिनि नियोगासम्भवः । बीजार्थं ब्राह्मण. कश्चिद्वैजोपनि-
सम्बन्धमिति स्मरणाय । ततश्च आदृतपितृव्यमातुलदौहित्रभागिन्यादीनां निरासः पुत्रसा-
दृश्याभावात् । . तथा मकृते विद्वज्जसम्बन्धपुत्रो वर्जनीय इति । यतो रतियोगः सम्भवति
तादृशः कार्य इति यावत् । दत्त मी. pp 144-145 and p 147. The words
पुत्रच्छाया योग्यत्वं occur in दत्त. च also (p 21). The half verse बीजार्थं
सम्बन्धनात् is almost like आदिपर्व 105. 2

1290. For the rules of *niyoga* vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 599-601.

marriage). This is still the law in all Presidencies¹²⁹¹ except Bombay. Although the D. M. stated that the boy to be adopted must be capable of being procreated by *niyoga*, at another place it remarks, after quoting verses of Śaunaka¹²⁹² and Śākala, that a boy of another gotra may be adopted except a daughter's son, a sister's son and a mother's sister's son. The Bombay High Court holds that any one may be adopted except these three (vide *Ramchandra v Gopal* 32 Bom 619, *Walba v. Heerba* 34 Bom. 491 holding that a man cannot adopt his mother's sister's son, *Ramkrishna v Chimnaji* 15 Bom. L. R. 824 holding the adoption of father's sister's son valid). Very strange results have followed from this viz. the Bombay High Court has upheld the validity of the adoption as a son by a man of his own half-brother (vide *Gajanan v Kashmath* 39 Bom. 410), of his own maternal uncle's son, and the adoption by a widow of her deceased husband's son-in-law (vide *Śitaba v. Parvatiba* 47 Bom 35). It should be noted that the Dvaitanirṇaya or Dharmadvaitanirṇaya¹²⁹³ (of Śāṅkarabhaṭṭa, father of Nīlakantha) and the V. Mayūkhā both hold after a very abstruse reasoning based on several Mīmāṃsā rules, that men of the three higher classes may

1291. Vide *Minakshi v. Ramanada* 11 Mad. 49 (F B.), *Bhagwan Singh v. Bhagwan Singh* L. R. 26 I. A. 153, 160, in the latter of which the texts of Saunaka and Śākala are relied upon.

1292. तथा च शौनका । ... दौहित्रो भागिन्यश्च शूद्रेष्व क्रियते सुतः । ब्राह्मणादि-
त्रये नास्ति भागिन्यः सुतः कश्चित् । ... तदेतत्पटमाचष्टे शाकलः । समानगोत्रजाभावे पाल-
येद्व्यगोत्रजम् । दौहित्रं भागिन्यं च मातृसमुत्तं विना । इति । एतेन भागिन्यपत्वं दौहित्र-
मातृत्वज्ञेययोः पलक्षणमिति स्पष्टमेव सिद्धम् । इत्तं चतुर्थं, विरुद्धसम्बन्धस्य त्रिविधं
समानत्वात् । दत्त. मी pp 80 and 101; दत्त च p 8, दत्त. च p 6 quotes शाकल's
verse. The दत्त. मी elsewhere (p. 98) add the सं. कौ. p 158 read शूद्राणां
विहितः सुतः and the सं. कौ p 176 reads 'दौहित्रं भागिन्यं वा शूद्राणां चापि दापयेत्,'
while the धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय (p 105) and the स्प. मयूख p. 110 read दौहित्रो भागिन्यश्च
शूद्रस्यापि च दीयते. बृह्मसूत्रम् q by the दत्त. मी. p 146 reads 'ब्राह्मणादिव्रजे नास्ति
भागिन्यः सुतः कश्चित् ।'

1293. Vide the text of the V. Mayūkhā p. 111 and notes pp 173-179
in my edition of the V. Mayūkhā for explanation. The Dvaitanirṇaya
(p. 105) concludes. तेन ब्राह्मणादिभिरपि दौहित्रभागिन्यौ पुत्रत्वेन ग्राह्याविति सिद्धम् ।
तथा शूद्रेण सति सम्भवे दौहित्रभागिन्यावेव ग्राह्यौ. The V. Mayūkhā p 111 follows
the Dvaitanirṇaya and states that usage is in accordance with its explana-
tion 'विद्युतं चैतद् द्वैतनिर्णये तात्पर्येण. शिष्टाचारोपदेयम् ।' In *Gopal v Hanmant*
3 Bom 273 at p 280 it was held that Nīlakantha also interdicted the
adoption of the daughter's son and of the other two by the regenerate
classes. It is submitted that this view as to the position of the V;
Mayūkhā on this point is entirely wrong

the smrtis as applicable to all such sons as the dattaka, kṛta¹²⁹⁸. The V. Mayūkha quotes a prose passage from Kātyāyana (which is attributed to Pāithīnasi in D. C.) and the V. Mayūkha, D. M. and D. C. all quote a verse (which is ascribed to Pravarādhya by the first and to Pārījata by the D. M.) that supports this. The D. M. and D. C. both quote two sūtras of Satyāsādha and Śabara's gloss (*bhūṣya*) thereon in which the *ksetraja* is called *nitya dvyāmusyāyana* and the dattaka and others are called *anitya dvyāmusyāyana*. Yāj II. 127 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2, 21 provide that a *ksetraja* is the son of both the begetter and of the husband of the wife on whom the son is procreated. Therefore such a son is called *nitya dvyāmusyāyana* (because he is always the son of two fathers). When the *ksetraja* became obsolete and forbidden, the only *dvyāmusyāyana* was an only son taken in adoption with a stipulation as described above. About the dattaka Manu IX. 142 states the general rule that the dattaka loses the gotra of his genitive father and assumes that of the adopter. But a dattaka belonged to two gotras according to some, if his *samskāras* up to *caula* were performed in his natural family and the *samskāra* of *upanayana* and those that follow were performed in the adoptive family. Therefore it was not a general proposition that a dattaka always belonged to two gotras. If all the *samskāras* from *jātakaṃ* were performed by the adopter, then the dattaka would take the gotra of the adopter alone. Hence the sons called dattaka and 'the bought' were styled *anitya dvyāmusyāyanas* (who were not in all cases *dvyāmusyāyanas*). The D. M. states this¹²⁹⁹ twofold division of *dvyāmusyāyanas* and employs the words *nityavat* or *nitya* and *anityavat* or *anitya*

1298 यत्तु-अथ चेद्वत्तकक्रीतशुक्रिकापुत्रा परपरिग्रहेणानादेशात् द्व्यामुष्यायणा भवन्ति-इति द्व्यामुष्यायणास्तुपक्रम्य कार्त्तपायन. । व्य. मयूख p. 115. वृत्त च p. 46 ascribes this to पैथीनसि and reads, अथ वत्तकक्रीतशुक्रिकापुत्रा द्व्यामुष्यायणा येन जातस्तैस्तद्वत्तकलीना द्व्यामुष्यायणा भवन्तीति । द्व्यामुष्यायणका ये स्तुद्वत्तकक्रीत-काव्यः । गोत्रद्वयेन्यनुवादः शीघ्रक्रीतयोर्वथा । q from मवरात्पाय by व्य मयूख p. 118

1299. द्विविधा वत्तकादयो नित्यवद् द्व्यामुष्यायणा अनित्यवद् द्व्यामुष्यायणाश्च । सत्र नित्यवद् द्व्यामुष्यायणा नाम ये जनकप्रतिग्रहीतृभ्यामावयोरप्यं पुत्र इति समतिपन्ना । अनित्यद्व्यामुष्यायणास्तु ये चूडान्ते संस्कारार्जनकेन संस्कृता उपनयनादिभिश्च प्रतिग्रहीता । तेषां गोत्रद्वयेनापि संस्कृतत्वाद् द्व्यामुष्यायणत्वे पर त्वनित्यम् । जातमात्रेणैव प्रतिग्रहे गोत्र-द्वयेन संस्काराभावात् तस्य प्रतिग्रहीतृगोत्रमेव । तदिदं सर्वमभिरुचाह सत्यापादः । 'नित्यानां द्व्यामुष्यायणानां द्वयोः' इति सूत्रेण नित्यद्व्यामुष्यायणानां गोत्रद्वये प्रवरसम्पत्तयुक्तत्वात् तेषानित्येष्वपिदिशति 'वत्तकादीनां तु द्व्यामुष्यायणवत्' इति सूत्रेण । वृत्त मी pp. 188-89, vide वृत्त. च. p. 44 for the सूत्र of सत्यापादः.

to denote the two varieties and restricts the former only to a son adopted with a stipulation as stated above. The ksetraja became quite obsolete many centuries ago and the courts have held that the anitya dvyāmusyāyana is also now obsolete¹³⁰⁰ It is now held that every adoption is presumed to be in the simple (*kevala*) form, unless a stipulation that the boy will be the son of both is proved (when it will be a dvyāmusyāyana adoption).

When a man is adopted in the dvyāmusyāyana form, his son born after such adoption has been held to inherit as grandson to the adoptive father, if the dvyāmusyāyana son died before the adoptive father.^{1300a}

Ceremonies of Adoption.—The most essential ingredient in adoption is the giving of the boy by the natural father and the taking of the boy by the adopter with the intention to transfer the boy to the family of the adopter. Another requisite (in some cases) is the homa called *dattahoma*¹³⁰¹ which as described by Śaunaka and Baud. is given¹³⁰² in the Appendix. It is not necessary that the *dattahoma* must be performed immediately after the giving and taking, but it may be performed later and its performance may be delegated to others when the giver or taker is a widow or a sūdra or is ill &c. Although in Vedic times women composed hymns and although Hārīta and Yama stated that women had the upanayana performed on them and could study the Veda (H. Dh. vol. II pp. 293-295), in later times it was held that women could not study the Veda, could not repeat Vedic mantras and therefore could not perform any homa (including *dattahoma*). Therefore some writers said that a widow could not adopt at all, while others like the V. Mayūkha said that women are to be assimilated to sūdras and so just as a sūdra can get the *dattahoma* performed through a brāhmana, so a widow, though she cannot herself engage in homa, may employ a brāhmana to perform the *dattahoma*. Vide H. Dh. vol. II. pp 365-368 (for deterioration in the

1300 Vide *Basappa v. Gurlingawa* 57 Bom. 74, 77, where the two kinds of dvyāmusyāyanas are mentioned and it is stated that the anitya dvyāmusyāyana is now obsolete.

1300 a. Vide *Ganpatrao v. Balkrishna* I L. R (1942) Bom. 340.

1301. तस्माद् दत्तकादिषु संस्कारनिमित्तमेव पुत्रत्वमिति सिद्ध्यति । दानमपि तद्वद्गोचरम् ।
एतन्नाभावे तु पुत्रत्वाभाव एवेति । दत्त. मी. p. 161.

1302. Vide Appendix.

position of women), and note 1262 above and V. Mayūkha quoted below.¹³⁰³ It has been held that the *dattahoma* is not¹³⁰⁴ necessary among twice-born classes if the boy to be adopted belongs to the same gotra as that of the adoptive father. Jolly (in T. L. L. p. 160) states that the Dattakadarpana refers to a text of Yama from the Sarasvatīvilāsa to the effect that *homa* is not absolutely essential in all cases. From Colebrooke's Digest V. 4 COLXXIII it appears that Jagannātha held the same view. The Dharmasindhu remarks that in certain countries an adoption of a sagotra sapinda boy can be validly effected with the mere assent of the giver and adopter without Vedic ceremonies. There is a good deal of conflict in the case law on this point, which is passed over. Among *sūdras* no *homa* is necessary. The ceremony of adoption as described by Baud. gr. *śeṣasūtra* II. 6 4-9 (which is probably the oldest on record and which was the one to be followed by the Taittirīyas or followers of the Black Yajurveda, according to D. M., Sam. K. p. 177 and the Dharmasindhu p. 161) is as follows. When about to take (in adoption) the adopter makes ready (or collects) the following viz two pieces of cloth, two ear-rings, a finger ring, an *ācārya* (officiating priest) who is well versed in the Veda, a bundle of *kuśa* grass, fuel sticks of *palāśa* (*Butea Frondosa*). Then in the midst of invited relatives, after informing the ruler, he serves food to *brāhmanas* in the assembly hall or in the middle of the house. He (the adopter) makes (the *brāhmanas*) pronounce the benedictions 'May the day be auspicious! May you fare well! May there be prosperity!' and performs the acts (usual in all *homas*) from drawing lines on the altar up to carrying forward the *Pranīta* water. Vide H of Dh. vol II pp 209-212 for the procedure common to all *homas*. Then he goes into the

1303 यच्छुद्धिर्विवेक उक्त वैदिकमन्त्रसाध्यहोमवति पुत्रपतिग्रहे शुद्धस्यानाधिकार इति तदपास्तम् । समन्त्रकहोमस्तु तेन विग्रहारा कार्यः । . स्त्रिया अपि शुद्धदेवाधिकारः । श्री-शुद्धाश्च सधर्माण—इति वाक्यात् । व्य मयूख p 112 (text) Vide H Dh vol II pp 594-595 notes 1392-1395 for other texts treating women (of higher castes) and *sūdras* alike

1304. Vide *Valubai v Govind* 24 Bom. 218, *Bai Gangadhar v Shrinivas* 39 Bom 441 (P C), *Govindayyar v Dorasami* 11 Mad 5 (F B); *Muthuvayyanganar v Thiruvangadammal* 1 L R (1942) Mad p 682 स्त्रियाश्च होमासम्भवस्तथापि व्रतादिवह्निरादारा होमादे कारयोदिति हरिनाथादयः । सम्प्रत्य-तन्त्रेणैवम् । एवं शुद्धस्यापि श्रीशुद्धाश्च सधर्माण इति स्मृते । अथ एव शुद्धकर्तृकहोमो विग्रहारेण पराक्षरेणोक्तः । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p 249, कचिद्वैदिकवैदिकविधि विनापि द्वापुत्रहीन-सन्ततिराजपुरुषाश्चमयादिलौकिकयापारमात्रेणोपनयनादिसत्कारकरणमात्रेण च सगोत्र-मपिष्टे पुत्रवत्सिद्धिप्यवहारो दृश्यते तत्र मूल नोपलभ्यते । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p 158.

presence of the giver and begs of him 'give me your son'. The other one (the giver) says 'I give'. He (adopter) then takes hold of the boy with the words 'I accept thee for the continuity (of my family)'. Then he decks (the boy) with the pieces of cloth, the ear-rings, the finger ring and performs the acts from laying fuel sticks round the altar up to the offering of oblations into fire; he offers boiled rice into fire with the mantra 'yastvā hrđā' (Rg. V. 4. 10 or Tai. S. I. 4. 46. 1) as a *pūṇuvākṣā*¹³⁰⁵ (prayer of invitation) and with the mantra 'yasmai tvam sukrte' (Rg. V. 4. 11, Tai. S. I. 4. 46. 1) as a *yājñā* (prayer of worship or offering). Then having offered oblations of clarified butter with the *vyāhrtis*¹³⁰⁶ he performs the acts from the offering to Agni Svistakṛt down to the giving of the cow and presents. He (the adopter) gives as *dakṣiṇā* (fee) to the priest these very pieces of cloth and rings (with which the boy was decked).

The procedure laid down by Saunaka, who appears to be much later than Baud., is somewhat different (though there is a good deal common to both) and is meant for the students of the R̥gveda (acc to Sam. K. p. 175). A few salient points may be noted. The adopter should fast the previous day, he should offer *madhuparka* to the officiating priest, should perform all the details from the placing of fuel sticks on the fire up to the purification of clarified butter with the blades of kusa grass. The giver recites (when begged) the five verses beginning with 'ye yaññena' (Rg. X. 62. 1-5) and the adopter holds the boy with both hands while repeating the mantra 'devasya tvā' (Āśv. gr. I. 20. 4), mutters the *rk* 'angād-angād' (quoted above on p. 641 n. 1202) and smells the boy on his head. The adopter offers boiled rice with Rg. V. 4. 10, X. 85. 38, X. 85. 41-46. A much more elaborate procedure is set out in the V. Mayūkha (pp. 120-123 text) and the Dharmasindhu (III *pūrvārdha* pp. 160-161).

The results of adoption—Adoption has the effect of transferring the adopted person from his natural family into the adoptive family. Adoption confers upon the adopted person the same rights and privileges in the family of adoption as the son

1305 For the meaning of *Pūṇuvākṣā* and *Yājñā*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1060 n. 2372 and pp. 1058-59 respectively. For the offering to Agni Svistakṛt vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 208 and appendix p. 1257 n. 481.

1306. The *vyāhrtis* are the mystic syllables *bhūh*, *bhuvaḥ* and *svaḥ*. The offerings will be accompanied with these syllables as follows: 'om bhūh vāhā', 'om bhuvaḥ svāhā', 'om svaḥ svāhā', 'om bhūh bhuvaḥ svaḥ svāhā'.

of the body (*aurasa*) except in a few well defined cases. The basic text on this point is that of Manu¹³⁰⁷ IX. 142 which may be literally rendered as follows: 'The son given should not take the *gotra* (the family name) and the wealth of his natural father; the *pinda* (the cake of boiled rice offered to deceased ancestors in *śrāddhas*) follows the *gotra* and the wealth (i. e. is invariably concomitant with them); of him who gives (his son in adoption) the *svadhū* (obsequial rites) ceases (so far as that son is concerned)'. The preceding verse (Manu IX. 141) states that the adopted son takes the wealth of his adoptive father and all that this verse says is that, after adoption, the son given in adoption does not take the name of his natural father and has no right in the wealth that then is the natural father's and that he does not perform the obsequial and *śrāddha* rites for his natural father. But from this verse a learned Hindu Judge derived the sweeping proposition that 'the theory of adoption depends upon the principle of a complete severance of the child adopted from the family in which he is born, both in respect to the paternal and maternal line, and his complete substitution into the adopter's family as if he were born in it'. There is no warrant for the idea of complete severance emphasized here. This dictum was followed in many cases and was accepted by the Privy Council¹³⁰⁸. Another great Judge went so far as to

1307. गोत्ररिक्ते जनयितुर्न हरेद् दक्षिणः कश्चित् । गोत्ररिक्ताद्यगः पिण्डो ज्यपैति
 दत्तः स्वधा ॥ मनु IX 142 The Mit on Yāj II 132 and V Mayūkha p. 115
 read 'न भजेद् दक्षिणः सुतः'. But this reading makes no change whatever in the
 meaning, since in ancient sūtras and smṛtis, the roots 'bhaj' and 'hr' and
 derivatives from them are used promiscuously in the same sense with regard
 to *gotra* and *rikṭha*. Vide the words *gotra-bhājah* and *rikṭha-bhājah* cited
 above (on p. 650) from Baud. Dh S II 2 36-37 and Gant 28 30-31, the
 words 'rikṭham bhajeran' (in Gaut. 28. 19) and 'rikṭhabhāk' (in Gaut.
 28 26), Vas 17 84 (tayloralābhe rājā haret), Yāj II 132 (पिण्डदोषहरश्चैव) and
 II. 138 (दद्याद्दोषहरिणां), विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 40 (पञ्चायहरेः स पिण्डदारी). Even
 'apaharet' which ordinarily means 'should steal or take away' is used by
 Yāj II 138 only in the sense of 'should steal or take away'. Manu (IX 153
 and 154) employs the words 'haret' and 'ādadyāt' in the same sense.
 Vide also रिक्थभाक् (in Manu IX. 155) and भजेत् (in IX. 192). Therefore
 the learned Judges in *Dattatraya v Govind* 40 Bom. 429 and in *Bat
 Kesava v. Shivsangit* 34 Bom L R 1332 (at pp. 1340-41) unnecessarily
 enter into a long discussion on 'haret' and 'bbajet' and the several trans-
 lations of these words by Golapchandra Sarkar and others.

1308. Vide *Uma Shunker Moutro v. Kali Komul* 6 Cal 256 (F. B.)
 at p. 260. Vide *Kali Komul v. Uma Shunker* L R 10 I A 138, 149 for
 the acceptance by the P. C.

say that 'an absolute adoption appears to operate as birth of the boy in the family of adoption and as civil death in the family of birth, having regard to the legal consequences that are incidents of such adoption'¹³⁰⁹. But then the P. C felt that matters were being carried too far and administered the warning¹³¹⁰ that "As has been more than once observed the expressions 'civilly dead or as if he had never been born in the family' are not for all purposes correct or logically applicable but they are complimentary to the term 'new birth'." We have to see what construction was put upon the verse of Manu by authoritative digests. The V. Mayūkha explains Manu IX. 142 and arrives at the conclusion that the four words *gotra*, *rikha*, *pinda* and *svadhā* are not to be taken literally but they are only used to indicate all those consequences only in relation to the natural father and the like that are brought about by their connection with the pinda and the verse of Manu conveys the cessation of all those consequences only. It further adds that the son on being given away in adoption ceases to have similar relationship to his brother, paternal uncle (in the family of birth). It should be noted that the V. Mayūkha does not say that the son given away is dead to the family of birth or ceases to have any connection whatever with the members of the family of birth, but restricts the cessation of relation to the offering of pinda and the taking of the estate after he is adopted. The D. M. quotes¹³¹¹ the Sm. C. (II. 289) and holds that by the gift the adopted son ceases to have the same gotra as the giver. The D. C. (pp 23-24) states¹³¹² the same proposition, without naming the Sm. C. The learned Judges who had to decide cases of adoption, even if they knew Sanskrit, do not generally appear to have consulted authoritative works other than the few that had been translated and were quite unaware as

1309. Per Sir Asutosh Mukerji J. in *Birbhadra v Kalpataru* 1 C L J 368 at p. 400 (where Manu IX. 142 is cited in the original for this)

1310. Vide *Rajhura Chandra v. Subhadra* L. R. 55 I. A. 139, 148 followed in *Martand v Narayan* I. L R 1939 Bom 586 (F B).

1311. एतेन पुत्रत्वापादकक्रियैव द्वाविमस्य प्रतिग्रहीतृधने स्वत्व तत्समोच्यत्वं च भवति । द्वातृधने ह दानादेव पुत्रत्वनिवृत्तिद्वारा द्वाविमस्य स्वत्वनिवृत्तिर्दातृगोत्रनिवृत्तिश्च भवतीत्युच्यते इति चन्द्रिकाक र. । दृष्ट. मी pp. 163-164. The words पुत्रत्वापाद ... निवृत्तिश्च भवति occur in the रघुतिच. II. p. 289.

1312. तथा मनु । गोत्रविनश्ये . . स्वधा । इति । एतेन दातृधने दानादेव पुत्रत्वनिवृत्तिद्वारा द्वाविमस्य स्वत्वनिवृत्तिर्दातृगोत्रनिवृत्तिश्च भवतीत्युच्यते । तथा च गोत्रादिनिवृत्तेरेव वृत्तमात्रं संस्कारास्त्वस्तुतान् पितृतेति स्मरणात् ग्रहणानन्तरसमाप्त्यमाना एव दत्तकस्य संस्काराः प्रतिग्रहीत्रा कार्या न पुनर्जनकेन कृतपूर्वा अपि निवर्तनीयाः । दृष्ट. च. pp 23-24

to whether even the cessation of the pinda and gotra and of the right to wealth when a son was given away was so universally accepted by the leading Dharmaśāstra works as they thought. The *Sarasvatīvilāsa* (p. 394) quotes a text of *Viṣṇu* ¹³¹³ that even the adopted son should perform the obsequial rites of the natural father and explains that *Manu* IX. 142 applies when the natural father has no issue at the time of his death. *Rudraskanda* on *Khādīra* gr. III. 5. 16 says the same. *Kamalākara*, the author of the *Nirnayasindhu* ¹³¹⁴ and a first cousin and contemporary of *Nilakantha* expressly states that *Manu* IX. 142 only applies when the natural father has a son or sons (other than the one given away) and quotes *Kātyāyana* and *Laugākṣi* cited in the *Pravaramaṇjari* (p. 146) in support. The *Dharmasindhu* ¹³¹⁵ also says that when a boy of another gotra is adopted after his upanayana is performed in the family of birth or when only the upanayana is performed by the adoptive father, the adopted boy should repeat both gotras at the time of bowing at the feet of elders or in śrāddha and other rites; but when all the ceremonies including the cūḍa are performed by the adoptive father then the adopted boy has only one gotra (viz. that of the adopter).

The plain meaning of the verse of *Manu* (IX 142) is that when a man gives away his son in adoption, then that son is transferred into another family, does not perform the śrāddha and similar rites for the giver and cannot claim to take the wealth of his natural father as a son on the father's death or demand a partition from his father. The other son or sons

1313. नन्वेवं—गोत्ररिक्ते . स्वधा—इति मनुवचनाद् द्वात्रिंशत्येव स्वजनकगोत्रसा-
पिण्डपयोर्निवृत्तौ कथं द्वात्रिंशोपि स्वजनयितुः स्वर्धा कुर्यादिति विण्णवचनामिति चेदुच्यते । तत्
द्वात्रिंशजनकस्य सन्तत्यभावे वेदितव्यम् । स. वि. p. 394 ; तथा दत्तपुत्रोपि जनयितुः पुत्रा-
न्तराभावे । एवमन्योपि यो द्वयोः पुत्र । इदं कश्च on सांदिग्ध्य III. 5. 16

1314. दत्तकस्तु जनकस्य पुत्राद्यभावे दद्यात् तत्सत्त्वे गोत्ररिक्ते स्वधेति मनुके ।
इदं जनकस्य पुत्रसत्त्वविषयम् । एतच्च प्रवरमजरी कालवयनलोगादिभ्यां स्पष्टमुक्तम् ।
अथ ये दत्तकीत ... इत्याहुव्यायणा भवन्ति . भवन्तीत्यादिना द्वयोः पित्रोः प्रवरान्तरकोक्त
'अथ यद्येकं स्वाहु भाग्यस्त्वपत्यं न त्याज्यिकथं द्वेष्टुः पिण्ड चैवास्मिदुक्तं दद्याद्यधमार्गं
स्यादुभायासौ द्युरेकस्मिन् भाजे पृथग्विद्वद्वा दत्तकीर्तयेत्यपरिग्रहीतारं चोपाद्विहृतिरं वा
द्वीयादुक्त्यादिति । नि. सि. III उत्तरार्धे p. 389. The passage quoted occurs on
p. 146 of the प्रवरमजरी. This passage is quoted in the स्व न p. 115 also.
Vide note 1298 above for a portion of it. The वि. सि. folio 127 says 'गोत्ररिक्ते...
स्वधा । इदं जनकस्य पुत्रसत्त्वे तदभावे जनकस्यापि रिक्तेहृद्. भाद्रद्वय . तदुक्तं कालीयलोगा-
दिभ्यः । अथ ये ... भवन्ति.'

1315. परागोत्र्यकदत्तकस्योपनयनमात्रे पालकगोत्रेण कृते उपनयनोत्तरं प्रतिग्रहे वा
दत्तकेनाभिधातृनाभादिकर्तृना गोत्रद्वयोच्चारः कार्यः । चूडादित्येव पालकेन कृते पाल-
कगोत्र एव । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्धे p. 161.

of the giver are to perform the śrāddhas for the father and to succeed to the family wealth. But this verse has been twisted by some High Court decisions to yield another rule. Suppose A, a Hindu, has an only son B. On A's death B takes the whole ancestral property as the only surviving co-parcener and then B is given in adoption by his mother to X. Suppose B has a daughter C born to him before his adoption to X. Does B forfeit the estate taken by him as the last surviving male with the result that on B's adoption to X his daughter C takes the estate (which had already vested absolutely in B) as if he was dead in the family of A. The Bombay High Court has held in two decisions that on B's¹³¹⁶ adoption to X in the above illustration he loses or forfeits the property he took as the last surviving co-parcener in the family of A and his daughter C would take the estate of B as if he were then dead (though he is actually living). The result of these decisions is that the verse of Manu is construed as laying down that though a man may have been absolutely entitled to certain property as a member of one family, on his adoption into another family he loses that estate which then passes on to his heir as if he had died on the day of adoption. This construction of the verse of Manu has not been accepted by the Madras and Calcutta High Courts,¹³¹⁷ which hold that an adoption does not divest any property which has vested in a man previous to his adoption into another family. It may be noted that the Bombay High Court itself gave a decision¹³¹⁸ which is inconsistent in principle with the two decisions

1316. Vide *Dattatraya v Govind* 40 Bom 429 (where Manu IX 142 is relied on for this proposition at pp 433-434) and *Manikbai v Gokuldas* 49 Bom 520

1317. Vide *Venkata Narasimha v Rangappa* 29 Mad. 437, *Behari Lal v Kailas Chunder* 1 C W N 121; *Shyama Charan v Sricharan* 56 Cal. 1135

1318. Vide *Mahableshwar v Subramanya* 47 Bom 542. In *Manikbai v Gokuldas* 49 Bom 520 (at p 525) both the cases viz 40 Bom 429 and 47 Bom. 542 are apparently quoted with approval, but it is extremely difficult to reconcile the last two cases. If on adoption a separated coparcener is not divested of the estate already taken by him at a partition because the share taken by him cannot be said to be the estate of his natural father within the meaning of Manu IX 142, the estate taken by a sole surviving co-parcener also cannot be divested by his subsequent adoption, because at the adoption it had ceased to be the estate of his natural father long before the adoption, because when a co-parcener dies his rights lapse to the other co-parceners and because the root cause of being entitled to partition and taking as surviving coparcener is the same viz the birth right of a son under the Mitākṣarā

cited above, when it held that where a father and his four sons partitioned ancestral family property and one of the sons was subsequently given in adoption into another family, the son so adopted was not divested by the subsequent adoption of the property already taken by the son on partition. In a still later case the Bombay High Court approves of its first decision in 40 Bom 429 and observes :¹³¹⁹ 'the verse of Manu refers not only to the *riktha* of the natural father but also to the gotra of the natural father. It is quite clear that the gotra of the natural father is vested in the son by his birth. The gotra so vested in the son ceases after the son is given in adoption. It is difficult to understand why the *riktha* which is spoken of in the same manner as gotra in the verse should not cease by the entire cessation of connection with the natural family. The gotra and *riktha* are inextricably joined together in a dvandva compound and it would follow logically as well as grammatically that the adopted son must lose both together and cannot lose the former and keep the latter.' In this passage the premises that there is entire cessation of connection with the natural family is entirely wrong as has already been shown and will be shown a little later on. The adoptee's connection with the gotra of the natural family does not cease for all purposes at all. Therefore the reasoning of the passage quoted above is entirely misconceived and is further opposed to two well known rules of the *Mīmāṃsā* evolved for the construction of texts. On the interpretation given to Manu IX. 142 by the Bombay decisions that verse lays down two rules (*vidhis*), viz. (1) a person adopted into another family will not take the wealth of his natural father or any one in that family *after* adoption; (2) that a person adopted into another family loses or forfeits on adoption wealth that he may have already taken absolutely in the natural family as a member of that family *before* adoption. These are two entirely different propositions and the rule of *mīmāṃsā* is that one and the same sentence¹³²⁰ should not be construed as laying down two rules (*vidhis*) applicable to different sets of circumstances. To so construe a text is to be guilty

1319 Vide *Bai Kesarba v Shivsangji* 34 Bom. L. R. 1332 which accepts 'na haret' as meaning 'shall not take', and quotes on pp 1341-42 the D. M., D. C. and V. Mayūkhā on this verse. The P. C. decision in *Raghu Ray Chandra v Subhadra* L. R. 55 I A 139 does not approve of 40 Bom 429 as regards the exact point of decision viz the forfeiture of property already vested before adoption.

1320 अनेकविधितो हि वाक्यभेद उक्तः । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 551 on जै. II. 2 26

of the fault of *vākya-bheda* (splitting up of a sentence so as to yield two distinct rules). The V. Mayūkhā construed Manu IX 142 so as to indicate only one sense and avoid the fault of *vākya-bheda* on the analogy of two examples discussed in the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*¹³²¹ works, but if the reasoning of the Bombay High Court were followed the same fault to avoid which Nīlakantha strives hard would be committed. There is another *mīmāṃsā* rule¹³²² which will be violated by the Bombay High Court's interpretation of Manu IX. 142 viz. when an already existing thing or entity and something to be accomplished or brought about in future are spoken of together in a sentence the thing already existing or accomplished is mentioned simply for the sake of the thing to be accomplished. The accomplished fact is adoption itself. Manu who mentions adoption or the adopted son which is an accomplished entity also mentions along with it the taking of property (*rikthaharana*); hence that taking must have reference to the future bringing about and not the undoing of *rikthaharana* which had already taken place long before.

That the gotra of the natural family persists in some matters even after a person is adopted is made clear by the digesters. The Sam¹³²³ K. (p. 182) says that every *dattaka* must, when entering on marriage, avoid the gotra of his natural as also of his adoptive father. The *Dharmasindhu* (III. p. 161) says the same and states that the prohibition against marriage

1321. यथा जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोऽग्नीनादधीत—इत्यत्र वयोवस्थाविशेषः, यथा वा—अर्धमन्तव्येति भिन्नोपपत्तिरिति—इत्यनेन द्वैविध्यो लक्ष्यते तथाच गोत्रविरुद्धपिण्डस्वधायैर्जनकादीनां पिण्डसम्बन्धमयुक्तं कार्यमात्रं लक्षयित्वा तत्किञ्चित्कृत्यते । तेन सोऽपि पुत्रस्यादिसम्बन्धनिवृत्तिरपि सिद्धा भवति । ध्य. मसूत्र p. 115. Vide my notes to V. M. pp. 189-191 for explanations. Jai (III 7, 13-14) deals with the 2nd example. The *bhāṣya* of Sabara and the *Tantravārtika* explain how there will be *vākya-bheda* if the sentence (*ardham &c*) is literally construed.

1322. भूतभग्नसमुच्चारणे भूतं भग्नयोपदिश्यते । शबर on जै. III. 4. 40, p. 976. इत्येवमेतत् हि भूतं भावयितव्यो यजत्यर्थः । भूतभग्नसमुच्चारणे च भूतं भग्नयोपदिश्यते . शबर on जै. IX. 1. 9 p. 1652 ; भूतं भग्नयोपदिश्यत इति भूतं इत्थं भग्नं किञ्च निर्गतं यतीति क्रियातोऽदृष्टम् । दुपदीका on जै. IV 1 18 p. 1207. This is called भूतभग्नसमुच्चारणन्याय in the *तन्त्रवार्तिक* on III 4 24 and II. 1 12 and it has been employed elsewhere by the *स्पष्टाहारमसूत्र* (p. 111 text) शबर very frequently employs this maxim, vide e g on जै. II. 1. 4.

1323. विवाहे तु दत्तकमात्रेण बीजियतिग्रहीतोः पित्रोर्गोत्रप्रवर्जनं कार्यम् । प्रवर्जनार्थं निवर्तयेत् तन्निवेद्योक्तः । सं. की. p. 182 ; विवाहे तु सर्वदत्तकेन जनकपालकयोः समोरपि पित्रोर्गोत्रप्रवर्जनस्थितिः कन्या वर्जनीया । नात्र सासपौरुषं पाञ्चपौरुषमित्येवं दुश्चरितम् उपलभ्यते । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्धे p. 161.

with a girl of the gotras of the natural and adoptive fathers is absolute and not restricted to seven or five degrees. Thus if there is no total or absolute cessation of gotra relation with the natural family for all purposes there is no reason why in the case of wealth already taken before adoption there should be a cessation or forfeiture or why the cessation of relation as to *riktha*, should not be restricted to the future. As regard *sapinda* relationship there is some conflict among the digests. The D. M.¹²³⁴ states that the *dvyāmusyāyana* has to observe the prohibitions against marrying a *sapinda* girl up to three degrees in the families of the natural father and of the adoptive father, while the simple *dattaka* has to observe *sapinda* relationship based upon the presentation of rice balls in the adoptive father's family for three generations (since the adopted son can generally have no particles of the body in common with the adoptive father) and in the natural family *sapinda* relationship based upon particles of the same body for seven generations. The *Nirnayasindhu* (III pp. 290-291) sets out the various conflicting views and gives it as its own opinion that the *sapinda* relationship must be looked to in marriage up to seven generations in the natural as well as in the adoptive family (in the latter it being based on the offering of balls of rice). According to the V. Mayūkha (p. 119) the simple adopted son has *sapinda* relationship in the adoptive father's family for seven generations and in the adoptive mother's family for five generations and it seems to hold that there is no *sapinda* relationship in the natural family (owing to Manu IX. 142). The D. C. (pp. 61-66) appears to hold that the *dvyāmusyāyana* has to observe *sapinda* relationship (as stated in the D. M.), while as to the simple *dattaka* there is *sapinda* relationship only in the adoptive family for seven generations (as indicated by Manu IX. 142). The *Dharmasindhu* (III p. 161) states that *sapinda* relationship depends in its degrees on the question whether the adoption is made after *upanayana* in the natural family or before *upanayana* or whether all *samskāras* from *jātakaṇṇa* are performed in the adoptive family.

1234. यदिदृष्टमयत्र त्रिपुरवसापिण्डाभिधानं तद् द्व्यासुप्यायणाभिधानेन त्रिक
द्वयेन सपिण्डीकणाभिधानाद् । शुद्धदत्तकस्य तु मतिशरीरकुले त्रिपुरव विष्टान्वयरूप
सापिण्डत्वं जनककुले सासपौरुषमवयवान्वयरूपमेवेत्यल मयञ्जेन । दत्त. मी. p. 187, मम उ
पालककुले एकपिण्डदानक्रियान्वयित्वरूप सासपौरुषमेव सापिण्डत्वं, बीजिनश्चेति नीतमोक्षे-
र्जनककुलेपि तावदेव । नि. सि. III प्रवार्ध p. 291.

The Bombay High Court¹³²⁵ has held that the adopted son cannot marry within prohibited degrees in the natural family, that to that extent an adopted son cannot be considered as not to have been born in his natural family and that the sapinda relationship is recognized in both the families for the purpose of prohibition of marriage.

The Nir. S., the Dharmasindhu¹³²⁶ and the D. C pp. 48-49 declare that the adopted son can perform the śrāddha of his natural father if the latter has at his death no son or other qualified person to perform it. The Nir S. and the Sam¹³²⁷ K. (pp. 185-186) both say that the adopted son has to observe three days' mourning on the death of the natural father and *vice versa*; but the D M. and D. C (p. 68) differ and state that the simple adopted son has to observe no mourning for his natural father or other relatives in the natural family. If a married man having a son is given in adoption (which is possible in the Bombay Presidency) the son (born before the adoption) remains in the natural family and does not acquire the gotra and rights to property of the family into which his father is adopted. Yet the father who has gone into another family by adoption has been held to retain his right to give in adoption his son who was born before his own adoption and who remains in the natural family¹³²⁸.

From the above discussion it follows that the person adopted retains the tie of blood with his natural family (so that he cannot marry a girl within the prohibited degrees from that family), the saṃskāras already performed in the natural family are not repeated on him after adoption, he still retains the gotra so far that he cannot marry a girl having the same gotra as his natural father and further he has according to most writers to observe mourning for his natural father. Therefore it is clear that the severance from the natural family brought about by adoption is only partial and restricted to pinda and rikṭha

1325 Vide *Bai Kesarba v. Shirsang*, 34 Bom. L. R. 1332 at p. 1352 and *Basappa v. Gurlingawa* 57 Bom. 74 at p. 81.

1326. दत्तकस्तु जनकपितृ-पुत्राद्यभावे जनकपितृः आह्वं कुर्याद्धनं च दृष्टीयात् । जनकपालकयोश्चभयोः पित्रोः सन्त्यभावे दत्तको जनकपालकयोश्चभयोरपि धनं हरेत्, आह्वं च मतिवारिकस्तुभयोः कुर्यात् । धर्मसिन्धु III उत्तरार्धे p. 371.

1327. दत्तक्रीतकृत्रिमादिपुत्रेषु अहीनवर्णगाह स्त्रीषु च सपिण्डत्वेऽपि प्रसवे मरणे च पूर्वापरपित्रोर्भर्तृश्च विराजमेव न दशादादि । ... पितृमरणेऽपि दत्तकादीनां विराजम् । नि. सि. III उत्तरार्धे p. 524, शुद्धदत्तकस्य जनककुले परस्परमशीर्षं नास्त्येव । गोत्रपिण्डनिवृत्त्या-शौचनिवृत्तेरप्यसिद्धत्वात् । द्रव्यामुप्यायणस्य दूभयवैवाशीचमिति । दत्त. च. p. 68.

1328 Vide *Martand v. Narayan* I. L. R. (1939) Bom. 586 (F. B.,

and connected matters and not *complete* as stated or assumed in some decided cases.

The adopted son is entitled to inherit in the adoptive family as fully as if he were a natural born son i. e. he may inherit not only to his adoptive father, but also to that father's brother or cousin if the latter have no son or no other nearer heir. The adopted son also inherits to the adoptive mother and her relations¹³²⁹, viz. her father and brother. Conversely, the adoptive mother and her relations in her father's family are entitled to inherit to him.

Vas. and Baud. both laid down that if after a son is taken in adoption an *aurasa* son is born to the adoptive father the former takes a fourth share. There is conflict among the *smṛtis* and the digests about the share of the adopted son when an *aurasa* is subsequently born, and about the meaning of 'a fourth share'. The *Dāyabhāga* (X. 13 p. 148) and V. C. p. 150 quote a verse of *Kātyāyana*¹³³⁰ that when an *aurasa* son is born, other kinds of sons, if of the same caste as the father, take only a third of the estate. It has been held in Bengal that in these circumstances the adopted son takes one third of his adoptive father's estate. In Benares and among Jains¹³³¹ the adopted son gets one fourth of the estate. The S. V. p. 393 holds that he gets¹³³² $\frac{1}{4}$ th. In Bombay it¹³³³ has been held that the adopted son takes not $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the whole estate, but $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the share of the *aurasa* son i. e. $\frac{1}{8}$ th (the *aurasa* son taking $\frac{1}{2}$ th). In Bombay the same rule applies among *sūdras*¹³³⁴. But in Bengal and Madras it has been decided, relying on a passage in the

1329. दत्तकादीना मातामहा अपि प्रतिग्रहीत्री या माता तत्पितर एव पितृव्यायस्य मातामहेष्वपि समानत्वात् । दत्त मी p. 198 ; शुद्धदत्तकस्य तु प्रतिग्रहीत्र्या एव मातुः पित्रादिपिण्डदानम् । दत्त च p. 61. Vide *Dattatraya v. Gangabai* 46 Bom. 541 for the proposition that an adopted son is competent to inherit the property of his adoptive mother's ancestors.

1330. उत्पन्ने स्त्रीरसे पुत्रे चतुर्थीशहराः स्तुताः । सर्वेषां असवर्णास्तु ग्रासाच्छादन-भागिनः ॥ कात्यायन q by दायभाग X 13. p 148, वि. प. 150, विनाद्वचनम् p. 80 Vide note 1234 for various readings and Kaut

1331. Vide *Rukhab v. Chunilal* 15 Bom 347 (holding that among Jains an adopted son is entitled to $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the estate of the adoptive father when an *aurasa* son is subsequently born).

1332. तथा च कात्यायन । उत्पन्ने स्त्रीरसे पुत्रे चतुर्थीशहराः स्तुताः । . . चतुर्थीशो नाम चतुर्थस्य योशः समत्वेन परिकल्प्यते चतुर्थ्योशः पञ्चमांश इत्यर्थः । स. वि. p 393.

1333. Vide *Giriappa v. Ningappa* 17 Bom. 100 (where the texts are exhaustively reviewed by Telang J.), *Bala Krishnayya v. Venkata* 43 Mad. 398, 402 (where Kāt, Vas. and Baud are referred to).

1334. Vide *Tukaram v. Ramchandra* 49 Bom 672 (held that among *sūdras* an adopted son takes one fourth of the natural born son's share).

Dattakacandrikā (p. 98)¹³³⁵ that the adopted son and the subsequently born aurasa son of a śūdra share equally.¹³³⁶ If the estate is impartible property or an estate to be taken by lineal primogeniture and the owner first adopted a son and then he had an aurasa son, it has been held that the subsequently born aurasa son takes the whole estate.¹³³⁷ If there are two brothers who form a joint Hindu family and one of them has a natural born son and the other adopts a son, the adopted son of one brother gets on partition a share of the family estate equal to that of the natural born son of the other¹³³⁸ brother, since the rule of Vas. applies only as between the aurasa and dattaka sons of the same man.^{1338a}

1335. अत एव-दत्तपुत्रे यथाजाते कदाचित्स्वौरसो भवेत् । पितुः विधयस्य सर्वस्य भवेत् समभागिनौ ॥ इत्यपि वचनं छाद्भविष्य एव योजनीयम् । दत्त. च. p. 98.

1336. Vide *Asita v Nirode* 20 C. W. N. 901; *Perrazu v. Subbarayudu* L. R. 48 I. A. 280 (equal share among śūdras).

1337. Vide *Sahebgouda v Shiddangouda* I. L. R. (1939) Bom. 314 (F. B.). Manu IX. 163 would support this decision.

1338. Vide *Nagindas v. Bachoo* L. R. 43 I. A. 56 where a passage of the D. C. is explained (at p. 65) which is as follows: एवं धनिनः पुत्रान्तरसत्त्वे घृतपितृकस्य दत्तकपौत्रस्यापि दत्तोचितं श्रमागित्वं तदसत्त्वे सर्वहरत्वमपीति । न च पौत्रस्य स्वपितृयोग्यांशभागित्वनियमात् दत्तकस्य ग्रहीतुः पितामहौरससत्त्वे तादृशपितृस्य-तुल्यस्यर्थांशस्य तद्योग्यत्वाद्दत्तकपौत्रः पितृस्यतुल्यमेवांशं लभतमित्येव वाच्यं, पुत्रस्य दत्तकस्य चतुर्थांशः पौत्रस्य तु तथारथे समानांश इति वैषम्यात् । ततश्च स्वसमानरूपस्य पितृर्थाद्विशेषः शास्त्रसिद्धस्तस्यैव स्वपितृयोग्यांशतेति यथोक्तमेव साधु । दत्त. च. pp. 89-90.

1338a It appears to me that the V. Mayūkha went far beyond the spirit of the ancient smṛti texts and of most of the medieval digests when it allowed the adoption of a married man or even of one who had already had a son. The son to be adopted, it was declared by Śaunaka and others, should be a reflection of an aurasa son. Therefore he must be adopted at an age when by proper training and environment he will come to entertain towards the adoptive parents the same feeling that an aurasa son has. Hence it appears to me that the Legislature should intervene and provide that no one can be adopted after his upanayana, or at all events after his marriage, in the natural family. It is natural for a sonless man or a widow to feel, apart from religious considerations, the necessity of a young person as a solace, security and help in old age, and to adopt a person. Even in England by the Adoption of Children Act (16 and 17 Geo V chap. 29) the adoption of a minor is now allowed after observing certain formalities. Further, no adoption by a widow who has not become major according to the Indian Majority Act should be held valid. An agreement or a transfer of the smallest property by a person who is a minor according to that Act is held to be absolutely null and void. There is no reason why an adoption by a widow of 15 or 16 should be upheld when that adoption divests her of all (or now half of) the property of the husband held by her.

CHAPTER XXIX

ORDER OF SUCCESSION AFTER THE SON

It has been stated above that *dāya* is either *apratibandha* or *sapratibandha* and that sons, grandsons and great-grandsons take the first kind of *dāya*. If a man has no son either *aurasa* or *secondary* (viz. the *dattaka*, the other kinds of sons being now forbidden or obsolete), then his property devolves in a certain order. When a man dies sonless and is a member of a joint Hindu family then on the surviving coparceners the whole estate devolves except that after 1937 (by Act XVIII of 1937) his widow takes his place as to the joint family property. But if he dies separated and has male issue (from whom also he is separate) then his male issue will succeed to him in a body viz. his son, grandson (son of a predeceased son) and great-grandson (son of a predeceased son's predeceased son) will together take his separate property *per stirpes*. From Manu IX. 137 (which is the same as Vas. 17.5 and Visnu Dh. S. 15. 46) and 186 and Yāj. I 78 it follows that the son, grandson and great-grandson equally confer great spiritual benefit and so are the principal group of heirs. According to the strict theory of the *Mitākṣarā* as stated above, son, grandson and great-grandson take by birth an interest even in property acquired by a man himself, but they have no power to prevent him from alienating it. If one or more out of a man's sons, grand-sons or great-grandsons are separate from him then on his death his self-acquired property will first be taken by those sons, grandsons and great-grandsons that are joint with him and if none of these is joint with him, the separated son, grandson and great-grandson will succeed *per stirpes* to his estate.¹³³⁹

This view is at least as old as the Baud.¹³¹⁰ Dh. S. I. 5. 113-115 which speak of the three ascendants of a man, of himself,

1339. Vide *Gangadhar v. Ibrahim* 47 Bom. 556, *Marudayi v. Doraisami* 30 Mad 348 In *Ramappa v. Sithammal* 2 Mad. 182 (F. B.) a separated son was preferred as an heir to the widow of the deceased.

1340. अपि च अपितामहः पितामहः पिता स्वयं सोऽर्था भ्रातरः स्वर्णायाः पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रस्तत्पुत्रवर्जं तेषां च पुत्रपौत्रमविभक्तदायं सपिण्डानां च हते । विभक्तदायानपि सङ्कल्पा-
नाच्च हते । असत्स्वनेषु तद्दामी ह्यर्थो भवति । बी. ध. सु. I 5. 113-115. The दायभाग
(XI. 4, 5, 37) and दायतत्त्व p. 189 quote या, विष्णु and वा, read 'सत्स्वनेषु
तद्दामी ह्यर्थो भवति' and अविभक्तदायादान् and explain बी. at length.

of his full brothers and of his son, grandson and great-grandson from a savarna wife as one group called *ambhakta-dāya* sapindas and that in the absence of these only, the wealth of a man goes to his sakulyas.

On the succession to the property of a man dying without male issue (i. e. without son, grandson or great-grandson) the basic texts are two verses of Yājñavalkya¹³⁴¹ (II. 135-136): 'The lawfully wedded wife, the daughters and (the daughter's son), the parents, the brothers, their sons, *gotrajas* (agnatic kinsmen), *bandhu* (cognatic relation), a pupil, a fellow student—on failure of each preceding one out of these each succeeding one is entitled to take the wealth of a man who is dead (lit. who has gone to heaven) and who leaves no male issue. This rule applies to all varnas'. The Visnu Dh. S. (17. 4-15) is almost to the same effect. The word 'aputrasya' in Yāj. is taken to mean one having no son, grandson or great-grandson (at the time of death) by V. C., Raghunandana and Mitramisra¹³⁴². The Mit. explains the words 'to all varnas' as applying even to all that are the offspring of *anuloma* or *pratiloma* unions

We have separate rules for inheritance to the property of males and to that of females. Then there is great difference as to the rights of women as heirs. First, inheritance to the property of males will be taken up. Here again the fundamental principles are different acc. to the Mit and the Dāyabhāga

Among the heirs (apart from male issue) of a man as regards his separate property the first is the widow. The wife's right to succeed to her deceased husband's estate, when he died separated and un-reunited, was acknowledged only after a long struggle extending over centuries. The passage of the Tai. S. VI. 5. 8. 2 speaking of women as 'adāyādīḥ' has already

1341. पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा । तत्सुता गोत्रजा चन्दुशिष्यसबन्ध-
ज्जारिणः ॥ एवमभावे पुत्रस्य धनभागुत्तरोत्तरः । स्वर्गतिरस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वप्यं विधिः ॥ या.
II. 135-136. The first is also लघुहारीत 64-65. Translations of these verses
are cited in many cases; vide, for example, *Lallubhai v. Mankorabai*
2 Bom 388, 416

1342. अनपत्यस्य पुत्रपौत्रमपौत्रहीनस्य । पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रो वा—हृत्यादिना अमीषां
पाठक्रमेणैव स्वधाधिकारे सिद्धे तत्समानशीलस्य रिक्थमद्वयस्यापि तथैवाधिकारसिद्धेः ।
वि वि p 151: अत्र अपुत्रपदं पुत्रपौत्रमपौत्राभावपरं तेषां पार्वण्यिष्टदातृत्वाविशेषाद् ;
दापत्यर p. 189; अपुत्रपदं पत्नीत्यादिवु श्रूयमाणं पौत्रमपौत्राभावोपलक्षणम् । य. म.
p. 503.

been quoted (on p. 606). The meaning of that word is somewhat dubious, as will be shown later on. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 2 states generally¹³⁴³ that in default of a son the nearest sapinda succeeds but does not expressly mention the wife as an heir, though it mentions (in II 6. 14 4) the daughter as a possible heir. Baud also omits the wife as an heir Vas mentions no woman as heir. Gaut 28. 19 appears to state that the wealth of one who dies without issue should be taken by his sapindas, sagotras and sapravaras or his wife (i. e. according to Haradatta, the wife takes a share only along with the nearest sapinda or sagotra and not exclusively). Haradatta himself was of this view. Manu does not declare that the wife is the heir of a sonless man and there are certain passages which impliedly exclude her, as e. g. Manu IX. 185 (the father takes the wealth of a man dying sonless or his brothers take it), IX. 217 (the mother should take the wealth of a sonless man). Śāṅkha (q. by the Mit., Dāyabhāga XI 1. 15) prescribes that the wealth of a man dying without issue goes to his brothers, falling them the parents take it or the eldest wife.¹³⁴⁴ Devala (q. by the Dāyabhāga XI. 1. 17-18 and V. R. p 593) arranges the heirs in order as full brothers, daughters, father, half brothers, mother and wife. It may be noticed that in the days of Kalidasa the sonless widow did not succeed to the wealth of her deceased husband, but was only entitled to maintenance and that the estate escheated to the king. This is clear from the letter written by the minister to king Dusyanta about the wealth of a merchant who perished in a ship-wreck (Act VI) Yāj. and Visnu among smṛti writers were probably the first to clearly enunciate the rule that the wife was the foremost heir of a man dying without male issue. Br. makes the wife the first heir of a sonless man and supports his

1343. पुत्राभावे यः प्रत्यासक्तः सपिण्डः । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14 2, पिण्डगोत्रपि-
सम्बन्धादिभिर्यथैव भजेरन् स्त्री वानपत्यस्य । गौ 28. 19 on which हरदत्त say: 'स्त्री तु सर्व-
सगोत्रादिभिः समुद्धीयते । यदा सपिण्डादयो गृह्णन्ति तदा तैः सह पत्यप्येकमङ्गं हरेत् । . .
पत्नीदायस्तु आचार्यस्य पक्षो न भवति ।'. On आप. II. 6 14. 2 he gives the
view of गौतम, 'गौतमस्तु पुत्राभावे पत्याः सपिण्डादिभिः समांशमाह । वयमप्येतमेव
पक्षं शिष्यामहे'.

1344 स्वर्गातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य भ्रातृगमि द्वयं तदभावे पितरौ हरेयाता ज्येष्ठा वा पत्नी ।
शङ्ख (q. by मिता on या II 135 and अपराक p. 741) दायभाग XI. 1, 15 p 154
ascribes this text to शङ्खल्लिखित, पैडीनासि and यम and adds सगोत्रशिष्यसम्बन्ध-
चारिण after पत्नी अपराक also ascribes it (p 744) to शङ्खल्लिखित and पैडीगमि.
The Mit. explains that it applies to re-united brothers

opinion with reasons. He says:¹³⁴⁵ 'In the Veda and in the doctrines of the smrtis and in popular usage the wife is declared to be half the body of the husband, equally sharing the consequences of good and evil acts. Of him whose wife is not dead half the body survives. How can another obtain the property, while half the body (of the deceased) lives? Although kinsmen, although his father, mother or his relatives may be alive, the wife of a man dying without issue succeeds to his share. A wife dying before her husband takes away his sacred fires (i. e. she is cremated with the sacred Vedic fires, if he be an Agnihotrin); but when the husband dies before the wife, she takes his property, if she be chaste'. Even when Yāj. proclaimed the paramount right of succession in the case of widows there were other smrtis and some early commentators who did not subscribe to that view. Nār. (dāyabhāga, 25-26) provides that if among several brothers one who is childless dies or becomes an ascetic the others should divide the property excepting stridhana, that they should make provision for his women till their death in case they remain faithful but if they are otherwise (i. e. unfaithful) they may cut off the allowance'. Nār. (dāyabhāga, 50-51) provides that on failure of sons, the daughter, *sakulyas*, *bandhus*, a man of the same caste, the king succeed in order and thus omits the wife altogether. Vyāsa¹³⁴⁶ (quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. 28.19 and by Sm. C. II. p. 281) holds that a wife may take the whole of the husband's property if it does not exceed 2000 panas in value. The Mit. tells us that Śrīkara espoused this position that the wife takes the whole if

1345. आह्वये स्मृतिवत्त्वे च लोकाचारे च स्मृतिभिः । शरीरार्थं स्मृता जाया पुण्या-
पुण्यफले समा ॥ यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्थं तस्य जीवति । जीवत्यर्थं शरीरार्थं कथमन्यः समाप्नु-
यात् ॥ स कुलैर्विद्यमानैस्तु पितृभ्रातृसनाभिभिः । असुतस्य प्रसीतस्य पत्नी तद्भागदायिणी ॥
पूर्वं स्मृता त्विहोत्रं मृते भर्तरे तद्धनम् । विन्देत् पतिव्रता नारी धर्म एव सनातनः ॥ बृह. q. by
अपराक pp. 740-41, दायभाग XI. 1 2 pp 149-150, कुल्लूक on मनु IX 187,
स्मृतिच. II pp 290-91 (ascribes the last to प्रजापति). The mita. reads the
third verse as कुल्येषु विद्यमानेषु . सनाभिषु. The तै सं. VI. 1. 8. 5 reads 'अर्थो
वा एव आत्मनो यत्पत्नी'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p 428 n 1015 for passages
from the Veda and Mahābhārata for the wife being deemed to be half of the
body, pp pp 556-57 for husband and wife enjoying the fruits of their
actions together, and p 558 for wife's cremation with the Vedic fires and the
sacificial utensils of the husband. Both वसिष्ठ 21. 15 and पराशर X 26 say
'पतत्यर्थं शरीरस्य यस्य भार्या मृतं विधेत् । पतिव्रतशरीरस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते ॥'

1346 द्विसहस्रपत्नी दायः पत्न्यै देवो धनस्य तु । पच्य भर्ता धनं दत्तं सा पश्चात्तानाम-
प्यपत् ॥ स्यात् q by हृदत्त on नौ 28 19, व्यव. नि. p 450, विवादचन्द्र p 72. The
अनुशासन 47. 23 reads, त्रिसहस्रपत्नी दायः....भर्ता तच्च धनं दत्तं यथाई भोक्तुमर्हति ॥

the property is small, but only maintenance if the property is large and refutes it by saying that it is opposed to the spirit of Yāj. who allows a share to the wife and the mother even along with sons when even joint family property is being partitioned and that the view is also liable to the fault of *udhvaśamyā* on the analogy of the *Mīmāṃsā* rule stated above on p. 605.¹³⁴⁷ The same text of Yāj. will have to be held as laying down only maintenance when the husband left great wealth, and also laying down a share equal to that of a son when the husband leaves inconsiderable wealth.^{1347a} Another view was maintained

1347 पिण्डगो नपत्यस्य । बीजं वा लिप्सेत । गौ 28. 19-20 This is explained by धर्तेश्वर as 'बीजं वा लिप्सेत यदि बीजं लिप्सेत'. The *Mit.* says that this really means that there are two courses open to the widow, viz. she may remain chaste and succeed along with the sapindas or she may resort to *niyoga*.

1347a Jai. VII. 3 19-25 as understood by the *Mit.* may be briefly explained as follows: The *Cāturmāsyaś* (seasonal sacrifices) are four, *Vaiśvadeva*, *Varunapraghāsa*, *Sākamedha*, *Sunnāsīriya* (vide H of Dh vol II. pp 1091-1105 for description). In regard to these the following texts occur in the *Veda* and are cited by Sabara and others: द्वयोः प्रणयन्ति । तस्माद् द्वौ यन्ति ऊरु वा एतौ यज्ञस्य यद्गुणमवाप्तश्च साकमेधश्च । तस्माद् द्वौ यन्ति । .. उपात्रं वपन्ति । न वैश्वदेवे उत्तरवेदिषुपकिरन्ति न शुनासीरीये । (They carry forward the fire in these two; therefore they march on two, indeed the *Varunapraghāsa* and *Sākamedha* are the two thighs of *yajña*; therefore they (are said to) march on two; they fill with earth (the *uttaravedi*) here, but not so in *Vaiśvadeva* nor in *Sunnāsīriya*). Sabara reads 'उत्तरवेदिषुपवपन्ति' while *Mit.* reads as above. *Pranayana* means 'carrying towards the east fire from the *Gārhapatyā* fire to the *Āhavanīyā*'. There is *pranayana* in the *Darsapūrnamāsa* which is simple (and without details) and there is also *pranayana* in *Agnistoma* which is full of details (and not simple). An *uttaravedi* (vide H of Dh vol. II pp. 1096-1097 for description) is not required in *Darsapūrnamāsa*, but it is required in a *Soma* sacrifice. The *cāturmāsyaś* are modifications (*vikṛti*) of the *Darsapūrnamāsa*, so that whatever is prescribed in the latter follows in the absence of express directions as a matter of course in the former. In the texts quoted above the words 'dvayoh pranayanti' lay down a *vidhi* and the words 'tasmād . sākamedhasca' contain an *arthavāda* which forms a syntactical whole with the *vidhi* and which only eulogizes it. The *pūrvapakṣa* argues: As *cāturmāsyaś* are modifications of *Darsapūrnamāsa*, it is unnecessary to lay down expressly a simple *pranayana* in them, therefore, the *pranayana* prescribed in 'dvayoh pranayanti' must be the *pranayana* as described in a *Soma* sacrifice. Further the prohibition of an *uttaravedi* in *Vaiśvadeva* and *Sunnāsīriya* indicates the same, since a prohibition implies that there was a fear that what is prohibited would have otherwise followed and since an

(Continued on the next page)

by the *Smṛtisāgraha* and *Dhāreśvara*, viz. that the wife would

(Continued from the last page)

uttaravedi is required only in a Soma sacrifice. Therefore the pranayana prescribed in 'dvayoh pranayanti' is of the Somapranayana type. To this a partisan of the *siddhāntin* (*siddhāntakadeśin*) replies as follows:—The real view is that in *dvayoh pranayanti* the pranayana is of the simple *darśapūrnamāsa* type and the prohibition about *Vaiśvadeva* and *Śunāsiriya* is not to be explained as you do; in the words 'upātra vapanti' an *uttaravedi* is generally (without exception) prescribed for all *cāturmāsya*s, but in the following two sentences 'na vaiśvadeve &c.' the preparation of *uttaravedi* is forbidden in the case of *Vaiśvadeva* and *Śunāsiriya*, therefore the partisan says that the idea is that, though the pranayana is of the simple *darśapūrnamāsa* type, yet an *uttaravedi* is prepared in the 2nd and 3rd but not in the first and fourth of the *cāturmāsya*s. The *pūrvapakṣin* retorts that even on this construction *vidhivaisamyā* would still be there as follows: as there is prescription of *uttaravedi* in all four and prohibition in two (viz the first and fourth of the four *cāturmāsya*s), there is an option of *uttaravedi* in these latter two (as the rule is 'tulyabala-virodhe vikalpah') and there is no option as to the other two and there will arise the fault of *vidhivaisamyā*, the same sentence viz 'upātra vapanti' being taken as an unqualified and independent rule about the 2nd and 3rd of the *cāturmāsya*s and taken as an optional rule as to the 1st and 4th.

The proper *siddhānta* view is as follows: Though the words 'dvayoh pranayanti' are very general, they are to be narrowed down so as to refer to only two (viz. 2nd and 3rd of the *cāturmāsya*s) on account of the recommendatory passage that follows (speaking of *Varunapraghāsa* and *Sākamedha* as the thighs of *cāturmāsya* *yajña*). The *vidhi* and the following *arthavāda* form one syntactical whole (*ekavākya*), as laid down by *Jai* I. 2. 7. The *arthavāda* passage means that just as a man marches on in strength if his thighs are strong, so the *cāturmāsya* sacrifice reaches a successful close by means of *Varunapraghāsa* and *Sākamedha* in which an *uttaravedi* is specially prepared and fire is laid thereon (being taken from the *āhavanīya* fire by the *adhvaryu* and *pratiprasthātr*). Therefore the meaning is that there is pranayana in the 2nd and 3rd out of the four *cāturmāsya*s and *uttaravedi* is prescribed in those two alone and the words 'there is no *uttaravedi* in *Vaiśvadeva* and *Śunāsiriya*' are a mere *anuvāda* (repetition of what is already known) and not a prohibition, as in the words 'fire should be kindled on the earth and not in the sky nor in heaven'. On this interpretation there is no *vidhivaisamyā*. *Sahara* makes two *adhiḥkaranas* of *Jai* VII. 3. 19–25, while *Kumārila* makes one *adhiḥkaraṇa* of these seven *sūtras*. He further differs as to the *siddhānta*, which, according to him, is that in 'dvayoh pranayanti' there is a special (*apūrvā*) kind of pranayana prescribed, *prākṛta* (of *darśapūrnamāsa* type) and *saumika* pranayana being the two other views which he rejects. The *Subodhinī* on the *Mit.* very lucidly explains this discussion and concludes. यथा तत्रैकदेशिमतो विधिर्वैयर्थ्यं द्वापस्तथा पक्षः कार्यो समाश्रितः, 'मातात्वंशं समं हरेत्' इत्यत्र च सकृदाज्ञातौ अंशसमशब्दोऽपि भर्तृवद्व्ययनत्वपक्षे 'भरणं चारय कुर्वीत' इत्यादिवाक्यपर्यालोचनया जीवनीपयुक्तप्रकरणे स्वरूपधनस्ते नु वाक्यान्तरनैरेष्येण नित्यवस्तुनांशसमांशपराविति श्रीकराष्ट्रकृत्याख्यानेपि विधिवैयर्थ्यदोषो दुर्बल इति । The *Bālabhāṭṭi* repeats the *Subodhinī* almost word for word. This *nāḍā* occurs in *Dāyabhāṭṭa* XI. 5. 16 also.

take the estate of her sonless deceased husband if she submitted to *niyoga* and procured a son for the husband. This view derived support from Gautama 28.19-20, Vas. 17 65 (who prohibits *niyoga* if resorted to through greed of wealth), and Manu IX. 146 and 190 (which call upon the surviving brother to procreate a son on the widow of his brother and to hand over the deceased's share to that son). This view is refuted by the Mit.,¹³⁴⁸ Sm. C. II p. 294, V. P. pp 495-497.

Even Medhātithi,¹³⁴⁹ generally a liberal writer, holds that the widow is prohibited from inheriting her husband's wealth.

The Mit. after an elaborate statement and refutation of the views of Śrīkara, Dhāreśvara and others due to the conflict among *smṛti* texts on the question of the widow's right of succession, establishes the proposition that the widow, if chaste, is entitled to the whole of her deceased sonless husband's wealth.¹³⁵⁰ Almost all writers since the time of the Mit. accept the widow's right to succeed to her husband's wealth. Many writers note that the *smṛti* texts on the heirship of the widow are in conflict.¹³⁵¹ They explain verses like those of Nār. (*dāyabhāga* 25-26) providing only maintenance for women either as

1348. तथा सद्ग्रहकारः । भ्रातृषु प्रविभक्तोऽस्य संवृष्टेष्वप्यस्य च । शुश्रूषाभि-
योगस्था पत्नी धनमवाप्नुयात् ॥ इति । शुश्रूषाभियोगस्थेति धारेश्वरमतं विश्वरूपादिभिः
सम्यग्बुधितत्वादुपेक्षणीयम् । स्मृतिश्च II. p. 294; एतेषामन्योन्यविरुद्धानां वचनानां
धारेश्वर इत्थं व्यवस्थामाह । विभक्तसंख्यभ्रातृषु तस्य पत्नी यदि नियोगमद्वीकुरुते तदैव
पतिधनं लभते । अनियोगार्थिण्यां तु तस्यामविभक्तसंख्यपरनीवद्भरणमात्रमेव । नियोगद्वारा-
पुत्रपत्न्याः पतिस्वापतेयस्वामित्वम् । व्य. प्र. p. 495,

1349. अतो यन्मेधातिथिना पत्नीनामभिशान्तिं निषिद्धञ्च तदसम्बद्धम् । पत्नीनामंश-
भागित्वं बृहस्पत्यादिसंमतम् । मेधातिथिनिराकुर्वन् न ग्रीणाति सतां मनः ॥ कुल्लूक on मञ्जु
IX. 187.

1350. तस्माद्वदुवस्य स्वर्ग्यतस्य विभक्तस्यासंख्येति धनं परिणीता स्त्री संयता सकल-
मेव युक्तातीति स्थितम् । मिता. on या II. 135.

1351. अथाप्युवस्य स्यतस्य धने परस्परविरुद्धवचनद्वयेन व्याख्यातायो विवदन्ते ।
वायभाग XI. I. 1; एतद्विरुद्धानीव वाक्यानि लक्ष्यन्ते । मिता. on या. II. 135.
It may, however, be noted that in a small treatise called *श्वश्रुतुवाधनसंवाद्*
of which there are three Mss. in the Maharaja's Sarasvatī Mahal Library
at Tanjore (Nos. 19003-5 described in vol. XVIII of their new Descriptive
Catalogue) an attempt is made to establish that, if a man dies leaving a widow
and his mother, both take equal shares in the estate. The mainstay of the
argument is a verse of Kāt. quoted in the *व्य. मयूख* 'भो कुमहति कलसां शुक्ल-
वणे रता । न कुर्याददि शुश्रूषां चैलं पिण्डं नियोजयेत्' from which the conclusion
drawn is 'श्वश्रुश्वश्रुतादियुक्तशुश्रूषणे रतायास्तद्व्युत्पत्तायाः सपतायाः तदिदानीं च सत्यां
पत्न्या धनहस्तिनं नान्यथा'.

referring to exclusively kept concubines of the deceased or to the wives of re-united coparceners.

Patni means a woman who is married to the deceased, the word being formed from 'pati' with an affix in the sense of 'being fit to join with the husband in the performance of sacrifice' (Pāṇini IV. 1. 33). The Sm. C. II. p. 290 quotes a verse that a woman who is procured for sexual intercourse in exchange for money is only a *dāsi* and is not a *patni* and therefore is not entitled to inherit to a sonless paramour.¹³⁵² The Band. Dh. S. I 11. 20 quotes a similar verse. Several texts require that the widow must be chaste before she can claim the inheritance of the deceased. A text attributed to Vṛddha-Manu¹³⁵³ says, 'The wife alone, being sonless and keeping the bed of her lord unsullied and leading a life of religious observances, may offer pinda to her deceased husband and take his entire estate'. Kāt. (926) also declares that 'the wife who is chaste takes the wealth of her husband'. The widow must be chaste at the time the inheritance opens. The courts have held that once the husband's estate is vested in the widow, it will not be divested or forfeited by reason of *unchastity subsequent* to the death of the husband.¹³⁵⁴ If the widow remarries after inheriting, then, though the remarriage of a widow is legalized by the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (XV of 1856), she forfeits the estate of the husband taken by her or the estate which she took as a widowed mother of her deceased son and it passes to the other heirs of the husband or son as if she were then dead and this applies to widows of all castes according to almost all High Courts (even when remarriage

1352. कथंकीता तु या नारी न सा पत्नी विधीयते । न सा दैवे न सा पित्र्ये दासी ता कथयो विदुः ॥ q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 290, व्य. प्र. p. 488, कीता द्रव्येण या नारी सा न पत्नी विधीयते । सा न दैवे न सा पित्र्ये दासी ता काश्यपोमवीत् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 20 This is cited as Manu's in व्यव नि p. 397, which quotes a similar verse of Yama on p. 398 व्य. प्र. 488 says 'अत्र च दासीत्यकथनमनुष्ठार्यकर्मसु सदाधिकाराभावाभिप्रायेण । न तु दासीवद्रूपत्वाभिप्रायेण । विवाहितात्वेन परदारत्ववाधात् ।'

1353. अमुवा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती व्रते स्थिता । पल्येव वृद्धात् तत्पिण्डं कृत्स्नमेवं लभेत च । इच्छमत् q. by सिता. on या. II. 135, दायभाग XI. 1. 7, वि. र. p. 589 ; पत्नी भर्तुर्धनहरी या स्वादप्यभिचारिणी । कारया q. by the सिता. on या. II. 135.

1354 Vide *Moniram v. Kerry* L. R. 7 I. A 115 ; *Sellam v. Chinna-mmal* 24 Mad. 441 ; *Nehalo v. Kishen* 2 All. 150 (F. B.)

is allowed by the custom of the caste to which the widow belongs).¹³⁵⁵

According to the *Dāyabhāga* there being no *apratibandha dāya*, the widow of a sonless member even in a joint family succeeds to his share in the family property and there is no difference between joint family property and separate property.

In the case of *sūdras*, if the owner dies leaving a widow or a daughter or a daughter's son and an illegitimate son, it has been held by the courts following *Yāj. II. 134*, the *Mit.* and *Dāyabhāga IX. 31* that the widow or daughter or daughter's son takes one half and the illegitimate son takes the other half.¹³⁵⁶

The rights of the widow in property inherited by her from her husband are limited. *Kaut. III. 2* was¹³⁵⁷ probably the first to propound clearly the characteristics of the Hindu widow's estate and the verse of *Kāt* quoted below is remarkably close to the words of *Kaut.* The *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsana 47. 24*) states that women have only the right to enjoy the estate of their husbands and that they should not waste or destroy the

1355. *Vide Vithu v. Gound 22 Bom. 321 (F. B.)* and *Murugay v. Vīramakali 1 Mad. 226*; but *Bhola v. Kausilla 55 All. 24 (F. B.)* holds that a woman belonging to a caste in which remarriage of widows is allowed by custom does not forfeit on remarriage the estate of the first husband which she took as his widow, the principal reasons being, that there is no express text about forfeiture on subsequent unchastity and that it would be absurd to hold that a widow, who, on the *P. C.* ruling in *7 I. A.*, does not forfeit the estate taken as heir by subsequent unchastity, should be liable to forfeit it by remarriage (which presumes that she wants to live a decent life). Looking to the expressed object of the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, section 2 should not have been so interpreted as to apply to widows who could remarry according to caste custom before the Act.

1356. *Vide Shesgers v. Gireva 14 Bom. 282*; *Meenakshi v. Appakutti 33 Mad. 226* (in this case the original authorities are mentioned and discussed). *Vide* अभातुको हरेत्सर्वं बुद्धिपूर्णां सुतादते । या. II 134 ; अथ परिणीतापुत्रा न सन्ति तदा कुत्सनं धनं दासीपुत्रो यक्ष्णीयाद्यादि परिणीतादुहितस्तत्पुत्रा वा न सन्ति । तत्सन्नाये तु अर्ध-भानिका एव दासीपुत्रः । मिता., तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । अभा . इते । सति तु वृद्धिने तमं विभज्य यक्ष्णीयादिशेषाभ्रवणात् । दायभाग IX 31 p 143.

1357. अपुत्रा पतिशयनं पालयन्ती सुकुसमीये श्री धनमायुःक्षयाद् मुञ्चति । आपदर्थं हि श्रीधनम् । ऊर्ध्वं दाययाद् गच्छेत् । अर्थशास्त्र III 2 p 153, श्रीणां स्वपतिदायस्तु उप-भोगफल. स्वतः । नापहारं स्त्रियः कुर्यात् पतिवित्तात्कथञ्चन । अद्वयसूत्र 47. 24 q by विवादचन्द्र p. 71, वि चि p. 152, the sv. म p 491, दायभाग XI 1. 60 (latter three quote it as from the महाभारत).

husband's estate (by gift, sale &c.). Br.¹⁵³⁸ (S. B. E. vol. 33 pp. 377-78 verses 50-51 and 53) states: 'when the husband is separate his widow takes all his various kinds of property such as a pledge, except immovable property. After having received movable and immovable property, gold, inferior metals, grain, liquids and clothes the widow shall cause (her husband's) monthly, six-monthly and annual śrāddhas to be performed. Let her honour with funeral offerings and pious charity her husband's paternal uncle, *gurus* (elders), daughter's son, sister's son and maternal uncle as also aged or helpless persons, guests and women'. Mādhava (Par M. III. p. 536) explains that 'except immovable property' means that she is prohibited from making a sale of immovable property without the consent of the male kinsmen. The V. Mayūkha (p. 138) accepts this interpretation and modern courts have done the same. In *Damodardas v. Putmanandas* 7 Bom. 155 it was held that a widow to whom movable property was bequeathed by the will of her husband takes it absolutely. But here the movable property was not inherited by her and as it was a bequest by will it became her strīdhana according to Nār (q. by V. M. on p. 155). Besides, this was a case from Bombay Island and was governed by the law of V. Mayūkha. In some early cases in Bombay it had been held that a widow in Western India under the Mitākṣarā had absolute power over the movable property inherited by her from her husband. In *Gadadhar v. Chandabhabagabai* 17 Bom. 690 (F. B.) it was held that under the law of the Mitākṣarā a widow has no power to bequeath movable property inherited by her from her husband and that to that extent the decision in *Damodar v. Putmanandas* must be treated as of no authority if it be interpreted to have decided the point in that way. In *Sha Chamanlal v. Doshi Ganesh* 28 Bom. 453 it was decided that even under the Mayūkha a widow inheriting movable property from her husband has no

1358. यदिभक्ते धनं किञ्चिदाध्याये विविधं स्मृतम् । तज्जाया स्थावरं सुकृत्वा लभेत
 सुतभर्तुका ॥ जङ्गमं स्थावरं हेन कुप्यं धान्यं रसाम्बरम् । आदाय द्रापयेच्छ्राद्धं मासवापमा-
 सिकादिकम् । पितृपशुद्वौहित्रान्भर्तुः स्वकीयमातृलान् । पूजयेत्कन्यपूतान्भ्यां वृद्धानाथा-
 तिथीन् स्त्रियः ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच II p. 291, वि. र. p. 590 (last two), मदनरत्न
 (folio 99b), परा. म. III p. 536, मय. मयूख pp. 137-138. The स्मृतिच, मदन-
 रत्न and मय. मयूख ascribe the last two to प्रजापति. The मदनरत्न says that the
 verse यदिभक्ते was ascribed to बृह. by the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, but it should be
 disregarded as it is opposed to the verse जङ्गमं स्थावरं quoted in the कल्पतरु
 and others as that of बृह. १ 'स्थावरं सुकृत्वेयमिधानं द्वायादाद्यमतिमन्तरेण स्थावरविक्रय-
 निषेधपरमिति माधवीये विद्यारण्यश्रीचरणाय ॥' मदनरत्न (folio 99b).

power to dispose of it by will. Lastly in *Pandharinath v. Govind* 32 Bom. 59 it was held, after an elaborate examination of authorities, that a widow is not under the Mitaksarā competent to make a gift of the movables inherited by her from her husband and it was said, (on p. 75) that possibly with the spread of education amongst, and the general emancipation of, their women Hindus may be led to call in aid the relief of Legislature. In cases arising under the Mayūkhā a widow may dispose of movable property inherited by her from her husband by gift *inter vivos* but not by will. *Kāt.* 1359 (921, 924-925) propounds the limitations of the widow's rights as follows: 'A sonless widow, preserving the bed of her husband (unsullied) and residing with her elders and being self-controlled, should enjoy (her husband's property) till her death; after her the (other) heirs (of the husband) would get it. A wife who preserves (the honour of) the family would get the share of her husband when he is dead till her death, but she has no power to make a gift, sale or mortgage. A widow engrossed in religious observances and fasts, fixed in the vow of celibacy, always intent on restraining her senses and making gifts goes to heaven even though sonless'.¹³⁶⁰ These verses show that the widow was to enjoy the income of her husband's property till her death; that she could not sell or mortgage or give away immovable property without the consent of the heirs that would come after her and that for religious and charitable purposes or those that conduce to the spiritual welfare of her husband a widow had large powers of disposition. These rules

1359. अशुत्रा ज्ञयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती युते स्थिता । शुक्लीतामरणत्वात्ता दद्यादा ऊर्ध्व-
साम्प्रदुः ॥ कात्या. १ by दायभाग XI. 1. 56, स्मृतिच. III. p. 292, युते भर्तुरि भर्तुर्ग
लभेत कुलपालिका । यावज्जीव न हि स्वाम्यं दानाधमनविक्रये । व्रतोपवासनरिता ब्रह्मचर्यं
धरतिस्थिता । दमदानरता नित्यमशुत्रापि विवै ब्रजेत् ॥ कात्या. १ by स्मृतिच II. p. 292,
च. मयूख p. 138. The D. B. adds, 'अतः पत्नी दुहितरञ्जयेत्पतिना ये पूर्वपूर्वस्यामावे
परशुहाधिकारिणे निर्दिष्टास्ते यथा पत्न्याधिकारमागभावे युक्तीयुस्तथा जाताधिकारिणाः पत्युः
अधिकारमभ्यन्तेति भोगवशिष्टं धनं युक्तीयुः ॥ दायभाग XI. 1. 59. The first verse is
quoted in *Bhagwadeen v. Myna Bacc* 11 Moo 1. A. 487 at p. 517,
8 Mad. 290, 292, 5 Patna 646, 678. These verses are quoted or referred
to in 8 Mad. 290, 292, *Pandharinath v. Govind* 32 Bom 59 (which holds
that according to the Mit a Hindu widow cannot make a gift even of the
movables inherited by her from her husband), 42 Bom. 136, 143.

1360. It was believed that one to whom no son was born did not go to
heaven (vide Alt Br. 'nāputrasya lokosti' quoted above on p. 654 n. 2239).
An exception was made in the case of those who observed perpetual
studenthood (Āp Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 29) and Manu extends it to chaste widows
(V. 159-160). Vide *Vīṣṇu Dh S.* 25. 17.

have been accepted by modern decisions; vide *Collector of Masulipatam v. Cuvady Vencata* 8 Moo. I. A. 500 at p. 551 for an oftquoted passage about the widow's powers of disposal. There is a large volume of case law on the widow's powers of alienation, on what are religious and charitable purposes and about the consent of the kinsmen, which have to be passed over here. The heir or heirs expectant on the death of a widow are called reversioners or reversionary heirs in the decided cases. There is no exact Sanskrit word to convey the same idea except 'dāyāda' that occurs in Kāt quoted above and in D. B., which makes it clear that the reversioners take the estate after the widow's estate ends (by death, remarriage, surrender &c.). The doctrine of the surrender by the widow of her estate in favour of the next heirs (the reversioners) whose estate is said to be accelerated is based on meagre foundations viz. the words of Kāt. and the D. B. quoted in n. 1359. Judicial decisions, however, have raised a stupendous structure on these slight foundations; but they are passed over here.

If a man dies leaving several widows then they may partition the property equally among themselves, as stated by the Mit.¹³⁶¹

If after partitioning among themselves, one of the widows dies, the portion given to her comes to the other widow or widows i. e. there is survivorship among them and no one else can succeed to the husband's property as long as there is any widow alive and not remarried. Hindu Law does not favour the distribution of a deceased man's estate among his several relatives, as some other systems (like that of the Moslems) do. It gives the whole estate to one heir or one class of heirs to the exclusion of all others. It is greatly to the credit of the ancient Hindu Law that it boldly gave all the separate property of a deceased male to women, viz. to the widow and after her to the daughter in preference to the man's own father or brother or nephew. Attempts are now being made through the Legislature that even when there are sons, the widow and daughters of the deceased should be given shares. Though these efforts spring from the laudable motive of enlarging the rights of women, they do not deserve unqualified encouragement. They will produce friction, cause fragmenta-

1361. तावद् बहुव्ययेन जातीया विजातीयाश्च तदा यथाशं विभज्य गृह्णन्ति । मिता, ०० पृ. II. 135.

tion of lands, make holdings uneconomic and it is extremely doubtful whether they are in the best interests of society or nation as a whole and whether the vast mass of Hindus want them. Prajapati¹³⁶² says that the king should punish as thieves those sapindas and relatives that oppose or obstruct a widow in succeeding to her husband's estate.

The words of the Tai S. quoted above (p. 606) about women being without strength and not entitled to *dāya* (*adāyādih*) really occur in the ritual of Soma offerings and should mean that women are not allowed to share in the drinking of Soma. But the Baud. Dh. S. (S. B. E. vol. 14 p. 231) appears to have taken them as excluding women from inheritance. Manu IX. 18 also relies on it and declares that the *samśkṛtas* on women (except marriage) are not to be performed with Vedic mantras, as the Veda declares them to be 'nirindriya' and 'anṛta'. Later writers like Haradatta (on Gaut. 28. 19, Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1) and V. P. pp. 517 and 554 base the exclusion of women from inheritance on this passage of the Veda. They say that, though the Vedic text is very sweeping and general, it is meant to exclude only women other than those expressly mentioned in the *smṛtis* as entitled to inherit. For example, the *Dāyabhāga* XI. 6. 11 quotes Baud. and remarks that the wife is entitled to inherit because of special texts (like those of Yāj and Viṣṇu) in her favour. The Sm. C II. p. 294¹³⁶³ says that the Vedic passage is only an *arthavāda* (meant for praise) and not an absolute rule and it must be taken as not referring to those women that are expressly mentioned (lit. by being seized by the horn). The V. P. says the same. Aparārka (p. 743) holds that the Vedic passage is merely an *anuvāda* and excludes women only when there is a son. It should be noted that the Par. M. (III. p. 536) holds that the Tai S. passage merely means that the wife of the sacrificer is not entitled to partake of Soma

1362. तत्सपिण्डा बान्धवाश्च ये तस्या परिपन्थिनः । हिंस्युर्नानि तान् राजा चौर्यदण्डेन शासयेत् ॥ अजापति ५ by स्मृतिच. II p. 294, वि चि p. 151

1363. यत्तु श्रुतौ चोक्तं तस्मात्त्रिषो निरिन्द्रिया अवायादा इति तद्वपि न ब्रह्म-
मन्वादिबन्धनबाधकम् । निरिन्द्रियपुत्रसाहचर्याद्वपत्यभूतस्त्रीविषयत्वावगते । भवतु वा सर्व-
स्त्रीविषयत्वावगतिः । तथापि द्वायादतया शृङ्गग्राहोक्तपत्न्यादिस्त्रीग्यतिरिक्तविषया अर्थवाद-
श्रुतिरिति सर्वं सुस्थम् । स्मृतिच II. p. 294, यत्तु तस्मात् त्रिषो ... अवायादा इति श्रुति-
बन्धनं तन्मूलकं च 'निरिन्द्रिया . नित्यमिति स्थितिः' इति मञ्जुवचनेन तद् द्वयमपि यासां
शृङ्गग्राहिकया धनग्रहणं नीकं तद्विषयमवसेयम् । गौतममिताक्षरायां इन्द्रतोऽप्येवमाह । ५५. प्र.
p. 517, यत्तुपि चार्थावादबन्धनं तस्मात् ... अवायादाः—इति तद्वपि यथामासि वर्णनीयमङ्ग-
वादकत्वादिति पुत्रसन्नाहविषयत्वेन व्याख्येयम् । अपरार्क p. 743.

taken in the *Pātnivata* cup and that 'indriya' means Soma drink.¹³⁶⁴ But Mādhavācārya in his comment on the Tai. S. I. 4. 27 quotes Tai. S. VI. 5. 8. 2 and explains it somewhat differently as meaning that women being without strength do not take the heritage when there are children. It is very remarkable that both the Mit. and the V. Mayūkha do not at all refer to the Tai. S. or Baud. Dh. S. in speaking of the rights of women to inheritance. It cannot be said that they were unaware of them, but probably they took the Tai. S. text in the sense in which the Par. M. explains it. The result of the reliance on the Tai. S. and on Baud. by most medieval digesters has been that in the whole of India except in the Madras and Bombay provinces only five females are recognized as heirs viz. the widow, the daughter, the mother, the father's mother and paternal grand-father's mother, because they were expressly mentioned as heirs in the smṛtis or early commentaries. This subject will be pursued further a little later on.

The right of the wife to maintenance during her husband's life time has already been dealt with in H. of Dh. II. pp. 568-569. If the wife was guilty of unchastity but repented of her lapse, she was still entitled to be maintained by the husband (vide H. of Dh. II. pp. 571-573). As regards the rights of maintenance of the widows of deceased members of a joint Hindu family there is a good deal of *casé* law which is passed over here. One or two points may be noted. The right of the widows in a joint Hindu family are conditional upon their leading a life of chastity. Male members are often unwilling to maintain widows who are often compelled to go to court. In the 'Selections from Peshwa Daftar', vol. 43, there is an order (letter No. 142) of Rāmasāstri, the chief justice of the Peshwa's court, calling upon one Bapuji Tambavekar under threat of penalties to restore the ornaments of the widow of his elder brother (that had died only seven days after marriage) and to give her a yearly maintenance of Rs. 125.

Daughters.—Daughters do not inherit as long as any widow of the deceased owner is alive. The daughter also had to

1364. या च क्षुतिः—तस्मात्क्षियो ... अन्नापादा—इति सा पालीवत्तमे तत्पत्न्या अनेनास्तीत्येवंपरा। इन्द्रियशब्दस्य 'इन्द्रिय' इति सोमं प्रयोगदर्शनात्। परा. मा. III. p. 536. This explanation of the परा. मा. is noted by the स्व. प्र. p. 517, which adds that the sentence is only meant to extol the importance of the *Pātnivata* cup (of Soma). The स्व. नि. p. 459 has almost the same words as those of परा. मा.

struggle hard for recognition as heir just as the widow had. Gaut., Baud and Vas omit the daughter as an heir. Āp Dh. S. II. 6. 143 recognizes the daughter as an optional heir (probably with sapindas). When Manu IX. 130 declares, 'one's son is like one's self and one's daughter is equal to one's son; how can another person take the wealth (of the deceased) when she who is the very self (of the deceased) lives', it appears from the context (IX. 128-129) that it is the *putrikā* (the daughter appointed as a son) that is intended to be referred to therein. Medhātithi, Nārāyaṇa and Kullūka interpret the word 'duhitā' in Manu IX. 130 as applicable to the *putrikā* only. In the *Nirukta*,¹³⁶⁵ Yāska cites Rg. III. 31. 1 as relied upon by those who support the claims of the daughter to inheritance and also derives the word 'duhitā' in various ways, but from his explanation of Rg. III. 31. 1 it appears that he is referring to the *putrikā*'s right of inheritance. As the usage of appointing a daughter as a son became gradually obsolete, the ordinary daughter came to be recognized by analogy as the heir of a sonless man after the widow. Yāj. and Viṣṇu both recognize the daughter as an heir after the widow. Nār. (*dāyabhāga*, 50) recognizes¹³⁶⁶ the daughter as an heir after the son on the ground that she continues the lineage (of the deceased father) just like a son. When Nār. (*dāyabhāga*, 27) speaks of the daughter being entitled to maintenance till marriage, the context shows (as remarked by the Sm. C II. p. 296) that he is referring to the daughter of a person who was re-united at the time of his death. Br. declares¹³⁶⁷ (S. B. E. 33 p. 378 verses 55-56), 'the wife is declared to be the inheritor of the husband's wealth and, in default of her, the daughter; the daughter, like a son, springs from the limbs of a man: how can another man inherit her father's property while she lives?'. Though the words of Yāj, Viṣṇu and Br. were clear enough ancient com-

1365. अथैता दुहितृदायाद्य उदाहरन्ति । पुत्रदायाद्य इत्येके । शासद्वङ्किदुहित्वार्थं नादौ । (अ. ३. ३१. १); प्रशास्ति षोढा सन्तानकर्मणे दुहितु पुत्रभावम् । दुहिता दुहिता ह्येहिता दोग्धेर्वा । निरुक्त III. 3-4.

1366. पुत्रभावे तु दुहिता तुल्यसन्तानकारणात् । पुत्रश्च दुहिता भोभौ पितुः सन्तान-कारकौ ॥ नारद (दाय० ५०), या तस्य दुहिता तस्या पित्र्योऽंशे भरणे मत । आसत्कारं भजेरस्तां परतो विभूयात्पतिः ॥ नारद (दायभाग 27); स्यादेवं यदि नारदवचनं विभक्तविषयं स्यात् । संसृष्टविषयं तु तद्विति तस्यैव प्रवापरपर्यालोचनया स्पष्टमवगम्यते । स्मृतिच II. p. 296.

1367. भर्तृभनहरी पत्नी तां विना दुहिता स्मृता । अद्वन्द्वत्वात्सम्भवि पुत्रवद् दुहिता ह्येताम् । तस्मात्पितृधनं तन्यः कथं शृङ्खल मानवः । बृहस्पति ५. by the निता. on या II. 135, स्मृतिच II. p. 294, वि. १ p. 591.

mentators were not prepared to accept them in their literal sense. Viśvarūpa holds that Yāj. means only the putrikā and employs the plural in order to convey that several daughters may be appointed as sons. The Sm C. II. p. 295 informs us that the same opinion was held by Dhāreśvara, Devaśvāmin and Devarāta.¹³⁶⁸ The Mit. rightly refutes these views by saying that the word 'duhitarah' in Yāj. cannot refer to 'putrikā', since Yāj. has himself stated the putrikā as equal to the aurasa son (in II. 128), as the putrikā is included among the sons by Vas and as the widow and the daughters are declared by him as heirs in the absence of all the sons, principal and secondary Yāj., Viśnu, Br. are silent as to whether any discrimination was made between daughters as heirs. Kāt. (926) gives¹³⁶⁹ a preference to the unmarried daughter and the Mit. and the subsequent digests follow Kāt. The Dāyabhāga¹³⁷⁰ (XI. 2. 4 p. 175) quotes a prose passage of Parāśara preferring an unmarried daughter as an heir to a married daughter. Among married daughters the Mit., pressing into service a text of Gaut. on succession to stridhana, holds by analogy that among married daughters the indigent (or unprovided for) one is to be preferred to one who is well-placed.¹³⁷¹ Herein the Mit. follows common sense and the natural inclination of a father to feel more concern for a poor daughter. The Dāyabhāga prefers the unmarried daughter to the married daughter as is done by the Mit., but among married daughters Jimūtavāhana, following an author called Dikṣita, prefers one who has had a

1368. एवं सोपपत्तिकीं पत्न्यभावे दुहितुगामितां ब्रुवता बृहस्पतिर्नैव यद् दुहितुगामि धनमिति विधायकं पञ्चनजातं तत्पुत्रिकाविषयमेव न पुनरपुत्रिकादुहितुविषयमिति धारेश्वर-वेवस्यामिवैवरातमतं स्मृतितन्त्राभिज्ञत्वाभिमानोन्मादकल्पितं निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् । स्मृतिच. II. p. 295.

1369. तदभावे तु दुहिता पयस्वदा भवेत्तदा । कात्या. q by मिता. on पा II. 135. स्मृतिच. II p. 296 (reads यद्यनृद्धामतिष्ठिता), मद्. पा. p. 672, परा. ना III. p. 524.

1370. तत्र प्रथमं कन्यैवेका पितृधनदारिणी । यथा पराशरः । अङ्गुष्ठस्य सुतस्य कुमारी रिक्त्वं ब्रूहीयात् तदभावे स्त्रीदा । ऊडापदं पूर्वोक्तविशेषपरम् । द्वायभाग XI. 2. 4 p. 175. Vide *Jamnabai v. Khimji* 14 Bom. 1, 13 (for preference of unmarried daughter).

1371. तथा प्रतिष्ठितामतिष्ठितानां सुमवाये अपतिष्ठितैव तदभावे प्रतिष्ठिता । स्त्रीधनं दुहितुगाममत्तानाममतिष्ठितानां च—इति गोतमवचनस्य पितृधनेषु समानत्वात् । मिता. on पा. II 135. 'स्त्रीधनं ठितानां च' is गौ 28. 22. प्रत्ता means 'given in marriage'. अमतिष्ठिता means निर्धना acc. to the मिता, इय. मयूख p. 141, मयूख p. 520.

son or who is likely to have a son to a widowed or barren daughter or to one who has given birth only to daughters. This preference is due to the principle of the *Dayabhāga*¹³⁷² that spiritual benefit is the governing factor in succession. The barren daughter or widowed daughter is unable to confer spiritual benefit on her father since she will have no son that will offer pindas to the deceased owner (who will be the maternal grand-father.). The *Mitā* on the other hand relies on nearness of blood (*pratyāsatti*) as the guiding principle. But, as pointed out by the V.P. p. 519, the *Dayabhāga* is inconsistent. There is no reason on its own principle why the unmarried daughter should be preferred to a married daughter who has a son. The latter is then and there capable of conferring spiritual benefit while it is problematical whether the unmarried daughter will confer spiritual benefit (since she may after all be blessed with no son after marriage). *Aparārka* (p. 721) and V. R. (p. 517) give three meanings of the word '*apratisthita*' viz. 'childless, poor, widowed'. In deciding whether a particular married daughter is indigent as compared with another, the Courts refuse¹³⁷³ to go into nice or minute questions of the respective monetary positions of their husbands and prefer one to the other only if there is great disparity or marked difference between their positions.

According to all High Courts in India except that of Bombay a daughter's estate is similar to that of the widow. She takes only a limited interest, can only enjoy the usufruct of the property and cannot alienate it. On her death the estate passes not to her heirs, but to the next heir of her father. In Bombay,¹³⁷⁴ however, the daughter takes an absolute interest

1372. दूहितुरधिकारे सन्तानवर्कसि हेतुतया निगदितं सन्तानम् पिण्डदोषनिमित्तं, अपि-
ण्डद्वयाप्राप्त्यकारकत्वेन अन्यसन्तानादुत्तमानां प्राप्तिरपेक्ष्यते । दूहित्रश्च तत्पिण्डदाता ... ।
अतः दूहितृ सम्भावितदुत्रा अधिकारिणी । वक्ष्यात्वं विधवात्वं-दूहितृपदत्वादिना विपर्यस्त-
दुत्रा पुनरनधिकारिण्येवेति दूक्षितमतमावर्णयिष्ये । द्वायभाग XI. 2 1-3 p 175. एच. ए.
p 518 quotes this and remarks, तेनैव प्रथमं कथ्येवैका पितृपुत्राधिकारिणीत्यनेन वक्ष्ये-
नाभिधानात् । तदानीं च दूत्रसम्भावनानिश्चयाभावात् । हेतुनिर्देशरूपं प्रत्यासूयतिज्ञापनाम-
प्रदर्शकतयाऽनुपपत्तेः । एच. ए. p 529

1373. Vide *Totawa v. Basawa* 23 Bom 229; *Manki v. Kundan* 47 All 403.

1374. See *Bhagirthibai v. Kahnusirav* 11 Bom 285 (F. B.); *Vithappa v. Savitri* 34 Bom 510 (daughters take absolute estates in the Bombay Presidency).

in her father's estate when she succeeds as heir and on her death the estate will go to her own heirs.

A daughter is entitled to succeed, according to the decided cases, to her father's estate even if she be unchaste at the time of his death (except in cases governed by the *Dayabhāga*).¹³⁷⁵ The reason assigned is that *Kat.* and other *smṛti* writers do not expressly mention the requirement of chastity in the case of the daughter or mother as they do as regards the widow. According to the¹³⁷⁶ *Dayabhāga* (XI. 2. 8) Br. declares: 'a daughter equal in caste to the father and married to a husband of the same caste as her own, who is virtuous and intent on serving her husband, inherits her father's property'. Therefore a daughter who is unchaste cannot inherit. Further a daughter succeeds not because she is the daughter, but because she satisfies all conditions laid down by Br. The *Dayabhāga* (XI. 2. 31) further says that the word 'wife' (in XI. 1. 56) is merely illustrative and whatever restrictions are imposed on the wife apply to all women as heirs. The illegitimate daughter, even of a *sūdra*, has no right of inheritance to her father.¹³⁷⁷

By virtue of local or family custom daughters have in some cases been held to be excluded from inheritance.¹³⁷⁸

It may be noted that in his *Vaijāyanti* (on *Viṣṇu Dh. S. XVII. 5-6*) Nāṇḍapāṇḍita appears to have preferred a daughter-in-law to a daughter; but he stands practically alone in this. Vide Jolly's *T. L. L.* p. 199 and p. 286 for quotation which however is not found in the *D. C. Ms. No. 69* of the *Vaijāyanti*. The daughter-in-law is not an heir at all in the whole of India,

1375. Vide *Advayappa v. Rudrava* 4 Bom 104 (where the original *Smṛtis* and digests are cited at length and discussed); *Koyyadu v. Lakshmi* 5 Mad. 149, 156.

1376. सदाह वृद्धपतिः । सदाही सदाहेनोदा भर्तृवृद्धवणे रता । कुताकुता वा पुत्रवत् पितृधनहरी तु सा ॥ ... सेति च पूर्ववन्नोपासा इतिता परावृत्त्यते । तदेवं सदाही सदाहेनोदा वृद्धपतिविशेषणाक इतिमुमावतया पितृधनाधिकारितेति वर्णयति । ... बद्धा पत्नीत्युपलक्षणं कीमात्राधिकारेऽयमर्थः बोद्धव्य इति तात्पर्यम् । वाचभाग XI. 2. 8, 13, 31. Vide *Ramanand v. Ras Kishore* 22 Cal. 347 for the exclusion of the unchaste daughter from inheritance

1377. Vide *Bhikya v. Babu* 32 Bom 562 (holds that the illegitimate daughter of a *sūdra* has no right of inheritance as against the son of the *sūdra*'s brother)

1378. Vide *Bayrang v. Manokarnika* 35 1 A p. 1 (daughters held excluded by custom among Bhale Sultan Chhatris from Oudh).

except in Bombay (where she inherits as the widow of a *gotraja sapinda*) The Bālabhāṭṭi criticizes Nandapandita without naming him and holds that a daughter-in-law inherits only as a *gotraja* and not before a daughter.

Raghunandana in his comment on the *Dāyabhāga* makes the position about unchaste daughters quite clear¹³⁷⁹. The *smṛtis* give preference among daughters to an unmarried daughter i. e. to a daughter who is a virgin (*kumārī*). It has been held by the Indian High Courts that though chastity is not required in the case of daughters to entitle them to inherit, yet in a competition between a married daughter and a daughter who was never married, but became a concubine or prostitute, the latter would be postponed to the former as the latter is not a virgin though unmarried. Some *smṛtis* like *Parāśara*¹³⁸⁰ employ the word *kumārī* in speaking of daughters' succession, while others employ the word '*kanyā*', but both words are synonymous. In *Gownd v. Bhuku* 46 Bom. L. R. 699, where a man died leaving as heirs a married daughter and another daughter who never married, but was living as the permanent concubine of another man, it was held that the latter cannot inherit the property of her sonless father to the exclusion of or along with his married daughter. The old texts speak of only unmarried daughters and married daughters and prefer the former to the latter. *Medhātithi* on *Manu* IX 132 says that *kanyā* means a girl who has had no sexual intercourse with any man. The *Mit.* makes three classes of daughters succeed one after another viz (1) unmarried daughter, (2) indigent married daughter, (3) well-to-do married daughter. Judicial decisions have added a fourth variety viz unmarried daughter who has become a prostitute. This fourth class being a new one must be placed after the other three classes expressly mentioned by the texts and commentaries on the basis of the maxim (intruders or uninvited persons must be seated at the end of or after those

1379 पत्नीयुपलक्षणमिति । अमुष्मा ज्ञानं भर्तुः । दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयुः—इत्यादि कात्यायनवचनपरवचनपूर्वार्थं भर्तुर्धनहारी पत्नी या स्वाद्व्याधिवारिणी—इति पत्नीपदस्य लक्षणं पूर्वत्र एवे तु एकत्र दृष्टः शास्त्रार्थ इति न्यायेन पल्लवधिकारः, इह तु पत्नीपदेन लक्षणया द्विविधपल्लवारपि ग्रहणमिति भेदः । रघुनन्दन on दायभाग XI. 2 31 This is quoted in *Trasikya Nath v Radha* 30 C. L. J 235 (about mother) at p 240.

1380. अमुष्मर्य कुमारी रिकथं गृहीतासदृभावे चोदा चेति पराशरवचनासम्यक् कथं इति बालरूपः । नि. चि. p 153 ; the *Bālabhāṭṭi* also quotes पराशर almost in the same words. Vide *Tara v. Krishna* 31 Bom 495 (where the original authorities about the word '*kanyā*' are exhaustively dealt with).

that are specially invited) noted by Śabara on Jai. V. 2. 19 and X. 5. 1 and by Śankara on Vedāntasūtra IV. 3. 3 and employed by the V. Mayūkha (text p. 143) for settling the place of the paternal grandmother after the brother's son.

The daughter's son (dauhitra). On failure of daughters the daughter's son inherits. Gaut., Āp., Vas., are all silent about the daughter's son and so are Yāj. and Viṣṇu. But it has been plausibly urged by Viśvarūpa that, since¹³⁸¹ Yāj. himself has (in II. 134) stated that the illegitimate son of a śūdra takes the whole estate if there be no legitimate son provided there exists no heir up to the daughter's son, the latter must have been intended to be an heir by Yāj. taking after the daughters. The Madanapārijāta (p. 672) relies on the word 'ca' in Yāj. to bring in the daughter's son. Though the printed text of Viṣṇu Dh. S. is silent about the daughter's son, the Mit., the Dāyabhāga and others quote a verse of Viṣṇu,¹³⁸² 'when there is no continuance of lineage through sons and son's son the daughter's sons take the wealth (of the deceased owner); in offering śrāddha to the ancestors, daughter's sons are regarded as son's sons'. The V. Mayūkha (p. 142) includes a sūtra about the dauhitra in Viṣṇu Dh. S. Govindarāja, a commentator of Manu, is said by the Dāyabhāga, to have held, relying on this verse of Viṣṇu, that the daughter's son inherited the estate even before a married daughter of the deceased. But the Dāyabhāga did not approve of this view. The Dāyabhāga (XI. 2. 27) notes that Bālaśarma held that as the daughter's son was not expressly named by Yāj. he came in as an heir after all those that were expressly mentioned as heirs. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 17 distinguished¹³⁸³ between the putrikāputra and daughter but it is not clear whether Baud. intended to lay down that the dauhitra was an heir. In IX. 131-133 Manu expressly says that the dauhitra

1381. अश्वत्थस्तु बुद्धितृप्त्युत्तमाभावे सर्वभक्तृ रयाम्राज्ञाज्ज्ञया बुद्धरूपतिवचनक्षेप—
अनल्पपित. सर्वे राजा इरेत्तद्वत्तया कावरीधज इत्येके—इति। अस्मादेव च दौहित्राभाववचनाद्
द्विजातीनामपि पुत्राभावे दौहित्रा धनभाज इति। अत एव च मातामहभ्रातृनियमोपपत्तिः।
विष्णुरूपेण वा. 'अश्वत्थस्तु ... इति'.

1382 तथा गोविन्दराजेनापि मन्त्रदीकार्या—अपुत्रपौत्रे संसारे दौहित्रा धनमाप्नुयुः।
पूर्वेण तु स्वधकारे पौत्रा दौहित्रकाः सन्तः। एतद्विष्णुवचनबलेनोदातः प्रागेव दौहित्ररपाधि-
कारो दक्षितः। स चास्मभ्यं न रोचते। दायभाग IX 23-24 p 181. The Mitā. reads
'अपुत्रपौत्रसन्ताने' and महा: for समा:.

1383. अग्न्युपगम्य बुद्धिर्न जातं पुत्रिकापुत्रमन्यं दौहित्रम्। नौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 17.
The दायभाग XI. 2. 21 p. 181 quotes this and remarks, किं च स्मृतिषु दौहित्रपद-
द्विजाजातपरं नियम्य।

should inherit the entire wealth of a sonless man, that he should offer one pinda to his father and another to the maternal grandfather and that in religious matters there is no difference between a son's son and a daughter's son, since their father and mother (respectively) spring from the body of the deceased owner. The context and the wording of these verses show, as held by Kullūka and other commentators, that the daughter's son here referred to is the son of the appointed daughter. But Manu IX. 136 is somewhat clearer. It says, 'through a son born to a daughter from a husband of the same class, whether she be appointed (as a son) or not, the maternal grandfather becomes one having a son's son; that son should offer pinda and take the wealth of the maternal grandfather'. The Mit takes the word 'akṛtā' in this verse as referring to the ordinary daughter, while Medhatithi and Kullūka hold that this verse also only refers to the son of the putrika and that kṛtā means an appointed daughter with regard to whom an express agreement was made with her husband, while akṛtā means one (who is intended mentally to be appointed as a son) about whom there is no such express agreement. Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 379 verse 58) provides: 'just as (the daughter) gets ownership in her father's property (as an heir), though there may be other relatives, so her son also becomes the owner of his mother's and maternal grandfather's property'.¹³⁸⁴

The daughter's sons inherit *per capita* and not *per stirpes*. Suppose that A has two daughters B and C, that B has three sons and C has two sons, that then both B and C die in A's lifetime; on A's death his estate will be divided into five parts, each daughter's son taking one fifth.

A daughter's son is really a bandhu and a *bhūnagotra sapinda*, but owing to historical causes and the high religious efficacy of the śrāddha offered by him he has been given a very high place among heirs by express texts.

Parents (ptarau) Great divergence prevails among mediæval digests on the position of the father and the mother as heirs to their son. Yāj gives no clue as to which among the parents is to be preferred if both are alive when their son dies. The text of the

1384 यथा पितृधनं स्वाभ्यं कस्याः सत्त्वपि बन्धुषु । तथैव तत्सुतोपीडे मातुनातान्ने
पने ॥ बृह. q. by द्वापभाग XI. 2. 17. p. 180, न्य प्र. p. 521.

Visnu Dh. ¹³⁸⁵ S. as read by most digests places the father before the mother. Manu IX 217 states that when the son dies issueless the mother takes his wealth, while Manu IX. 185 provides that the father takes the wealth of a sonless man and the brothers also. So Manu is not definite about the preference among parents. Kāt. (927) observes, ¹³⁸⁶ ' of a sonless man (the heirs) are declared to be the wife of good family, the daughters, the father on failure of them, the mother, the brother and (the brother's) sons '. Br. (S. B E. 33 p. 379 v 63) says, ¹³⁸⁷ ' when a son dies without leaving his own wife or male issue, his mother is to be considered as her son's heir or a brother may succeed with the consent of the mother '. In this conflict it may be stated that the Mit, the Madanapārijāta, S. V (p. 416), the V. C., the V. P. prefer the mother to the father, while the Dayabhāga, the Sm. C., the Madanaratna, the V. Mayūkha prefer the father to the mother. Śrīkara ¹³⁸⁸ held that both parents, if alive, succeed together. But the Dayabhāga, Sm. C

1385. The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 4-16 read अपुत्रधनं पत्न्यभिगामि । तद्भावे दुहितृ-
गामि । तद्भावे पितृगामि । तद्भावे मातृगामि । तद्भावे भ्रातृगामि । तद्भावे भ्रातृपुत्रगामि ।
तद्भावे बन्धुगामि । तद्भावे सकुल्यगामि । तद्भावे सहाध्यायिगामि । तद्भावे ब्राह्मणधन-
वर्जं राजनामि । ब्राह्मणार्थं ब्राह्मणानाम् । वानप्रस्थधनमाचार्यो यक्षीयाच्छिष्यो वा । These
passages are cited as बृहद्विष्णु in the स्मृतिच., मदनरत्न (folio 100 b), व्य. प्र.
and some other digests and as बृहद्विष्णु by the मिता, the परा मा, व्यवहारसार
(p 252). Tho व्य. मयूख p 142 and मदनरत्न add तद्भावे दौहित्रगामि after
दुहितृगामि. The वि र p. 595 and वि चि p. 151 reverse the order and read
तद्भावे मातृगामि तद्भावे पितृगामि But the व्य प्र p 524 notes that such an order
is found in no other work and so must be taken to be a mistake. Even the
printed मिता reads पितृगामि first. तस्मात्स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-मदनरत्नकार-कल्पतरु-रत्ना-
कर-पारिजातकारप्रभृतीनां बहूनां पितृभावे मातृ. पुत्रधनधिकार इत्येव सिद्धान्तः । वाच-
स्पतिना तु तद्भावे मातृगामि तद्भावे पितृगामि—इति बृहद्विष्णुवचनं पठित्वा यथामिताक्षर-
मेव सिद्धान्तितम् । तत्तु कुत्रापि तद्विरुद्धग्रन्थे तथा पाठस्यालिखनाद् आन्तिविलसितमेव ।
व्य. प्र. p 524. It is, however, to be noted that in the printed वि र (p. 592)
the father is placed after the mother (मातृभावे पित्रादीनामधिकारस्य स्थितत्वात्).
So it is probable that the text of the वि र. was tampered with after the
time of मित्रमिश्र

1386 अपुत्रस्याय कुलजा पत्नी दुहितरोपि वा । तद्भावे पिता माता भ्राता पुत्राश्च
कीर्तिताः ॥ कार्या. q by मिता on चा II 135 (reads चार्यकुलजा), स्मृतिच. II
p. 299, परा मा. III. p. 526, व्य. मयूख p 141.

1387. भार्यासुतविहीनस्य तनयस्य सुतस्य तु । माता रिक्थहरी ज्ञेया भ्राता वा तद्व-
ञ्जया ॥ बृह. q. by अपराक्ष p. 744, स्मृतिच II. 299, दायभाग XI 3. 2 p 186.

1388. अत एव श्रीकरेण पित्रोर्विभज्य धनग्रहणसूक्तं तदप्ययुक्तम् । पिता हरेदुपुत्रस्य
रिक्थं, स्वपौत्रस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य माता दायमवाप्तुयात् इत्येताभ्यां ब्रीहियवयोनिरेषासाधनत्व-
वक्षिरपेक्षस्वामित्वमतीते । स्मृतिच. II. p. 297.

and others criticise this view. The reasons why the Mit. prefers the mother before the father are three, out of which two are based on grammar. The word 'pitarau' in Yāj. is what is called an 'ekāśeṣa' dvandva compound and in dissolving it or in the full-fledged dvandva the mother comes first in order and hence she should be preferred. Another reason is.¹³⁸⁹ A father may have several wives and sons from them all, so that a mother is directly related to her own son only and not to the other sons of her husband. So (the Mit. says) the mother has greater nearness (pratyāsatti) to her son than the father has. The Sm. C. (II p 297) refers to Jai V. 1 14 where the Vedic sentence 'sarasvatau bhavatah' is interpreted and it is stated that the first oblation is offered to Sarasvatī because the Yājñya and Anuvākya verses as first set out are meant for Sarasvatī (and not on the ground of the method in which the ekāśeṣa is dissolved); therefore as to pitarau also no reliance should be placed on the dissolution of the compound. Nīlakantha in the V. Mayūkha denies the assumptions based upon grammar, says that Pān does not direct that in dissolving the compound the word mātā must be employed first and there is no authority for doing so.¹³⁹⁰ But the V. P. says that though Pānini may

1389. पिता सपत्नीयुजैवपि साधारणः । माता तु न साधारणीति मत्यासत्यति-
शयोक्तीति विप्रलम्भसदृशमिदं न हि जननीजनकयोर्जन्य मतिः सन्निकर्षतात्पर्यमस्ति ।
स्मृतिच II p 297.

1390. The general rule is that several words that would be in the same case when separately used may be compounded together to form a dvandva, when they are employed to convey the sense of 'ca', as said in 'cārthe dvandvah' (Pān. II. 2 29). Such a compound is called dvandva and mātā-pitarau is an example of it. Another sūtra (I 2 64) of Pānini states that when words denoting several individuals of the same kind are to be compounded together, only one of them may be retained and that is called an ekāśeṣa compound, which is of two kinds, *sarūpa* (e. g. hamsaśca hamsaśca hamsau) and *virūpa* (when the two words are of different genders). The latter kind of ekāśeṣa is of restricted use. In such a compound when a male and female are associated together only the word in the masculine gender remains or the word 'pitṛ' when compounded with mātṛ (vide Pān. I. 2. 67 and I 2 70). Therefore we have two forms to denote the idea of parents viz. mātāpitarau or pitarau. In dissolving this compound (pitarau) we employ the phraseology 'mātā ca pitṛ ca' and in the word 'mātāpitarau' the word for mother comes first. Therefore among parents as heirs mother should come first. Vide pp. 242-244 of my notes to the V. Mayūkha (ed. of text) where both the Mit. passage and its criticism by the V. Mayūkha are explained at length. In *Balkrishna v. Lakshman* 14 Bom. 605 both the Mit. and Mayūkha's criticism thereof are set out (pp. 608-609).

contain no such direction, all grammatical works like the *Kaṣikā* dissolve the compound as 'mātā ca pitā ca' and grammatical usage for centuries supports the argument that the word *mātā* comes first¹³⁹¹. The argument about the mother being nearer is quite specious. Looked at from the son (whose inheritance is in question), the mother and father are both equally proximate. The V. P. holds that according to the maxim that even a slight ground of difference leads one to determine (priority) the mother should be preferred to the father (since we dissolve the compound as *mātā ca pitā ca*). The V. P. (p 525) further tries to get over the text of *Visnu* (putting the father before the mother) by explaining that if the mother is most worthy as a *pāturatā* and the father an ordinary man she should be preferred but if the father is more worthy than the mother he should be preferred. Hardly any one supports V. P. and the courts have not followed this. Owing to the difference of opinion among the digests on the question of the preference between parents as heirs, queer results follow. For example, in the province of Bombay itself the father is preferred as an heir to the mother in Gujerat, the island of Bombay and in Northern Konkan (because in these regions the V. Mayūkhā has been held to be of paramount authority), while in the rest of the Bombay Presidency the mother is preferred to the father as an heir. The mother takes a limited interest as an heir which is the same as the interest taken by a widow as heir to her husband. The father would take an absolute interest. The word mother includes an adoptive mother; that is, if an adopted son dies leaving no son, widow, daughter or daughter's son, the adoptive mother would succeed¹³⁹² to him as an heir (and even in preference to the adoptive father in those provinces where the *Mit.* is the supreme authority). In the case of a *dvyāmusyāyana* adoption, if the son adopted in that form dies leaving only his adoptive mother and natural mother, it has been held that both the mothers take his estate

1391. विग्रहवाक्ये यद्यपि पूर्वनिपातनियमो नादुःसासनसिद्धस्तथापि व्याख्यातुसम्भवात्प्राप्तिसिद्धोक्तयेव । न हि कापि पिता च माता च पितराविति विशुद्धं ह्रस्वते । किं तु माता च पिता च पितरावित्येतेष्वपि विशेषोऽध्यवसायकर इति व्यायेन तस्यापि विनिगमकता संभवतीत्यनेनाशयेन लघोक्तं. संभवः । व्य. म. 525.

1392 Vide *Anand*; v *Hari Suba* 33 Bom. 404 (where, in the case of a simple adopted son, the adoptive mother was preferred to the adoptive father).

as co-heiresses ¹³⁷³ It has further been held that if, after succeeding as adoptive mother to a dvyāmusyāyana son, the adoptive mother again adopts a son, the latter does not deprive the natural mother of the half share taken by her as heir of the deceased dvyāmusyāyana son.

The word 'mother' in the Mit. does not include a step-mother. The latter is not recognised as an heir of her step-son at all in the whole of India (except in Bombay) on account of the rule of the exclusion of women from inheritance ¹³⁹⁴ except where texts expressly mention them as heirs and the property would go to the crown instead of to the step-mother, if the latter alone were left, but she would be entitled to maintenance. In Bombay the step-mother would inherit as the widow of a gotraja sapinda, but she is assigned a remote ¹³⁹⁵ place among gotraja sapindas. If a widow remarries and then her son by her first husband dies without leaving a child, a widow, a daughter or daughter's son his remarried mother is allowed to inherit to him by the ¹³⁹⁶ Bombay High Court, though if she inherited first as a mother and then remarried, she is held by the same court to forfeit the inheritance taken (on account of section 2 of the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856).

The mother succeeding to her son takes only a limited estate i. e. she cannot alienate it except for legal necessity. If Vijñāneśvara's definition of strīdhana be literally interpreted even property inherited from a son would be strīdhana. There is a striking example in E. I. vol. XIV p. 83 (the Śrīrangam plates of Mummadi Nāyaka in śaka 1280) where a mother inheriting a village granted to her son Parāśarabhatta made a gift of it to the god Ranganātha at Śrīrangam.

1393 *Basappa v. Gurlingawa* 57 Bom. 74 (which holds that the adoptive mother and natural mother inherit equally). Vide *Kantawa v. Sangangowda* I. L. R. (1942) Bom. 303 for the effect of adoption by the adoptive mother on the estate taken by the natural mother from a dvyāmusyāyana son.

1394. Vide *Rama Nand v. Surgiam* 16 All. 221; *Tahaldai v. Gaya Pershad* 37 Cal. 214; *Seethai v. Nachiar* 37 Mad. 286, all holding that the step-mother does not inherit to her step-son.

1395. Vide *Kesserbai v. Valab* 4 Bom. 188 at p. 208 (for holding that 'step-mother' is not included in the term 'mother' in the Mit., but that she would inherit as the widow of a gotraja sapinda and so as gotraja sapinda herself). In this case numerous authorities are examined at length.

1396. Vide *Basappa v. Rayava* 29 Bom. 91 (F. B.) for remarried mother inheriting to her son (by the first husband) dying after her remarriage.

Brothers (bhrātarah) and *brother's sons*. Acc. to both Yāj. and Visnu, on failure of the parents the brothers succeed and on failure of brothers, brother's sons inherit. There were apparently conflicting texts, Śankha, Manu (IX. 185) and others giving the inheritance to the brothers even before the parents. All these are somehow reconciled and almost all digests from the Mit. downwards are agreed that brothers inherit after the parents. But again a conflict of views ensues. The Mit. says that among brothers, those of full blood inherit in preference to half brothers (i. e. sons of the same father but sprung from a different mother). It then says that on failure of both kinds of brothers, the inheritance goes to brother's sons; but even here the sons of full brothers are preferred to sons of half brothers. This view of the Mit. is shared by the Dāyabhāga and almost all eminent writers of digests except the author of the V. Mayūkha. The Mit. prefers the full brother to the half brother on the ground that the full brother has particles of the bodies of both the father and the mother of the deceased, while the half brother has only the particles of the father's body (the mother being different). Therefore the full brother is nearer than the half brother. The Dāyabhāga argues¹³⁹⁷ that the full brother offers pindas to the same three paternal ancestors and the same three maternal ancestors to whom the deceased was bound to offer pindas and is to be preferred to the half brother who offers pindas to the three paternal ancestors of the deceased alone (but not to the maternal ancestors of the deceased). This view of spiritual benefit being the governing principle in preferring the full brother to the half brother is accepted by Aparārka (p. 745)¹³⁹⁸. The reasons of the V. Mayūkha for preferring even the full brother's son to the half brother are: the word 'brothers' principally stands for 'brothers of the whole blood' (*sodara*) and only secondarily for brothers of the half blood. The general rule of Mīmāṃsā¹³⁹⁹ is that the same word is

1397. सापत्नरूप च सोद्वान्मुतदेययादपौरुषिकपिण्डदातृवृत्तयोग्यमात्रपित्रादिपिण्ड-
व्रयदातृतया जयत्यत्वात् । द्वापभाग XI. 5 12.

1398. संभ्रानकारकीभूतानां पित्रादीनां त्रयाणां चोदकादिदाता यश्च तत्सन्तति-
जोन्वोपि तेषामेवोदकादिदाता स तस्य भत्यासक्तः सपिण्डः । तदत्र तु सोद्वो भ्राताऽतिशयेन
भत्यासक्तः समानसम्भ्रानोदकादिदातृत्वात् । अपरार्क p. 745.

1399. मुख्य एव विनियोक्तयो मन्त्रो न गौण इति । कुतः उभयाशङ्क्यत्वात् । शबर
on जे. III. 2 1. Compare द्वापभाग III. 30 p. 67 (quoted on p. 606 n. 1145)
and न होकस्मिन्मकरणे एकस्मिन् वाक्ये एकः शब्दः सकृदुच्यतेति बहुभिः संबध्यमानः
कचित्संज्ञकः कचित्श्रौत इत्यभ्यवसातुं शङ्क्यम् । वैष्णवमसङ्गात् । शारिरकभाष्य on
ब्रह्मसूत्र II 4 3. Vide 6 Cal 119, 126 (F. B.) quoted in 41 I. A 290, 303-4
for this maxim.

not to be understood in the same sentence or rule as used in the primary and also in the secondary sense. Just as the word 'mother' applies only to the natural mother (and not to the step-mother), so *bhrātarah* should not include both full and half brothers. The V. Mayūkha is however wrong. As pointed out by the *Dayabhāga*, when Yāj. wants to speak of the full brother he employs the words '*sodara*' (Yāj. II. 138) and when he wants to refer to the half brother he employs the word '*anyodarya*' or '*anyamātrja*' (Yāj. II. 139). Therefore the word '*bhrātarah*' applies to both full and half brothers in the primary sense. There are other *smṛti* texts such as that of the *Smṛti-sangraha* stating that brothers are of two kinds viz. those of full blood and those of half blood.¹⁴⁰⁰

The Sm.¹⁴⁰¹ C. II. 300 refutes the view of some that the word '*bhrātarah*' in Yāj. is an *ekaśeṣa dvandva* compound that it means 'brothers and sisters' according to Pān. I. 2. 68' (*bhrātr-putrau śvasṛ-dukṣatrbhyām*) and that on failure of brothers sisters inherit. The V. Mayūkha¹⁴⁰² also does not accept this interpretation of '*bhrātarah*' advanced by some, since there is no reason why '*bhrātarah*' should be taken as an *ekaśeṣa* of the *vrūpa* kind (which is restricted only to rare cases) and not of the *sarūpa* kind. The *Balambhatti* supports the wider interpretation of '*bhrātarah*' and at one time the Bombay High Court was inclined to accept this

1400 सोदर्याः सन्त्यसोदर्या आतरो द्विविधा यदि । विद्यमानेष्वसोदर्ये सोदर्या एव भागिनः ॥ संग्रह पृ. by स्मृतिच II p 300, व्य प्र p. 527

1401. यद्यपि आतृपुत्रौ स्वदुहितृभ्यामिति ज्ञान्दस्मृत्या पुत्रेभ्य इत्यत्र विरूपैकशेषं कृत्वा दुहितृणामनुपवेशोत्र कर्तुं शक्यते तथापि पुमांसो द्यायादा न स्त्रिय-तस्मात्स्त्रियो भिरिन्द्रिया अद्यायादीः—इति श्रुतेरित्येतेनेदं निरस्तं यत्कैश्चिदुक्तम् । स्मृतिच II p. 300 पुत्रेभ्यः refers to Āp Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1. *Bhrātarah*, if it means only brothers, would be an *ekaśeṣa* of the *sarūpa* kind, but if it means 'brothers and sisters', it will be an *ekaśeṣa* of the *vrūpa* kind. The latter is to be resorted to only where there is a special reason to do so, as in the sentence 'bring two kukkutas, we shall make a pair of sponges' (and then kukkutan means a cock and a hen, while ordinarily it would mean 'two cocks'). कारणान्तरादिषु हि कुक्कुटानामन्य निधुनीकरिष्याम इत्येवमादौ विरूपैकशेषावगतिः । स्मृतिच II. p. 300.

1402 केचित्तु आतर इत्यत्र आतृपुत्रौ स्वदुहितृभ्यामित्यनुशासनमात्रं आतरश्च स्वसराश्च आतर इति विरूपैकशेषेण आत्रभावे भगिन्य इत्याहुस्तत्र । विरूपैकशेषे मानाभावात् । व्य. मयूख p. 142 ; आतृपुत्रौ इत्येकशेषेण आतृकसिद्धान्तरीत्या पूर्वं आता तदभावे स्वसा । बालम्भट्टी on व्यवहार p. 209.

interpretation.¹⁴⁰³ The above shows that some at least of the medieval and later Hindu jurists were more sympathetic and well disposed to the enlargement of the rights of women, though their views failed to secure general acceptance. It has been held that brothers by the same father (though by different mothers) are preferred to brothers by the same mother (though by different fathers), it being pointed out that "there is no provision in the *Mitākṣarā* or elsewhere for the sons born of the same mother after her remarriage being treated as brothers of the same womb for the purpose of inheritance so as to be included in the meaning of the word 'bhrātaraḥ' used in the texts."¹⁴⁰⁴ But Nandapandita expressly provides in his *Vaijayanti* the following order of succession among brothers and sisters of the whole and of the half blood: (1) brothers of the whole blood, (2) sisters of the whole blood, (3) brothers who are sons of the same father, (4) brothers who are sons of the same mother (vide Jolly T. L. L. pp. 208 and 287). Because *Manu* IX. 217 says that the wealth of a childless man is taken by the mother and that if the mother be dead, the father's mother would take it, the *Sm. C.* II. p. 299 places the paternal grandmother before the brothers, but it stands almost alone in this and the *Mit.* observes¹⁴⁰⁵ that *Manu* does not lay down the order but only provides that the paternal grand-mother is an heir capable of inheriting. The *V. P.* (p. 527) expresses its dissatisfaction with this method of the *Mit.* whereby only Yāj. and *Viṣṇu* are deemed to lay down the order in which heirs

1403 *Sakharam v. Sitabai* 3 Bom. 353 at p. 359-368 (where the *Mayūkha*, *Nandapandita* and *Bālabhāṭṭi* on the interpretation of 'brothers' in Yāj. are referred to), but vide *Mulji v. Cursandas* 24 Bom 563 and *Bhagwan v. Warudai* 32 Bom 300 for the proposition that the interpretation of the *Bālabhāṭṭi* has not been accepted by the courts as authoritative so far as the districts governed by the *Mit.* are concerned.

1404. Vide *Ekoba v. Kashiram* 46 Bom 716 at p 718. In *Narayan v. Laxman* 51 Bom. 784 it was held that the sister of a prostitute is entitled to succeed to the prostitute's property as a sapinda before the property goes to the Crown by escheat, relying (at p. 793) on the analogy afforded by a passage from the *Vaijayanti* of Nandapandita on the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* quoted in Dr. Jolly's T. L. L. on 'Partition &c.' pp 208 and 287. तत्र प्रथमं समानमातापितृका भ्रातरो युक्तीयुः । ... तदुभावे समानमातापितृका भगिन्यो युक्तीयुः । तदुभावे तु तेषां (भिक्षुद्वारा) युक्तीयुः । ... तत्रापि प्रथमं समानपितृका, पश्चात्समानमातृका बीजस्य माथान्यात्पत्यास्तत्तेश्च क्रमानियामकत्वात् । वैजयन्ती.

1405 पितृगता धनं हेतुवित्तस्य बन्धनस्य धनमद्वयविकास्मात्प्रस्तावकत्वे तत्सुतानन्तरं पितामही युक्तातीत्यतिरिक्तः । मिता. ०५ पा. II, 135.

take, while Manu, Śankha and others are deemed to be only concerned with declaring the right of certain persons to inherit.

The V. Mayūkha proposes a special order of inheritance as follows:—(1) full brothers; (2) then full brother's sons, (3) the gotraja sapindas of whom the first is the paternal grandmother, (4) then the sister, (5) then the paternal grandfather and the half brother at the same time, (6) then the paternal great-grandfather, paternal uncle and the half brother's son together. It should be noted that this conjoint inheritance by heirs of different degrees of ascent and descent which is peculiar to the Mayūkha has been regarded by the Bombay High Court as unknown in practice and obsolete ¹⁴⁰⁶ Therefore it is probable that even in districts governed by the Mayūkha the order of heirs after the paternal grandmother and full sister would be half brother, then half sister and then half brother's son and then it will be the same both according to the Mit and the Mayūkha.

The Mit. does not expressly mention the sister at all but the Bombay High Court has held her to be a very near heir even where the Mit. is paramount, placing her after the brothers (whether full or half), brother's sons (whether of the whole blood or half blood) and paternal grandmother, the difference from the Mayūkha being that under the latter the full sister comes only after the full brothers and full brother's sons and paternal grandmother and before half brothers and half brother's sons.

One passage of the Mayūkha, being wrongly translated by Borradaile, has led the courts (including the P. C.) to decide that full brothers succeed along with the sons of a deceased full brother wherever the Mayūkha is supreme. The passage of the Mayūkha as translated by Borradaile (vide Stokes H. L. Books p. 88, IV. 8. 17) runs "the sons of a brother also, if themselves fatherless, at the time of the paternal uncle's death, provided they are capable of understanding (the use of) property, will divide the father's share with their father's other brothers, after the example 'among grandsons by different fathers, the allotment of shares is according to the fathers'".

¹⁴⁰⁶ Vide *Sakharam v. Sitabai* 3 Bom. 353 at p. 363; *Kesserbai v. Valab* 4 Bom. 188 at p. 208.

The text of the Mayūkha is given in the note below. It is¹⁴⁰⁷ almost the same as a passage of the Mitākṣarā, which has not been misunderstood. Both passages contemplate a case like this A dies leaving B, C, D, his brothers, as his nearest heirs, so that A's estate vests in interest in B, C, D. Before the estate of A is actually divided by metes and bounds, B dies leaving three sons E, F, G. The last three had no right to the property of A at their uncle A's death because their father B was living at the time (i. e. *pitravyamananukūle jivatpitrkatayā asaṅjāta-dhanasambandhāh*). Yet when the property is later on actually to be divided they (E, F, G) will take the share which their father B would have taken if the property of A had been divided at the moment of A's death. Here a distinction is drawn between vesting of property (*dhanasambandha*) and its actual partition. But, in order to entitle nephews to take by actual partition, their father should have survived the deceased. This is the real meaning.

The Privy¹⁴⁰⁸ Council, following a wrong translation, held that, under the law of the V. Mayūkha, brothers and the sons

1407. *ब्राह्मणं अपि पितृव्यमरणकाले जीवत्पितृकतया सञ्जातधनसम्बन्धाच्चेत्-अनेक-पितृकार्णां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना-इति न्यायेन पितृव्यमर्शं पितृव्यान्तरैः सह विभज्य युक्तीयुः ।* स्प. मधुख p 142, it appears that Borradaile read मरणकालेऽजीवत्पितृकतया and misunderstood असञ्जातधनसम्बन्धाः. Compare मित्ता. 'यदा त्वय्ये आतरि स्वयंति तद्वत्प्राणामविशेषेण धनसम्बन्धे जाते ब्राह्मणविभक्त्यामेव यदि कश्चिद् आता मृतस्तदा तद्युक्ताया पितृतोधिकारे प्रति तेषां ब्राह्मणां च विभज्य धनग्रहणे पितृतो भागकल्पनेति युक्तम्'. Vide स्प. p 528 for a passage similar to the Mit. The मदनरत्न (folio 101 a) and मधु. पृ. p 672 have also a similar passage

1408 Vide *Chandika v Muna* L. R. 29 I A. 70 where this rule was applied to Ahhan Tbakurs that had migrated from Gujerat to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh before the V. Mayūkha was composed, on the ground that the Mayūkha only embodied and defined pre-existing customs. There was thus a double error. The Mayūkha was misunderstood and further the Mayūkha had nothing to do with Gujerat usages as it was composed by a Mahārāstra brāhmaṇa whose family had migrated to Benares. It may be true to some extent as a general proposition that commentators and digest writers embody pre-existing customs of the districts where they wrote. But often times this is not so and varying statements of the law are due to individual opinions. For example, the Mayūkha provides for the simultaneous succession of the paternal great-grandfather, the paternal uncle and the half brother's son; but the Bombay High Court has discarded this view of the Mayūkha. The Mayūkha places the father before the mother as an heir, but V. T. composed by Nilalantha's own first cousin

(Continued on the next page)

of a brother that died *before* the propositus (the brother inheritance to whom is in question) shared the estate of the latter. This erroneous decision has been persisted in to this day on the principle of *stare decisis*. The view of the Vijayanti about the sons of the same woman from different husbands being sapindas of each other has already been noted (p. 727). Govindarāja on Manu III 11 says that it is wellknown that children of different fathers but of the same mother are spoken of as brother and sister. Kullūka on Manu III 11 refers to this view of Govindarāja.¹⁴⁰⁹

A question arises whether the distinction between full blood and half blood made by the Mit in the case of brothers and nephews was to be carried beyond them. Though a Full Bench¹⁴¹⁰ of the Bombay High Court held that the distinction was not to be carried beyond brothers and nephews and that paternal uncles of the half blood inherited along with paternal uncles of the full blood, the Privy Council overruled this decision and held that the preference of the whole blood to the half blood extends to all sapindas of the same degree from the common ancestor (and therefore a paternal uncle of the whole blood excludes one of the half blood). The Madanapārijāta¹⁴¹¹ p. 674 expressly extends the preference of the whole blood to paternal uncles.

(Continued from the last page)

places the mother before the father (folios 139-140). Following this case it was held in *Haridas v. Ranchoidas* 5 Bom L R 516 that the son of a predeceased brother inherited along with the brothers of the deceased. This rule is not to be carried beyond brothers and brothers' sons. In *Kesarlal v. Jagubhai* 49 Bom 282 the differing translations of the Mayūkhya were referred to (at p 286), it was held that the principle of *stare decisis* required that the Privy Council decision should be followed and the estate of a deceased brother was allowed to devolve on the sons of a brother that had died *before* the deceased along with the surviving brother.

1409 भिक्षपितृकपोरप्येकमातृकयोर्भ्रातृत्वमसिद्धे । गोविन्दराज on मनु III 11.

1410 Vide *Shankar v. Kashinath* 51 Bom 194 (F B.), where the relevant texts are discussed, over-ruled in *Mahant Garuddas v. Mahant Laladas* L R 60 I A 189

1411. पितृभ्रातृभ्रातृणांमित्रपितामहस्याभावे पितृव्यास्तत्रापि सोदरभिक्षोदरव्याख्या पूर्ववदेव । साक्षतत्पितामहीपुत्रा प्रथमं धनभाजस्तद्भावे सापत्नपितामहीपुत्रा । मद्. पा. P 674.

It is noteworthy that the Viramitrodaya which generally follows the Mit invokes the principle of spiritual benefit in preferring the full brother's son to the half brother's son ¹⁴¹²

The heirs from the wife to the brother's sons are spoken of as 'baddhakrama' (lit whose order is fixed) in the Mit., the V. Mayūkha (p. 143) and other works and as 'the compact series (of heirs)' in the case law. For example, in rejecting the view of some that rely on Manu IX. 217 that the father's mother succeeds immediately after the mother, it is said that the heirs from the parents to the brother's son being mentioned in a fixed order (by Yāj.), no place can be found for the father's mother in the fixed series of heirs and that Manu IX. 187 indicates only this that the father's mother is an heir. ¹⁴¹³ The V. Mayūkha relies on the popular maxim that when certain persons are specially invited for a meeting or a dinner they are seated on seats definitely allotted to them but that those who come uninvited are assigned places at the end of the row of those who were specially invited ¹⁴¹⁴

The question arises whether the brother's son's son inherits immediately after the brother's son and before any other heir. There is a conflict among Sanskrit writers on this point. The Sm. C. II p. 300, ¹⁴¹⁵ the Subodhīni, the Madanapārijāta (p. 673) say that the compact series ends with the brother's son, while Aparārka, Varadarāja (V. Nir. p. 453) and the Vaijayanti of Nandapāṇḍita hold that the brother's son's son comes immediate-

1412 शुक्तं चैतत् । असौद्वर्गपुत्रो हि धनिनो मातरं विहाय स्वपितामहीविशिष्टस्य धनिपितुः पिण्डं ददातीति सौद्वर्गादुपवाञ्जयन्तदन्तरमेवाधिकारीति । व्य. म. p. 528.

1413. मातर्यापि च वृत्तायां पितुर्माता धनं हरेदिति मात्रनन्तरं पितामह्या धनग्रहणे माते पित्रादीनां प्राप्त्यस्तत्पर्यन्तानां बद्धक्रमत्वेन मध्येऽन्वेषाभावात् । मिता on वा II. 135. पक्षपीठं (पितामही) मातुरनन्तरं श्रुता तथापि बद्धक्रमप्राप्त्युपान्तेषु मध्ये निवेशा-योगादगन्तुनामन्ते निवेश इतिवद् प्राप्त्युपान्ते निवेशः । व्य. मयूख p. 143.

1414. For आगन्तुनामन्ते निवेशः, vide शबर on जे. X. 5 1 'यथा समाजेषु समसेषु च ये आगन्तव्यो भवन्ति ते पूर्वोपविष्टानल्लपमृद्यैव भविष्यन्ते एवमिहापि द्रष्टव्यम् ।' Vide also शबर on जे. V. 2 19, शारीरकभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र IV. 3 3 and मामनी 'आगन्तुनां निवेशोन्ते स्थानाभावात् प्रसाधितः'. In Mohandas v. Krishnabai 5 Bom. 597 this maxim is quoted and it is said that it applies only to the compact series of heirs and that it does not apply to the list of bandhus enumerated by Nālikantha (p. 602). The maxim is also relied on in Govind Bhaushet v. Bhiku 46 Bom. L. R. 699.

1415 गोत्रजा इति धनभाज इति शेषः । गोत्रजशब्दोऽत्र गोत्रलीङ्गवर्णनायात् पूर्वोक्त-पितृश्राद्धतत्त्वव्यतिरिक्तपितामहसुतादिगोत्रजेषु वर्तते । Sm. C. II p. 300, vide V. P. f. 528 for almost the same words.

ly after the brother's son. A Full Bench of the¹⁴¹⁶ Bombay High Court holds, basing its decision on the usage of the province, that the compact series ends with the brother's son, while the Privy Council would seem to lend colour to the view that in the Benares school it ends with the brother's son's son. The *Dāyabhāga* (XI. 6. 6 p. 208) places the brother's son's son immediately after the brother's son on the ground of the superior efficacy of the pindas offered by him.

Gotrajas (lit. 'those born in the same gotra' or agnates). Yāj. says that on failure of the heirs up to brother's sons the *gotrajas* succeed. Though one's father, brothers and brother's sons also are really *gotrajas*, they are expressly assigned certain fixed places in the order of heirs and other persons born in the gotra are included in the term *gotrajas* on the analogy of such an example as 'let the cattle be brought and also the bulls' where the bulls, though really included under 'cattle' (*gūṛvaḥ*), are separately mentioned in order to emphasize that special attention must be paid to them on account of their intractable nature. Vide p 526 note 966 above. Acc. to the *Mit.* *gotrajas* are the father's mother (as the first among them), then other *sapindas* and *samānodakas*. The *V. Mayūkha* (p 143) also says the same thing and places the father's mother as the first among *gotraja sapindas*. It may be remarked that Yāj. avoids the word *sapinda* and employs the word *gotraja*. The *Mit.* and *Mayūkha* state that *sapindas* succeed as heirs and that *sapindas* are of two kinds, viz. *gotrajas* (born in or having the same gotra as the *propositus*) and those that are born in (or are of) a different gotra. These latter (viz. *bhūnagotra sapindas*) are designated as *bandhus* by Yāj. Therefore it comes to this that, though Yāj. does not employ the word *sapinda*, the inheritance goes after the brother's son to the nearest *sapinda*. Yāj. knew the word 'sapinda' (I. 52) and defines the limits of *sapinda* relationship for marriage (in I. 53), from which it follows that he does not use the word *sapinda* in the sense given to the word by *Jimūtavāhana*. In I. 68 Yāj. mentions both *sapinda* and *sagotra* (in the matter of *nyoga*) and thereby indicates two things viz. that the words were not synonymous and that *sagotra* had the same sense as *gotraja*.

1416. Vide *Appayi v Mohanlal* 54 Bom 564 (F B), in which *Buddha Singh v. Lattu Singh* L. R. 42 I. A. 208 was distinguished on the ground that it was not an express decision on the question whether the compact series of heirs ended with the brother's son.

Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 2 provides¹⁴¹⁷ that 'on failure of sons the nearest sapinda' (inherits). Manu¹⁴¹⁸ IX. 187 is the classical text on this point, which appears to mean literally, 'whoever is nearest from among the sapindas, to him the estate (of the deceased) shall belong'. This verse has been variously explained by the commentators and digests and variously translated by eminent Judges and writers on Hindu Law. The chief difficulty lies in the expression 'sapindādyah' and the words 'tasya tasya'. Some take the first as equal to two words 'sapindāt yah' and others as one word 'sapindādyah' (sapinda and the like). Some take one 'tasya' (of him) as referring to the deceased and the other to the inheritor; while others take 'tasya tasya' as both referring to the inheritor alone, corresponding to 'yah' (one more 'yah' being suppressed for the sake of metre). Though the printed text and most of the commentators read the half verse of Manu as in the note below there are several digests that read it differently. For example, the Sm. C II. p. 301 reads it as 'yo yo hyanantarāh pindāt' and quotes Dhāreśvara's explanation that 'pindāt' means 'sapindāt'. Kullūka and the Dāyatattva p. 195 explain 'sapindāt' as 'sapindamadyāt' (from among sapindas) and this appears to be the best explanation. Br.¹⁴¹⁹ (S. B. E. 33 p. 379 verse 62)

1417. पुत्राभावे यः प्रत्यासक्तः सपिण्डः । आप ध सू II. 6. 14. 2.

1418. अनन्तर. सपिण्डाद्यस्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेत् । Manu IX. 187. Vide Bühler's note on this in S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. 366-368 for the varying interpretations of commentators. Bühler is not right when he emphatically says- "On philological grounds it seems to me improbable that 'anantarāh sapindāt' can mean anything else than 'nearest to the sapinda' and that this sapinda can be anybody else than the deceased". In the first place the singular 'sapindāt' can be easily interpreted as used in a generic sense (*jātāvekaṣaṇṇam*) i. e. as meaning 'sapindēbhyah' (from among sapindas). In Ap. Br. and other works wherever inheritance is spoken of, it is the inheritor who is required to be the *sapinda* or *bāndhava* or *sakulya* and the deceased is hardly anywhere spoken of as the sapinda of the inheritor but rather as 'mrta', 'svayāta', 'dhanin' &c. The verse of Manu is variously read. अनन्तरः सपिण्डो यस्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेत् । न्यस नि. p. 451, मदनरत्न (folio 100 a), यो यो ह्यनन्तरः पिण्डास्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेत् । तदेतद् धारेश्वरी व्याचष्टे यो यो ह्यनन्तरः पिण्डादित्यत्र पिण्डात्सपिण्डादित्यर्थो ब्रह्मणः । स्मृतिच 17 301, व्यवहारसार p. 254 reads as यो यो as in स्मृतिच 'अनन्तरः सपिण्डाद्य इत्यनेन यः सपिण्डात्सनिहितः तस्य सपिण्डसनिहितस्य धनं सपिण्डस्य सनिहितस्य धनं भवेदिति विहितत्वात् । सुबोधितः p. 71.

1419. एतयो ज्ञातयो यत्र सकुल्या बान्धवास्तथा । यस्त्वासक्ततस्तेषा सोऽन्यत्पधनं हरेत् ॥ दृष्ट. प. ५ स्मृतिच II. p. 301, मदनरत्न (folio 101 a), परा. मा III p. 529, दायतत्त्व p. 195, च्य. प्र p. 527. The स्मृतिच and मदनरत्न explain ज्ञातयः सपिण्डाः सकुल्या. समानीदका । बान्धवा ... स्मृत्यन्तरे दर्शिता आत्मपितृव्यस्य पुत्रा ॥

says, 'when there are several *agnates*, *sakulyas* and *bāndhavas* (cognates), whosoever of them is the nearest shall take the wealth of him that dies without issue'.

The important question is what is the meaning of the word 'sapinda'. The *Mitākṣarā* and the *Dayabhāga* propound two different meanings of the word that have been explained at length in II. of Dh vol. II, pp. 452-458 and 472-477. Therefore it is not necessary to repeat those explanations. The word 'sapinda' is employed by Pāṇini (IV. 1. 165) in connection with the technical definition of *gotra* (Pān. IV. 1. 162) given by him. It appears to have been used in the sense of blood relationship as stated by the *Kāśikā*. According to the *Mit* the right to inheritance depends upon blood relationship (connection through particles of the same body, *ekasārīrāyavānraya*) and the preference among those who are blood relations is determined by nearness or propinquity (*pratyūṣatti*). According to the *Dayabhāga*, sapinda relationships is based on religious efficacy i. e. on the capacity to offer the cake or ball of rice in *śrāddha* and it has evolved a peculiar method of determining preference which will be explained immediately below. That there appears to have been a close connection between taking the wealth of the deceased and offering *śrāddha* to him may be admitted. But the question is whether a person was deemed to be an heir and entitled to take the estate of the deceased because he offered *śrāddha* to that person or whether the heirship was originally determined on other grounds and whoever took the estate was saddled with the responsibility of performing *śrāddhas* for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. It is difficult to give a convincing answer to this. It appears, however, that ancient *sūtras* do not emphasize the religious efficacy of pindas as the determining principle in heirship. *Āp.*, *Manu*, *Br.* (particularly the first and last) speak only of nearness (which more naturally means 'nearness of blood'). *Yāj* omits the word sapinda altogether in mentioning heirs. *Manu* IX. 142 states that pinda follows the gotra and riktha (wealth). *Viṣṇu* Dh. S. XV. 40 declares, 'whoever inherits the estate (of the deceased) has to offer pinda to him'. This rule is emphasized even by those works (like *V. Mayūkha*)¹⁴²⁰ that make blood relationship

1420 मृतस्य रिक्थग्राहिणा येन केनापि राजपर्यन्तेनौर्ध्वदेहिक दशाहान्त कार्ष्णं । तथा च विष्णुः । यश्चाथेह स पिण्डदायी मृतः—इति । एष. मयूख p. 145, यो धन-साद्वीत स तस्मै आर्द्धं कुर्यात्पिण्डं च त्रिपुरव्यं दद्यात् । मृति q by अपरार्क p 746, मेधा on मनु IX 132, वि २ p 599 and बालम्बही II p 207 (ascribes to इह-ज्ञातातप) त्रयाणां तुल्योपकारित्वं च पार्ष्णानिधिनो पिण्डदानेन स्पष्टम् । एष. म. 504

the test of heirship by saying that whoever even including the king (who takes by escheat on failure of all heirs) that takes the estate of the deceased must perform or arrange for the performance of the funeral ceremonies of the deceased up to 10 days after death and the *śrāddhas*, as said by the *Brahmapurāṇa* 220 79 (*tadabhāve ca nṛpatih kārayetvavakutumbināṇi tajjatyair-narairh samyak-dāhādyaḥ sakalāḥ kriyāḥ*) The *Mit.* view is upheld by V. R., V. C., Par. M., *Madanapārijāta*, *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, V. *Mayūkha*, *Bālabhāṭṭi* and many other works. The theory of the *Dāyabhāga* is propounded by only a few medieval works and writers like *Aparārka* (quoted above on p 725), *Raghunandana*, *Nandapandita*. The *Vīramitrodaya* generally follows the *Mit.* but in certain cases it relies on or refers to the principle of religious efficacy in preferring one heir to another, as for example, in preferring the full brother to the step-brother (compare note 1397 and V. P. p 528) or in preferring three male descendants to the widow. It is therefore that the Privy Council remark,¹⁴²¹ 'now it is absolutely clear that under the *Mitākṣarā* while the right of inheritance arises from blood relationship or community of blood, in judging of the nearness of blood relationship or propinquity among the *gotrajas* the test to be applied to discover the preferential heir is the capacity to offer oblations'. Its position is peculiar.¹⁴²² It says that the capacity to offer *pindas* is not the governing principle as to heirship, but it is only useful in finding out the preferential heir among *gotrajas*.

Visnu quoted by the *Mit.* (not found in the printed *Dharmasūtra*) prescribes 'If there be no son or grandson left for continuing the line, the daughter's sons shall take the wealth, for in regard to the obsequies of ancestors daughter's sons are regarded as son's sons'. This is in line with *Manu* IX. 136 (cited above on p 720) which says that the daughter's son should offer the *pinda* and take the wealth. Therefore it appears that *Manu*, *Visnu* and others relied upon the capacity for the offering of *pinda* as the reason for being entitled as heir, but that this idea was vague and not elaborated in any way. The idea that blood relationship settled the right to inheritance is implicit in the order of heirs in *Yāj. Yāj.* (II. 127) in speaking of the *ksetraja* son says that he inherits the wealth of both (the

1421 Vide *Buddha Singh & Lalit Singh* 42 I. A. 208 at p 227.

1422 नहि पिण्डदानाधिकार एव दायग्रहणे प्रयोजकः, ज्येष्ठे सति कनीयसामनाधिकारेपि दायग्रहणम् । गोत्रजादीनां दायग्रहणसम्पत्तेया समयापे पिण्डदानाशुपकारिण धनप्राप्तिनो यस्तदुपकारिष्वार्त्तकपर न तु तदेव प्रयोजकम् । च. प. प. 461,

begetter and the husband of the wife on whom he is begotten) and offers pinda to both. He *does not* state that because he offers pinda to both he inherits the wealth. So this verse also favours the view that offering of pinda was a duty laid upon him who took the wealth (except in the case of male issue). Hence it appears that the theory of the Mit. also has a very respectable antiquity and further it has been followed by most medieval writers throughout India (except in Bengal).

The argument of the *Dayabhāga* (which was propounded before it by a writer probably named Udyota¹⁴²³) that the taking of a deceased person's estate depends upon the spiritual benefit conferred on him is briefly as follows. It relies principally on Baudh. S. and Manu. In the section on the partition of wealth (which begins from IX. 103) Manu (IX. 137) declares the super-eminent spiritual benefits conferred by the son, grandson and great-grandson; further (in IX. 106) Manu states that the son gets all wealth from his father because he frees the latter from debt, that (in IX. 139) the daughter's son also is spoken of as saving the grandfather in the next world and as therefore entitled to the grandfather's wealth, that the verse immediately preceding Manu IX. 187 (declaring that the nearest amongst sapindas inherits) speaks of the offering of pinda to three ancestors; and since it is reasonable to presume that the blind and the like are excluded from inheritance (Manu IX. 201) because they are incapable of performing religious rites, it follows that Manu and others regarded the taking of wealth as dependent on the conferring of spiritual benefit. This point of view the *Dayabhāga* emphasizes at every step. It¹⁴²⁴ says: "There are two purposes for which wealth is acquired, viz. for worldly enjoyment and for the unseen or spiritual benefit derived from making gifts and the like; but when the acquirer is dead, he cannot have enjoyment of the wealth and the only purpose that remains is the unseen purpose or benefit. It is therefore that Br. says, 'from the wealth inherited, the inheritor should carefully set apart half for the benefit of the deceased for defraying the expenses of the

1423. उपकारकलैव धनसम्बन्धो न्यायमासौ मन्वादीनामभिमत इति मन्यते । इति निरवद्यविद्योद्योतेन द्योतितोऽयमर्थो विद्वद्भिरादरणीयः । वायभाग XI 6. 31-32 p. 216.

1424 धनार्जनस्य हि प्रयोजनद्वयं भोगार्थत्वं दानाद्यह्वयार्थत्वं च । तत्रार्जकस्य तु वृत्त-
त्वाद्भवे भोग्यत्वाभावेनाह्वयार्थत्वमेव सिद्धम् । अत एव ब्रूहस्पतिः । ससृत्पत्नाद् धनादर्थं तदर्थं
स्थापयेद् वृथक् । मासवाण्यासिके आग्ने वाषिके च भयनतः ॥ वायभाग XI. 6. 13. The
verse of ब्रह्म is q. by वि. र. p. 595, व्यव. नि. p. 447, विवादचन्द्र p. 81.

monthly, six-monthly and annual śrāddhas". The subject of śrāddhas will be dealt with in another volume. But here it is necessary to say a few words for making the position of the Dāyabhāga clear. Among the several kinds of śrāddhas two deserve notice, viz. *Ekoddīṣṭa* and *Pārvana*.¹⁴²⁵ The first (*ekoddīṣṭa*) is performed for the benefit of a single deceased person. There are sixteen such śrāddhas performed for the benefit of the deceased during the course of one year after his death or on the 11th day of death. And every year on the anniversary of death an *ekoddīṣṭa* śrāddha may be performed for a deceased person. The *pārvana* śrāddha is performed on certain specified days, such as the *amāvāsya* of a month, or particularly in the dark half or on the *amāvāsya* of Bhādrapada or on a *saṅkrānti*. In this śrāddha the three deceased paternal ancestors of the performer are principally invoked and the three deceased paternal ancestors of his mother are also invoked but their invocation is secondary and is dependent on the principal invocation. There is one more word that must be explained here viz. *sapindikāna* or *sapindikarāna*. This is a śrāddha rite performed one year after the death of a person or on the 12th day from his death. By this śrāddha the person recently deceased ceases to be a *preta* (a departed spirit) and is elevated to the rank of *pitrs* (Manes). The widow and daughter can perform only the *ekoddīṣṭa* śrāddha, while sons, grandsons and great-grandsons can perform the *pārvana* śrāddha also. The Dāyabhāga refers (XI. 1. 34 p. 162) to the fact that the three male descendants, by performing the *pārvana* śrāddha, confer great spiritual benefit on the owner (compare note 1342 above). Elsewhere (XI. 7. 17 p. 211) it designates the *pārvana* as 'traipurusika' (i. e. performed for the benefit of three ancestors). When speaking of the right of the widow to inherit it emphasizes (XI. 1. 43 p. 165), by quoting verses from Vyāsa,¹⁴²⁶ that

1425. 'एकं उद्दिष्टं यस्मिन् आद्धे तदेकोद्दिष्टमिति कर्मनामधेयम्' । मिता. on या I 251. तत्र त्रिपुरपाद्विज्ञेन यत्क्रियते तत्पार्वणम् । एकपुरुषोद्दिष्टेन क्रियमाणमेकोद्दिष्टम् । मिता on या I 217. पार्वण means 'performed on a *parvan* day' Acc. to the विष्णुपुराण III 11. 118 the *parvan* days are, अमावास्या, पौर्णिमा, चतुर्दशी, अष्टमी and रविविंशति भविष्यपुराण q in आद्धतत्त्व p 192 defines the पार्वणआद्ध as 'अमावास्यां यत्क्रियते तत्पार्वणमुदाहृतम् । क्रियते वा पर्वणि यत्तत्पार्वणमिति स्मृतिः'.

1426 तदाह व्यासः । मृते भर्तरे साध्वी स्त्री ब्रह्मचर्यव्रते स्थिता । स्नाता प्रतिदिनं दद्यात्स्वभक्षं सतिलाञ्जलीम् ॥ ..लोकान्तरस्थं भर्तारमात्मानं च वरानने । तारपत्युभयं नारी नित्यं धर्मपरायणा ॥ तदेवमादिभिर्विचनैः पत्न्या अपि नरकनिस्तापकवञ्चते धनहीनतया कार्या कुर्वती पुण्यापुण्यफलसमन्वितं भर्तारमपि पातयतीति तदर्थं तद्धनं पूर्वस्वाभ्यर्थमेव भवतीति युक्तं पत्न्याः स्वाभ्यर्थम् । दायभाग XI. 1. 43-44 p. 165. This is quoted in च. प्र p 509.

a widow by leading a chaste life, by offering water mixed with sesame every day to her deceased husband, by making gifts and observing fasts saves himself and her husband in the next world. It adds that if the widow misbehaves she makes her husband fall, as husband and wife share in the fruits of each other's good and evil deeds. Therefore the widow takes her husband's wealth for his benefit Brhan-Manu (q. by the *Dayabhāga* XI. 1. 7 and by the *Mit.*) declares that a sonless chaste widow should offer pinda to her husband and take his entire estate. Similarly *Prajāpati* (cited above on p 709 and quoted by even the *V. Mayūkha* and other works of the *Mitaksarā* school) requires the widow who inherits all the movable and immovable property of her deceased husband to perform the monthly, six-monthly and annual *śrāddhas* of her husband.¹⁴²⁷ Similarly the *Dayabhāga* allows the unmarried daughter or a married daughter having a son (or who is likely to have a son) to inherit because her son will offer pinda to the owner who will be the maternal grand-father. It prefers the daughter's son¹⁴²⁸ as an heir even to the father because the former offers a pinda to the owner himself, while the father offers pindas to two of the three paternal ancestors to whom the owner would have been bound to offer pindas. The *D. B.* winds up by saying¹⁴²⁹ that the order of inheritors must be followed in such a way that the wealth of the deceased may be most beneficial to (the soul of) the deceased. In certain respects the *D. B.* does not strictly and logically follow its own theory but is compelled to twist it by reason of the places assigned by special

1427. On आद्याय द्वापयेच्छाद् मासवाण्मासिकाद्विकम् (vide n 1358 above), वि. १ p 590 says: केचित्त्रिया पार्वणमप्याहुस्तास्त्रिविधाष आह्वाने परिगणयति मास-वाण्मासिकाद्विकमिति । ... आदिशब्देन एकादशसपिण्डनभृत्यवृत्तकर्मपक्षमाह आह्वाने श्रद्धांति । अतो नाग्न्यत्कुर्याद् ।

1428. पिण्डदानमेव च द्वयोरेकं निमित्तमनुवदति बृहस्पतिः । यथा पितृधने स्वाम्यं तस्याः सत्त्वपि बन्धुषु । तथैव तत्सुतोपिष्टे मातृमातामहे धने । यथा येन दौहित्रद्वयपिण्डेन बुद्धिता पितृधनाधिकारिणी तथैव तेनैव पिण्डदानेन बुद्धितुष्टतोपि मातामहधने स्वामी सत्त्वपि पित्रादिषु । दायभाग XI. 2. 17 p. 180.

1429. तस्माद्यथा यथा सूतधनस्य तदुपयुक्तं भवति तथा तथाधिकारक्रमोत्तरणीयः । .. एवं च सर्वत्रोक्तरीत्या सूतधनस्य सूतार्थत्वमनुसन्धेयमुक्तक्रमेण । दायभाग XI 6. 28 and 30 p. 215 The last sentence is quoted by the दायतत्त्व p 197.

texts to certain heirs.¹⁴³⁰ For example, the order of heirs according to the D. B. is ; son, grandson and great grandson ; widow ; daughter ; daughter's son ; father ; mother ; full brother ; half brother ; full brother's son ; half brother's son. But the persons entitled to perform the śrāddha of the deceased in order are somewhat different. In fact the order of succession does not strictly follow in any school the order of those that are called *śrāddhādhikārins*. The order of those who are entitled to offer śrāddha to a deceased separated male (*śrāddhādhikārīn*) given in most works is as follows ; son (aurasa or adopted) ; grandson ; great-grandson ; widow ; married daughter ; unmarried daughter who has succeeded to the deceased's wealth ; daughter's son who succeeds to the wealth ; full brother ; half brother (son of a different mother) ; full brother's son ; half brother's son ; father ; mother ; daughter-in-law ; full sister ; half sister ; full sister's son ; half sister's son ; paternal uncle ; paternal uncle's son ; other gotraja sapindas ; sodaka ; any gotraja ; cognates such as maternal grandfather, maternal uncle, maternal uncle's son (i. e. the bandhus of the three kinds in order) ; pupil ; son-in-law ; father-in-law ; friend ; any brāhmaṇa who takes a brāhmaṇa's wealth or king who takes by escheat. Vide *Nirṇayasindhu* III uttarārdha pp. 382-386, *Dharmasindhu* III uttarārdha pp. 368-369, *Śrāddhāviveka* p. 48. If the principle of the capacity to offer or of the offering of pindas regulating the right to succeed is to be strictly and logically followed, there is no reason why the mother or the paternal grandmother should succeed immediately after the father or the paternal grandfather respectively. Her recognition in the D. B. school is due to the fact she is expressly mentioned in *Mamū* as an heir. Similarly in the rules about the succession to re-united coparceners, the school of D. B. gives preference to re-united co-parceners and does not apply the theory of spiritual benefit. Further the *Dāyatattva* says that all that is required is the capacity

1430. Vide *Akshaya Chandra v. Haridas* 35 Cal. 721 at p. 726 and *Nalnaksha v. Rajanikanta* 58 Cal. 1392 for the propositions that the doctrine of spiritual benefit cannot be applied consistently in all cases such as the succession of females to males, the succession of *samānodakas* &c. and that in cases not contemplated by *Jīmūtavāhana* or his followers in the Bengal school, the principle of propinquity and of natural love and affection should be followed. The *Dāyatattva* p. 195 after quoting Br. cited above observes that both the superiority of pindas offered and nearness of line are to be considered in inheritance, 'विष्टदानसम्बन्धतारतम्येन आसन्नजननतारतम्येन च धनेन्द्रधिकारी'.

to receive pinda or the capacity to participate in the pinda offered by others and not the actual offering of pindas. For example, if a man performs śrāddha for his ancestors, then dies, but no one performs his sapindana and therefore he does not participate in the pindas given to his ancestors, still his wealth will be inherited on the principle of religious efficacy¹⁴³¹ Owing to considerations of space it is not possible to go into great detail about the several propositions established in relation to the theory of religious benefit as the determining factor in matters of inheritance. But the following propositions may be set out in one place:

(1) Benefits are conferred on the deceased by means of the *ekoddista* or the *pārvana śrāddha*. The capacity to perform the *pārvana śrāddha* is not the sole ground on which rests the right to inheritance to a man. Therefore the widow, the daughter and the pupil were recognized as heirs though they perform only the *ekoddista śrāddha*. But those who are competent to perform the *pārvana śrāddha* have a preferable claim to those who are entitled to perform only the *ekoddista śrāddha*. Therefore the male issue of a deceased person are preferred to a widow or daughter.

(2) Spiritual benefit is conferred on a man by presenting pinda directly to him or by offering pinda to one or more of his paternal ancestors to whom he presents pindas during his own life time and with whom he participates in pindas offered after his death by others or by offering a pinda to one or more of his maternal ancestors (mother's father, mother's father's father and the latter's father) to whom he was bound to offer pindas during his life (but with whom he does not participate in the pinda offered to them¹⁴³²).

(3) The pinda offered to a man himself directly is of greater efficacy than the pinda offered to a paternal ancestor in which he participates after his own death as one of the *Manas*. Therefore the son, grandson or great-grandson is preferred to every one else. The brother offers a pinda to the father and two more

1431 अथ यः खलु पिण्डान् दत्तैव दत्त परतश्चामातपितृभावं स कथं सपिण्डः । यः पिण्डदातृत्वभोक्तृत्वक्षणसम्बन्धाभावादिति चेत्तद्योग्यतयेति ब्रूमः । योग्यतामपोज्ञेयं च सामान्यशास्त्रविषयत्वम् । छुद्दितात्त्व p 397

1432. यश्च जीवन् सपिण्डदाता स दत्त सपिण्डनात् सपिण्डभोक्ता । न च सति भव्यस्थितः पुरश्च पूर्वदा जीवन् पिण्डदाता स दत्त मन् सपिण्डनात् सपिण्डभोक्ता च । दायभाग XI, 1. 38 p. 163, छुद्दितात्त्व p. 396.

paternal ancestors of the deceased in which he (the deceased owner) only participates after his death. Therefore the brother is postponed to the son or daughter's son (who offers a pinda directly to the deceased himself as his maternal grandfather).

(4) The pindas offered to paternal ancestors have greater efficacy than those offered to maternal ancestors (hence a brother's son is preferred to a sister's son because the former offers pindas to his own and the owner's paternal ancestors, while the latter offers pindas to his maternal ancestors who are the paternal ancestors of the owner).

(5) The pinda offered to the owner's father is of greater efficacy than that offered to the paternal grandfather or great-grandfather. Therefore a brother's son or grandson is preferred to a paternal uncle¹⁴³³. Hence it should follow that all agnatic and cognatic descendants of the father of the deceased would be preferred to any descendant of the paternal grandfather or great-grandfather.

(6) Where the number of pindas offered by two claimants is the same, he who offers a pinda to the nearer ancestor is to be preferred.

The *Dayabhāga*, starting with *Baud. Dh. S.* (I. 5. 113 ff), *Manu* (IX. 186-187) and the *Matsyapurāṇa* elaborates its own definition in the following¹⁴³⁴ way. A man's son and a daughter are both born in the family. The daughter's son springs from the family of his maternal grandfather but he belongs to another gotra (viz his own father's gotra); similarly, a man's sister (i.e. father's daughter) is born in his family but her son, though mediate sprung from the deceased owner's family, belongs to another gotra (viz that of the sister's husband); the same is true of a father's sister's son and the paternal grandfather's sister's son. A sister's son offers a pinda to the father

1433. पितृभ्यो हि धनिनः पितृनामपितृनामहयोः पिण्डदः भ्रातृ, पुत्रस्तु धनिनः प्रधानं पितरनेवादाय पुरुषद्वयस्य पिण्डदत्तेति स एव बलवानिति पितृव्याख्यमधिकिरयेत् । अत एव भ्रातृनभापि पितृव्यस्य चाधिकः दत्तधनिकस्य पितुः प्रधानस्यैव पिण्डदातृत्वात् । दाय-भाग XI 6 5-6.

1434 तस्माद्यो यत्तत्कुलोत्पन्नोऽतद्गोत्रोपि स्वदोहित्रपितृव्योहित्रादिरतत्कुलोत्पन्नो नातृलादिर्धनिनो दत्तस्य पितृमातृकुलगतत्रैषुयदिकपिण्डदातृत्वा एकपिण्डसम्बन्धेन सपिण्डस्य तस्याप्यधिकारार्थं त्रयाणामिति वचनं, आनन्तर्येण च विशेषार्थमनन्तर इति वचनं वर्णनीयम् । तेन दत्तभोग्यदत्तदेवपित्रादित्रयपिण्डदातृ पितृदोहित्रादेरभावे दत्तदेवमातामहादिपिण्डदातृत्वा नातृलादीनामानन्तर्यक्रमेणाधिकारो योद्धव्यः । दायभाग XI 6 19-20 p. 212. त्रयाणांमुक्तं कार्यं is *Manu* IX, 186 and अनन्तर सपिण्डाद्य. is *Manu* IX, 187.

of the deceased, as the owner's father is the former's maternal grandfather and therefore he is connected as *sapinda* with the owner. A father's sister's son offers a *pinda* to the paternal grandfather of the owner, who (paternal grandfather) is the maternal grandfather of the father's sister's son. A maternal uncle is not sprung even mediately from the family of the owner, but he offers a *pinda* to his own father who is the maternal grandfather of the deceased owner. Therefore the maternal uncle or his son or son's son being connected with a *pinda* that is offered to the maternal grandfather or maternal great-grandfather respectively of the deceased owner is a *sapinda* of the deceased owner. A maternal aunt's son also offers a *pinda* to his mother's father, who is also the owner's mother's father and so the maternal aunt's son is a *sapinda* of the owner. The *pindas* offered to the maternal ancestors by him are inferior and secondary. Further, one's own mother, the father's mother, father's father's mother were associated with their respective husbands as to the *pindas* offered to the male ancestors and the same holds good about the wives of the maternal ancestors also.¹⁴³⁵

The result of this way of defining a *sapinda* is to obliterate the distinction between a *gotraja* and a *bandhu*. Yāj (II. 136) expressly says that a *bandhu* can succeed only on failure of all *gotrajas* and so according to him a *bandhu* is one who is not a *gotraja*. The *Dāyabhāga* brings in the sister's son immediately after the brother's son's son and before the paternal grandfather (i. e. even before a near agnatic ancestor) who is literally a *gotraja*, while the sister's son is literally not a *gotraja*. When the *Dāyabhāga* designates one's sister's son as sprung from the *kula* of the owner though not of the same *gotra*, he does violence to popular usage prevalent throughout India. An ordinary person in India hardly ever says that his sister's son or father's sister's son is born in his own *kula*. The *Dāyabhāga* only quibbles over the word '*gotraja*' in Yāj which it reads in the singular (*gotrajaḥ*) and not in the plural (*gotrajāḥ*) as the *Mit.* does. Under the *Mit.* the sister's son is only a *bandhu* and cannot succeed before a paternal uncle or his son or a paternal grand-uncle or any other *gotraja*. The *Dāyabhāga* thus gives the go-by to the text of Yāj and shuffles in several

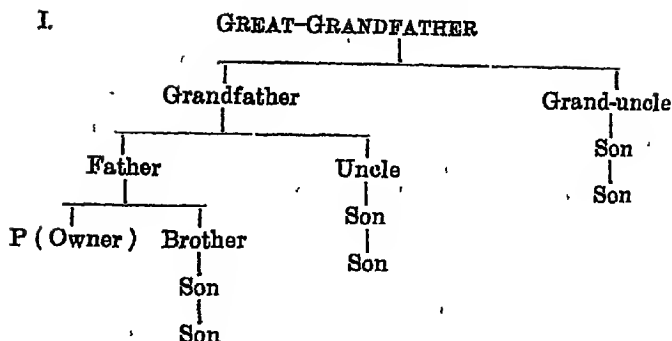
1435. मात्रादिशब्दानां स्वजननी-पितृजननी-पितामहजननीष्वेव सुरुपत्वार्थैरेव च पदेः आदेशस्तुल्यत्वात् । यथा—स्वेन भर्त्रा सह आर्द्धं माता शुद्धं क्ते स्वधामनयम् । पितामही च स्वेनैव स्वेनैव मपितामही । सपत्नीमात्राद्विना च धारणमाह्वालुपवेशो निषिद्ध एव । दायभाग XI. 6. 3 p 207.

cognates as very near heirs The D. B. regards Manu IX. 186-187 as the crucial text and Yāj. II. 135-36 as only secondary.

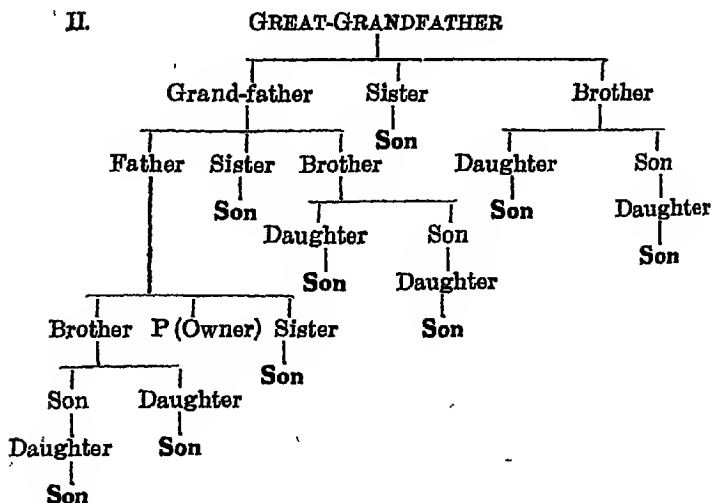
The following diagrams will illustrate the working of the theory of religious efficacy. A person is a sapinda of those to whom he is bound to offer a pinda while he is alive, of those who on his death are bound to offer pinda to him (viz his three male descendants, his daughter's son, his son's daughter's son and his son's son's daughter's son) and of those who are bound to offer a pinda to the ancestors to whom he is bound to offer a pinda viz. to his three paternal ancestors and his three maternal ancestors and all of these are his sapindas. The last of these three groups has four sub-groups.—sub-group No. 1 comprises those who offer pindas to their own paternal ancestors who are also the paternal ancestors of the owner. sub-group II contains those who offer pindas to their three maternal ancestors who are all or some of them the paternal ancestors of the owner, to whom he was bound to offer a pinda; sub-group III comprises those who offer pindas to their paternal ancestors all or some of whom are the maternal ancestors of the owner; sub-group IV exhibits those who offer pindas to their own maternal ancestors who are also the maternal ancestors of the owner. Each of these sub-groups contains 9 persons (as the minimum) who are all shown in thick type. If the owner has several brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts &c. the number of possible sapindas will be much larger. All heirs in the three sub-groups II-IV will be bandhus according to the Mitaksarā and will be postponed to gotrajas under the Mitaksarā. It should be noticed that Jimūtavāhana brought in the father's daughter's son immediately after the father's great-grandson, the paternal grandfather's daughter's son after the paternal grandfather's great-grandson and the paternal great-grandfather's daughter's son immediately after that ancestor's great-grandson on the analogy of the rights of the owner's daughter's son and on the basis of Manu IX. 139 that the *dauhitra* (daughter's son) saves an ancestor in the next world just as a son's son does.¹⁴³⁶

1436 किं तु पितुरपि प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तभावे पितृदौहित्रस्याधिकारो बोद्धव्यो धनदौहित्रस्येव । एवं पितामहपितामहसन्ततरेरपि दौहित्रान्तायाः पिण्डमर्यासत्तिकमेणाधिकारो बोद्धव्यः । दौहित्रोपि ह्यसुत्रैर्न सन्तारयति पौत्रवदिति हेतोरविशेषात् । स्वदौहित्रवत्पितृवत्तदौहित्रस्यापि तदभोगपिण्डदानेन सन्तारकत्वात् । द्वायभाग XI. 6. 8-9 pp. 208-209. In *Huri Das v Bama Churn* 15 Cal. 780 at p. 796 these *placita* were considered and it was held that they are not to be extended to the brother's

I.



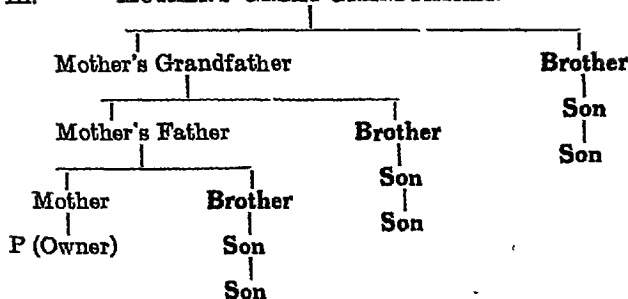
II.



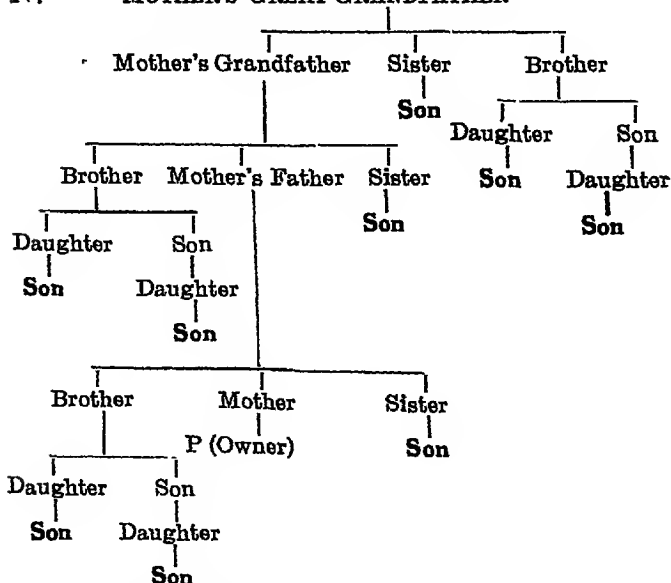
(Continued from the last page)

daughter's son and that the latter though a sapinda of the owner and an heir was not to be preferred to the great-grand son of the paternal grandfather of the propositus Sarvadhikari (T. L. L. on Inheritance, 2nd ed., of 1922 pp. 701-702) criticizes this decision as wrong, but it does not appear that the Calcutta High Court is prepared to follow him. A similar conflict arises as to several cognate heirs. For example, the son's daughter's son and the son's son's daughter's son offer pindas to the owner himself directly as a maternal ancestor (just as the daughter's son does) and therefore should be placed immediately after the daughter's son as heirs. But the Calcutta High Court would refuse to do so if the reasoning in 15 Cal. 780 be followed. Sarvadhikari (p. 709) however would place them immediately after the daughter's son.

III. MOTHER'S GREAT-GRANDFATHER



IV. MOTHER'S GREAT-GRANDFATHER



The D. B. says¹⁴³⁷ that the word 'gotrajah' (mas. singular) is employed by Yāj. for excluding all sapinda women (except

1437. याज्ञवल्क्येन च पित्रादिद्वौहित्रस्यापि तद्गोत्रजातस्य पिण्डदानानन्तर्यक्रमेणाधिकार्यपतिपत्न्यर्थी गोत्रजपदं कृतं सपिण्डस्त्रीणां च श्रुदासार्थं तासामतद्गोत्रजातत्वात् । ... सपितामहसन्तानस्य दौहित्रान्तस्य द्युतभोग्यपिण्डदातुरभावे द्युतदेयमातामहाद्विपिण्डदानेन पिण्डानन्तर्यात् मातुलादिग्रहणार्थं बन्धुपदं प्रयुक्तवान् याज्ञवल्क्यः । मनुना तु पिण्डदानानन्तर्यपक्षेनेनैव दर्शितम् । ... तस्मात् तद्गोत्र्यपिण्डदातुरभावे तदेवपिण्डदातृमातुलादेरधिकारो न्याय्य एव । दायभाग XI. 6. 10, 12, 13 दायतत्त्व p. 196 has a similar passage

those that are expressly named as heirs by special texts since they are not born or (even mediately) sprung from the family of the owner, as the sister's son or the father's sister's son that is held by it to be so sprung, that the word '*bandhu*' employed by Yāj to include a maternal uncle and the like among heritable sapindas, since they are not sprung even mediately from the *kulu* of the owner and are also not of the same gotra, that the maternal uncle and the like come in only after all descendants in the lines of the paternal ancestor, inclusive of the great-grandfather up to the latter's daughter's son are exhausted,¹⁴³⁸ and that Manu had not to enter into these details as its two verses (IX 186-187) were quite enough to lead to all that has been elaborated by the D. B. about the working of the theory of religious efficacy.

It will have been noticed that no female except the five expressly mentioned can inherit under the Dāyabhāga scheme and the result is that a man's own son's daughter or daughter's daughter does not take as heir, whereas a distant relative like the father's father's sister's son takes it. The same is also the case even under the Mitākṣarā in the whole of India (except in Bombay and to some extent in Madras for which see a little later on)

A man offers only the leavings or remnants of the pindas that stick to his hand (when offering pindas to his three paternal ancestors) and that (leavings) are cast on kṣa grass to three paternal ancestors above the paternal great-grandfather (Manu III. 216). So also the three male descendants beyond the great-grandson offer the leavings (called *pindalepa*) to the owner; these three remote paternal ancestors and the three remote male descendants (spoken of as '*vibhaktadāyāda*' in Baud. Dh. S. I. 5 114) are designated *sakulya* by Baud., and

1438. Vide *Kailasha Chandra v. Karuna Nath* 18 C W N. 477 where the above passages are considered at length and it is held that the paternal grand-uncle's daughter's son (though not expressly mentioned in the D. B.) is entitled to preference over the maternal uncle (who is expressly mentioned as an heir and a sapinda by D. B.), since the former offers a pinda to the paternal great-grandfather of the owner to whom the owner was bound to offer a pinda in which the owner participates after his own death, while the latter offers a pinda to the maternal grandfather of the owner to whom the owner was bound to offer a pinda in which, however, the owner did not participate after his death.

The Mit. states that the gotrajas are the paternal grandmother, the sapindas and samānodakas of the deceased. It then proceeds to say that the paternal grandmother is the first among *gotrajas*, then comes paternal grandfather. It paraphrases the word *gotraja* (born in the gotra) as *samānagotra* (having the same gotra) and then proceeds, 'on failure of the father's line (*santāna*) the heirs are the paternal grandmother, the paternal grandfather, the paternal uncles and their sons in order; on failure of the paternal grandfather's line the paternal great-grandmother, the paternal great-grandfather, his sons and son's sons inherit. In this manner must be understood the succession of sapindas belonging to the same gotra (as the deceased) up to the 7th degree'. According to the Mit. sapinda relationship extends up to the 7th degree (reckoned from and inclusive of the owner) Therefore the owner's sapindas for purposes of inheritance according to the Mit. are the owner's (1) 6 male descendants in the male line, (2) 6 male ascendants in the male line and the wives of the first three of them (that are expressly so declared, viz. mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother) and probably the wives of the next three also, (3) the six male descendants of each of his six male ascendants in the collateral male lines. Besides, a man's wife and daughter are treated as his sapindas and the daughter's son, though a *blunnagotra sapinda*, is placed high among the *gotraja sapinda* heirs

Even under the Mitaksarā in the whole of India (except in the Bombay and Madras schools), no women succeed as *gotraja sapindas* (except five expressly named and cited above on p. 713). In Bombay the sister (full or half) is brought in as a *gotraja* by the V Mayūkha (though the Mitaksarā is entirely silent) and placed by it immediately after the paternal grandmother. It relies on the general words of Manu IX. 187 and of Br. (quoted above on p 733) that to the nearest person in blood the inheritance goes and then proceeds.¹⁴⁴² 'She is also a *gotraja* as being born in the gotra in which her brother (the deceased owner) was born. She is, however, not a *sagotra* (of the deceased brother), but being a *sagotra* is not mentioned here (in Yā.) as the condition that leads on to the taking of the wealth of the deceased'. Here the V Mayūkha plays upon the word *gotraja* and takes its literal meaning. But that is a specious argument. The

1442. तदुभावे भगिनी । . . तस्या अपि भ्रातृगोत्र उत्पत्तयेन गोत्रजत्वाविशिष्टाः सगोत्रता पर नास्ति । न च सा च धनग्रहणाय योजकत्वेनोक्ता । स्प. मधुख p 143.

widow and mother are not gotrajas (in this sense of being born in the gotra) but on marriage they enter the gotra of their husbands and become sagotra. Further, on the same reasoning, a son's daughter, brother's daughter, father's sister and other women born in the family of the deceased will become his gotrajas (though not sagotras because on marriage they pass into the gotra of their husbands). But these other women are not expressly recognised even by the V. Mayūkha as gotrajas. Even though she was not mentioned in the Mit the sister has been recognised as a gotraja sapinda by the Bombay High Court in parts of the Bombay Presidency where the Mit. is the paramount authority. The order of heirs under the Mit would be as follows:—Full brother, half brother, full brother's son, half brother's son, paternal grandmother, sister (full being preferred to half), paternal grandfather. According to the V. Mayūkha the order is slightly different, viz full brothers along with sons of full brothers that are dead, full brother's son, grandmother, full sister, halfbrother, halfsister, paternal grandfather. The unmarried sister had been recognized as entitled to a share when brothers came to a partition and they had to provide for her marriage expenses. Vide above pp 619-620 and Nār¹⁴⁴³ (dāyabhāga, 13), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 18. 35, Manu IX. 118, Yāj II. 124. In Madras the sister had been recognized as a bandhu. The Legislature has intervened and laid down (Hindu Law of Inheritance Amendment Act II of 1929) that in territories governed by the law of the Mitākṣarā and in respect of the property of males not held in coparcenary and not disposed by will, a son's daughter, daughter's daughter, sister and sister's son shall be entitled to rank as heirs in the order specified in the Act next after a father's father and before a father's brother. The first three of these were before this Act not at all recognized as heirs in the whole of India except in Bombay (where the sister was recognised as a gotraja sapinda and the first two as bandhus) and except in Madras (where the first three were recognized only as bandhus). The sister's son was given a very high place as a sapinda under the Dāyabhāga and was treated as a bandhu elsewhere in India. This enactment does not affect the Dāyabhāga scheme and so the three females mentioned in the Act are not heirs even now under the Dāyabhāga. The sister's place as settled by Bombay decisions is after the paternal

1443. ज्येष्ठप्राप्तोऽधिको देव कनिष्ठायाम् स्मृतः । समस्तभोजनं शेया इदमप्यत्र भगिनी तथा ॥ नारद (दायभाग 13)

grandmother and before the paternal grandfather, while the above Act places her after the paternal grandfather. In *Ba Mahalaxmi v The Deputy Nazir* 45 Bom. L. R. 434 it has for this reason been held that the Act does not apply to the Bombay Province. If it be held that the Act does apply to Bombay (except as to the sister), then the same Act will have to be deemed to be laying down two different orders of succession as to the same four heirs in different provinces, which, to say the least, is not a reasonable or desirable way of interpreting statutes (just as in the case of texts).

Some difficulty is caused by the use of the word *santānu* in the Mit. as regards the father's, grandfather's and great-grandfather's line. It has been seen above (p 731) that the compact series ends with the brother's son (father's son's son i. e. after two descendants of the father) according to the Bombay High Court, while elsewhere in India it is supposed to end with the brother's son's son (i. e. after three descendants of the father). The Mit. expressly mentions only two descendants in the grandfather's and great-grandfather's line. The general rule is that sapinda relationship extends to six descendants of each line (excluding the man or ancestor from whom the counting is made). The further general rule gathered from the meagre words of the Mit. is that the nearer line excludes the more remote (e. g. the grandfather, his son and grandson are expressly mentioned by the Mit. as taking before the great-grandfather, his son and grandson). The question is whether the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th descendants of a nearer line would exclude even the 1st or 2nd descendant of a remoter line e. g. whether the great-grandson of the grandfather would take before the son or grandson of the great-grandfather or whether the 6th descendant of the grandfather would take before the son of the great-grandfather. There were three views¹⁴⁴⁴ on this point.

1444. Vide *Buddha Singh v. Lattu Singh* L. R. 42 I. A. 208 pp 220-24 for the three views and their exponents. The P. C. overruled the first view and held (p 227) that the descendants in each ascending line up to the fixed limit should be exhausted at any rate to the third degree before making the ascent to the next line in order of succession गोत्रजज्ञानेनैव भ्रातृ-तत्सुतयोर्निर्देशे मर्यामानेपि पुत्रकृत्तयोरभिधानस्य गोत्रजेषु पितामहादिषु तस्य तस्य सन्तानौ पितृसन्तानाविव द्वयोरिव पुत्रपौत्रयोर्धनभागित्वज्ञापनार्थत्वात्। स्मृतिश्च II p 300 In Sm. C. II. p. 300 the passage as printed is somewhat corrupt. The *Subodhini* also says 'पितृसन्तानौ भ्रातृतत्सुतपर्यन्तः' p. 74. vide सवः पा. p. 674 also for the same view.

The first view, relying upon certain words of the Sm' C., held that after two descents in each line, one should ascend into a remoter line and after the two descendants of that line are exhausted, one should revert to the 3rd to 6th descendants of a nearer line. The 2nd view was that in each line three generations were to be first exhausted, because the word *putra* in several places in the Mit. includes the three male descendants. The 3rd view¹⁴⁴⁵ was that in each line six descendants were to be exhausted before ascending to the next remoter line (as sapinda relationship extended to six degrees).

Another question is whether the widows of agnatic relations (such as the son's widow, brother's widow, step-mother or paternal uncle's widow) are included in the term '*gotrajñ*' for purposes of inheritance. Under the *Dāyabhāga*, as well as under the *Mitākṣarā* throughout India (except in the Bombay School), the widows of gotraja sapindas are not heirs at all, since according to almost all writers women do not inherit except when expressly mentioned by texts. In the Bombay School the position is different. According to both the Mit and the Mayūkhā, wives enter by marriage the gotra of their husbands and become sapindas of their husbands. The Bālabhāṭṭi declared the son's widow to be an heir even before the paternal grandmother and includes females also in the word *gotrajñ*. When *gotraja* was rendered as *saṁvānaputra*, the term became wide enough not only to include those born in the gotra but even those who entered the gotra by marriage. Besides, it was argued that if the paternal grandmother or paternal great-grandmother succeeded as a gotraja there was no reason why other widows of other gotrajas should not succeed. From the earliest days of British rule the gotraja sapindas (such as the son's, brother's, paternal uncle's widows) have been recognized as heirs in the Bombay Presidency. They take only a limited estate like the owner's widow or mother or

1445 The third view was propounded by Telang J in *Rachava*. *Kāṭyāyṇa* 16 Rom 716, which is referred to by the P' C in 42 I. 1, 208, at pp 220 and 226. The P' C do not dissent from Telang J but do not expressly approve of his views as it was not necessary to do so in that case, where the question was whether the great-grandson of the grandfather of the deceased was to be preferred to the grandson of the great-grandfather and it was held by the P' C that he was to be preferred. The 2nd view appears to be supported by the words of *Āparārka* p 745 'एव भ्राता तस्युद्धरायैव इति पितृमृततो ज्ञेय प्रयासज्जा समिष्टा । एव पितृमृतमृततो प्रपितामहमृततो च । एवमभ्रातृ पित्रादिवरस्य च त्र्यप्राप्तेना पुत्रादिवर मापिष्ट्याह्नम्याह्नम् ।'

paternal grandmother. They are recognized rather on the ground of 'positive acceptance and usage' by the Privy Council than on the ground of any texts¹⁴⁴⁶. They occupy the same place as their husbands, succeed after the compact series, the sister and half-sister and only after all the male gotraja sapindas (up to the 7th degree inclusive of the ancestor) properly belonging to the line to which their husbands belonged; e.g. the son's widow would succeed before the brother's son's¹⁴⁴⁷ son, the brother's widow or step-mother would succeed after all the six male descendants of the husband's father, but before the father's father, paternal uncle or his son &c. These widows of gotraja sapindas succeed before any bandhu. Since Act XVIII of 1937 a man's own widow, his predeceased son's widow and the widow of a predeceased son's predeceased son succeed along with his son or sons throughout India.

Samānodakas According to the Mit gotrajas are either sapindas or samānodakas. The word 'samānodaka' has a technical meaning Acc. to Manu V.60, 'the sapinda relationship ceases with the seventh person, the relationship of samānodaka¹⁴⁴⁸ ends when birth (in the family) and name are no longer known'. This occurs in the chapter on impurity. The Mit declares that the samānodakas comprise males seven generations beyond the sapindas or all males (beyond sapindas) whose birth (in the same family as that of the deceased) and name are known. It quotes a text of Brihan-Manu, 'the sapinda relationship ceases with the seventh person; the relation of

1446 Vide *Lallubhai v. Mankuvarbai* 2 Bom 388, 447, which went up to the Privy Council as *Lallubhoy v. Cassibai* L R 7 I A 212 at p 237. In *Gandhi Maganlal v. Bai Jadab* 24 Bom 192 (F. B.) at p 212 it was observed: 'The grandmother's claim was indeed found so strong that it served to help the widows of collateral sapindas to be also recognized as gotraja sapindas'.

1447 Vide *Ajjaji v. Mohanlal* 54 Bom. 564 (F. B.) for the daughter-in-law being preferred to a brother's grandson, *Kashibai v. Morchshir* 35 Bom 389 (where the paternal uncle's grandson was preferred to a paternal uncle's widow because he was a male gotraja sapinda of the same line within seven degrees, to which the widow's husband belonged), *Basangavda v. Basangavda* 39 Bom. 87 where the brother's widow was preferred to the paternal uncle's son (as she belonged to a nearer line)

1448 सपिण्डता तु पुरुषे सहस्रे विनिवर्तते । समानोदकभावरतु जन्मनाम्नोत्पद्यते ॥
मनु V 60, यथाह बृहन्मनुः । सपिण्ड .. वर्तते । समानोदकभावरतु निवर्तता चतुर्दशान् ।
जन्मनाम्नोः सृष्टेरेके तत्पर गोत्रमुच्यते । निता. on पा II 136 These verses are attributed to बृहस्पति by मय. नि. p. 454

samānodaka ceases after the 14th; according to some it extends as far as the memory of name and family (or birth) reach; the gotra is said to extend up to that'. The samānodakas comprise the 7 ascendants of a person after the great-grandfather's great-grandfather, the 13 descendants of these seven ascendants, the 7 descendants after the 6th descendant of his 6 male ancestors from his own father; and descendants of himself from the 7th to the 13th. The Privy Council have ruled¹⁴⁴⁹ in a recent case that, according to the Mitākṣarā school, samānodaka relationship does not extend beyond the 14th degree (from and inclusive of the common ancestor of the claimant and the propositus).

The word 'samānodaka' literally means 'those who offer to or receive water from the same person'. The word is employed by Vas.¹⁴⁵⁰ 17. 79. But in the law of inheritance it has a technical meaning as stated above.

Bandhu (cognate).¹⁴⁵¹ It has been seen above (on p. 742) how the Dāyabhāga shuffles cognates among the gotrajas

1449. Vide *Atmaram v. Bajirao* L. R. 62 I. A. p. 139 where it was said that in the event of a conflict between the ancient text writers and the commentators the opinion of the latter prevails in the provinces where their authority is recognized on the ground that the commentators only voiced the usage of the time and of the country in which they lived. The case of *Bat Devkore v. Amritram* 10 Bom. 372 where the word samānodaka was interpreted to include any agnate without any limit of degree was not overruled but was distinguished on the ground that it was governed by the law of the Vyavahāra-mayūkha which quotes only Manu V. 60 and does not quote Brhan-Manu.

1450. अत ऊर्ध्वं समानार्थजन्मपिण्डोद्दकगोत्राणां पूर्वः पूर्वो गरीयान् । वसिष्ठ 17 79.

1451. The word 'bandhu' is a very ancient one and has been used in various senses throughout the ages. In Rg. I 113. 2 Night and Dawn (*Uṣas*) are called *samānabandhīṇī* (bound together or having a common relative). In Rg I. 154. 5 (*urukramasya sa hi bandhur-isthā*) the word appears to be used in the sense of 'friend'. In Rg I 164. 33 'nābhi' and 'bandhu' are employed one after another. The sage Vasistha tells Aśvins (Rg VII. 72. 2) that their mutual friendship is ancestral and their relation is common (*yuvorhi nah sakhyā pūtryāni samāno bandhuruta tasya vittam*). Vide also Rg. V. 73 4, VIII. 21. 4, VIII 100. 6, IX 14. 2. In the Atharva-veda V 11. 11 Atharvan is said to be the bandhu of the gods and Varuna is said to be both the friend (*sakhā*) and *bandhu* (relative) of the sage. In Atharvaveda VI. 15. 2 and VI 54. 3 the same half verse occurs, 'whoever

(Continued on the next page)

literally so called. According to the Mit bandhus are sapindas of the deceased belonging to a different gotra. Bandhus succeed under the Mit., the V. Mayūkha and all other authorities except those of the Dāyabhāga school only on failure of samānodakas (or sodakas). It will have been noticed from the discussion above that gotrajas, whether sapindas and samānodakas, are all agnates (and in some cases their wives) i. e. persons related to the deceased by unbroken male descent. The bandhus are persons related to the deceased through one or more females. The basic texts on the inheritance of bandhus are three verses attributed to Vṛddha-Sātātapa

(Continued from the last page)

'whether our relative or not attacks us' (*sabandhuścāsabandhuśca yosmān-abhūdāsatī*) In the Vāj S IV. 22 (*asme ramasvāsme te bandhuh*) the poet prays that the god may find delight in them and find in them his bandhu. Among sūtras Gaut. IV. 3 and Vārābhagrya 9 speak of pitrbandhus and mātṛbandhus (persons related through the father and mother). In Yāj. the word *bandhu* or *bāndhava* occurs many times and has at least three senses viz relative in general (in I 82, 108, 113, 116, 220; II. 144, 280; III 11, 239), agnate (II 294), cognate (II. 135, 149, 264). Manu IX. 158 and XII. 79 employ the word *bandhu* in the sense of relative in general. The Āp. Dh. S. I 7 21. 8 and II 5. 11. 16 and Gaut 14 18 employ the word '*yonisambandha*' for persons 'connected through a female. On the other hand Pāṇini V. 3. 23 (*rto vidyāyonisambandhebhyah*) appears to employ the word in a general sense viz 'blood relation' (whether paternal or maternal). Another word frequently used from Vedic times is '*jñāti*' which generally means 'agnate' or 'relative'. Vide Rg X 66 14, X 117 9. In the Atharvaveda IV 5 6 a man desirous of a clandestine intercourse with a woman prays '*svapantvāsyat jñātayah svaptoyam-abhito janah*'. In I. 1. 35 Pāṇini appears to use the word *jñāti* in the sense of agnates '*समजातिधनारूपायाम्*'. In Gaut II. 43, Āp Dh S. I. 3 10 3 '*jñāti*' occurs and is explained by Haradatta as agnatic relations. In Manu III 31 (*jñātibhyo dravinam dattvā*) *jñāti* appears to mean paternal relations. In Manu III. 264, IV 179, Yāj II. 149 *jñāti* is distinguished from *bāndhava* or *bandhu* and so means 'agnates'. Two other words are '*sajāta*' and '*sanābhi*'. The first occurs in the Tai S I 6 2 I and I 6 10. 1 (*ugrohaṁ sajātesu bhūyāsam*) and in the Atharvaveda I 9 3, III. 8. 2, VI 5. 2 and means 'agnates or kinsmen'. The word *sanābhi* occurs in Rg IX 89. 4 and means also the same thing as '*jñāti*' in Āp. Gr. VII. 20. 18, Manu V. 72, Br (S B. E 33 p 310 verse 11), but in the Nirukta IV. 21 and in Kāt. (q. by Aparārka pp. 669-670) the word *sanābhi* is used in a wider sense (as including paternal and maternal relations). The Amarakośa gives *sapinda* as a synonym of *sanābhi*. नान्या सनद्धा गर्भा जायन्ते इत्याहुरेतस्मादेव ज्ञातीन् सनाभय इत्याचक्षते सवन्धव इति च । निवक्त IV. 21. क्षीरस्वामी (on अमरकोश) explains समानो नाभिर्मूलनेषा ते सनाभयः and relies on पाणिनि VI. 3. 85.

or Baudhāyana. They may be translated as follows: 'The sons of one's father's sister, the sons of one's mother's sister and the sons of one's maternal uncle—these are to be known as *ātmabandhus* (one's own bandhus); the sons of one's father's father's sister, the sons of one's father's mother's sister, the son's of one's father's maternal uncle—these are to be known as one's *pitrbandhus* (father's bandhus), the sons of one's mother's father's sister, the sons of one's mother's mother's sister, the sons of one's mother's maternal uncle—these are to be known as the *mātrbandhus* (mother's bandhus).¹⁴⁵² The Mit. states on this text that bandhus are of three kinds viz. *ātma-bandhus*, *pitrbandhus* and *mātrbandhus* and that *ātmabandhus* succeed before *pitrbandhus* on account of their greater propinquity to the deceased and *pitrbandhus* succeed before the *mātrbandhus*.¹⁴⁵³ The treatment of the rights of bandhus in the Mit. and other commentaries and digests is very meagre. This has led in modern times to a bewildering mass of case law on the inheritance of bandhus.

The first question is whether the enumeration of *bandhus* in the verses quoted is exhaustive or only illustrative. The V. P. expressly¹⁴⁵¹ states that if the enumeration be held to be exhaustive absurd results would follow. For example, a maternal uncle's son is expressly named as an *ātmabandhu* in the verses quoted above, but his father (the maternal uncle), being not mentioned, would on that hypothesis be excluded. Therefore it was held by the Privy Council in a very early case¹⁴⁵⁵ that the enumeration of bandhus is only illustrative, that the maternal uncle though not mentioned is a nearer

1452 आत्मपितृव्यस्य पुत्रा आत्ममातृव्यस्य सुता । आत्ममातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया आत्म-
बान्धवा ॥ पितृ- पितृव्य- पुत्रा- पितृमातृव्यस्य सुता । पितृमातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृ-
बान्धवा ॥ मातृ- पितृव्यस्य पुत्रा मातृमातृव्यस्य सुता । मातृमातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवाः ॥
q. by the mita on ya. II 136 These are ascribed to बौधायन by the परा मा.
III p 528 and च्य नि. p 455 and to बृद्धशास्त्रात् by मद् पा. p. 674 and
बालम्भट्टी.

1453. तत्र चान्तरङ्गत्वात्प्रथममात्मबन्धवो धनभाजस्तद्भावे पितृबन्धवस्तद्भावे मातृ-
बन्धव इति क्रमो वेदितव्यः । मिता on ya. II. 136. Almost the same words occur
in the मद् पा. p 674

1454 योगीश्वरवचनेपि बन्धुपदेन मातुलाद्युपलक्षणमन्यथा मातुलादीनामग्रहणमेव
प्रत्ययेतेति तदुच्चाणा धनाधिकारस्तत मर्यासक्तानां तेषामेव स नेति महदनीचित्यमापद्येत ।
च्य. म pp 530-531.

1455. Vide *Grisham Lall v. The Bengal Government* 12 Moore's
I A. 448.

bandhu and would succeed in preference to his own son which is expressly mentioned. In *Balasubrahmanya v. Subbaya* 65 A. 93 it was held that under the Mitākṣarā the principle of proximity of blood relationship applies to the succession of bandhus, that in determining which of two ātmabandhus is entitled to succeed nearness of degree and not religious efficacy is the proper test to apply, that when the ātmabandhus are equal in degree the test of religious efficacy may be applied to determine preference and that the maternal uncle of the deceased is entitled to preference over the deceased's father's half sister's son. This was followed in *Virangauda v. Yellappa* I. L. R. (1943) Bom. 259 (F. B.) where the mother's brother of the deceased was preferred to the father's sister's son. So also the mother's father would be a bandhu. It is strange that the deceased's own descendants through a female or the deceased's father's descendants through a female such as the son's daughter's son, daughter's son's son, daughter's daughter's son, sister's son or sister's daughter's son, are not mentioned in any authoritative commentaries or digests as his *bandhus*. Further, the bandhus enumerated in the three verses do not go beyond the 4th degree from the common ancestor. But bandhu relationship extends up to five degrees at least. There is an ancient instance of the sister's daughter's son having succeeded to a Buddhist *bhikkhu* in Cambodia (in Śaka 586). This would be so only according to the principles of the Mit. Vide 'Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia' p 55 by Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterji (Cal. 1928). All the above (such as the son's daughter's son) have been recognized by the Indian Courts as ātmabandhus entitled to inherit. In *United Provinces v. Kanhaiya Lal* 16 Lucknow 551 it has been held that the father's father's daughter's son's son would be an ātmabandhu of the deceased. In an early case¹⁴⁵⁶ in British India two propositions were laid down, viz. (1) there must be mutuality of sapinda relation between the deceased and the claimant (i. e. each must be a sapinda of the other) and (2) that in order that a man may be an heritable bandhu of the deceased they must be related *directly* through themselves or

1456. Vide *Umair Bahadur v. Udo Chand* 6 Cal. 119 (F. B.), 128 where it was held that a man's sister's daughter's son is a heritable bandhu but a remark was made (which was an obiter dictum) that the sister's daughter's son's son would not be a bandhu of the propositus because the latter was not a descendant of the grandfather of the former, his father or mother.

through their mother or father. These propositions were accepted by the Privy Council,¹⁴⁵⁷ which further said that sapinda relationship extends in the case of bandhus only up to five degrees. The first proposition about mutuality has some support in the interpretation put on the famous verse of Manu IX. 187 by the Balambhatti and the Subodhini (vide above note 1418). But difficulty is created about mutuality by the unwarranted assumption that the common ancestor must be a member of one out of four families as stated by Sarvadhikari. The other propositions, however, are not supported by any texts or sound reasoning. Since the enumeration of bandhus is admitted to be not exhaustive, no sound inference can be drawn from the list of nine bandhus that a heritable bandhu must be connected with the deceased in any particular way. All that can be required is that he must be a bandhu as defined by the Mit and connected with the deceased by having particles of the body of a common ancestor within the limits of sapinda relationship as laid down by the Mit. The limit of five degrees categorically laid down by the P. C. is not, it is submitted with great respect, based on very sure or strong foundations. The Mit says that sapinda relationship extends to seven degrees when traced through the father, that wherever the word 'sapinda' is employed this meaning has to be understood and it extends up to five degrees when traced through the mother. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 454-455. What is material is

1457. Vide *Rainchandra v. Vinayak* L. R. 41 I. A. 290 (= 42 Cal. 384 at pp. 418-421) for the propositions about mutuality, relationship through himself, father or mother and restriction to five degrees. Dr. Sarvadhikari (T. L. L. p. 630ff) is not right in inferring from the nine bandhus expressly mentioned in the verses quoted above that the propositus must be a descendant of a common ancestor who is a member of the following families, viz (1) claimant's agnate family, (2) claimant's mother's agnate family, (3) claimant's father's mother's agnate family, (4) claimant's mother's mother's agnate family. Following this opinion, it was held in *Laxji v. Mithabai* 2 Bom L. R. 842 that the great-grandson of a sister is not an heir under Hindu Law. But this decision is against the definition of sapinda given by the Mit and is wrong. Vide *Chinna v. Padmanabha* 44 Mad. 121 pp. 128-130 for a reasoned and trenchant criticism of the requirement of mutuality laid down without any discussion or explanation in the case of 6 Cal. 119 and the views of Sarvadhikari. It is to be regretted that owing to the ignorance of Sanskrit on the part of most judges that had to decide cases of Hindu Law, the opinions of individual learned authors like Mayne and Sarvadhikari were followed without personal examination by judges of the authorities on which the opinions of authors were based.

not whether a female intervenes somewhere, but whether the person about whose sapindaship a question is raised traces his descent to a common ancestor through his father or through his mother. In the P. C. case the claimant claimed sapindaship with the deceased through his mother, and it was rightly decided that he being 6th from the common ancestor was not a bandhu. But to lay down as a universal rule that a bandhu in order to inherit under the Mit. should not be beyond five degrees from the common ancestor is against the definition of sapinda given by the Mit. itself and unduly narrows the express words of the Mit. The words of the P. C. 'the sapinda relationship, on which the heritable right of collaterals is founded, ceases in the case of the bhinna-gotra sapinda with the fifth degree from the common ancestor' (L. R. 41 I. A. 290 at p. 312) are very generally expressed and are susceptible of the interpretation that they lay down the rule of five degrees even when the claimant claims¹⁴⁵⁸ relationship with the deceased through his own father. Some support for the Privy Council rule that sapinda relationship ceases with the 5th

1458 Vide *Buty Mohan v Kishun Lal* (1938) A. L. J. 670 where the Allahabad High Court held that, even when the claimant traced sapinda relationship through his father, heritable bandhu relation ceases after the fifth degree. But in *Kesar Singh v. Secretary of State for India* 49 Mad 652 at p. 690 it is said that, though in the P. C. decision there are some observations which at first sight imply that sapinda relationship of bandhus for inheritance ceases with the 5th degree in all cases, there is nothing to suggest that the Privy Council intended to do away with the well-known distinction between bhinnagotra sapindas that claim relationship through their father and those that trace it through their mother. There is great diversity of view yet about what the P. C. meant in 41 I. A. 290. In *Seelan Nagamma v Reddam* I L. R. (1943) Mad 739 (F. B.) it was held that Dr Sarvadhikari is wrong in his restrictions of heritable bandhus to the lines he propounds, that 54 All. 698 is wrongly decided and that 49 Mad 652 lays down the correct law. On the other hand, in *Hanmant v. Vasudev* I. L. R. (1943) Bom. 465 it has been held that the P. C. means that heritable bandhus whether claiming through the father or the mother must be within five degrees from the common ancestor. Vide *Deb Das v. Mukat Behari* I. L. R. (1943) All. p. 131 which lays down several rules deducible from an examination of numerous cases. As an illustration of how the law of the succession of bandhus is in a bewildering state, the following two cases may be read. In *Sakharam v. Raikrishna* 49 Bom. 739 (F. B.) it was held that a father's sister's son is to be preferred under the V. Mayūkha to the maternal uncle, but the P. C. decided in *Balsubramanya v. Subbayya* L. R. 65 I. A. 93 that the maternal uncle is entitled to preference over the father's sister's son.

degree from the common ancestor in the case of bhinnagotra sapindas may be found in the words of Mitrāmīśra in his commentary on Yājñ. I. 52, in the implication of the words of Kullūka¹⁴⁵⁹ on Manu V. 60 and in the remarks of the Bālabhāṭṭi (p 191). But this view is opposed to other weighty authorities such as the Nīrṇayasindhu and the Dharma-sindhu.

The whole law about the succession of bandhus is in a confused state owing to conflicting decisions, but the P. C. has laid down certain propositions which may be set down here: (1) ātmabandhus succeed before pītrbandhus and pītrbandhus before mātṛbandhus; (2) the nearer in degree in each class of bandhus is preferable to the more remote; (3) as between bandhus of the same class, the conferring of spiritual benefit would be a ground of preference, as the Viramītrodaya invokes that principle in several cases (and so the father's half sister's son would be preferred to the mother's sister's son, though both are ātmabandhus and of equal degree); (4) if the above three rules fail, bandhus *ex parte paterna* (on the father's side) succeed before bandhus *ex parte materna* (on the mother's side); (5) the bandhu between whom and the propositus a lesser number of females intervenes is to be preferred. As a corollary of the 2nd rule it should follow that the descendants of the propositus would be preferred to ascendants and collaterals and that bandhus of the same class that are descendants of a nearer line would succeed in preference to descendants of a remoter line though of the same class. But this last proposition has not yet been settled by the Privy Council. It has been, however, held in *Debi Das v Mukat Behari* I. L. R. (1943) All. 131 that a sister's son's son should be preferred to the deceased's cousin's daughter's son, since the former belongs to a nearer line.

For the purposes of this work it is irrelevant and unnecessary to wade through the mass of case-law on the succession of

1459. कुल्लूक after quoting the मत्स्यपुराण on the question of sapindaship based on the offerings of pindas remarks, 'सगोत्रत्वे चैव सपिण्डता । अत एव शङ्ख-लिखितौ—सपिण्डता तु सर्वेषां गोत्रतः साक्षयौक्ये । मित्रमिश्र on या I. 52 quotes the smṛti text, 'सगोत्रे खलु सपिण्डत्वं विज्ञेयं साक्षयौक्यम् । विगोत्रे तन्तु सर्वत्र विज्ञेयं शास्त्र-यौक्यम् ॥' and remarks 'तेन मातृमातामहादिपदवा अपि विवाहस्य धर्मममृतं न विरुध्यते । सता च स्वारम्भमयोजकचक्षुणिता बोध्या । तेन पितृमातामहादयुष्यादेर्युदात्तः । एवं च पितृमातामहादयधिकसप्तम्याः परिणयाचारेणैव सङ्गच्छते ॥'

bandhus. One or two matters, however, call for remark. If the theory of spiritual benefit be strictly applied, many of those who would inherit as bandhus under the Mit. system would be barred from inheritance. For example, the daughter's son's son¹⁴⁵⁹ or daughter's daughter's son would be a heritable bandhu under the Mitāksarā, but under the Dāyabhāga he would not be so, as he offers no pinda to the deceased or to any of the latter's ancestors. It is probably to obviate this unnatural and unjust consequence that the Dāyatattva refers to the text of Br. (quoted above in n 1419) in which the word 'bāndhavāḥ' occurs, remarks that the relatives of the father and mother of (the deceased) inherit in the order of their nearness to the latter and quotes the three verses about the three classes of bandhus, indicating thereby that spiritual benefit is not the sole test, but that where it fails the test of blood relationship may be applied.¹⁴⁶⁰

Very elaborate rules have been evolved by Sarvadhikari in his Tagore Law Lectures on the Hindu Law of inheritance (2nd ed. of 1922, pp. 571-640). The author devoted great industry, labour and ingenuity in evolving those rules. But one regrets to say that he raised a stupendous structure on very slippery and meagre foundations. And the pity of it is that many Judges have more or less followed his lead, though emphatic disapproval of his views, whereby the list of bandhus capable of inheriting has been very much restricted, has not been wanting.¹⁴⁶¹ It is not possible to examine here in detail his reasonings and results. But the futility of much that he has evolved can and must be briefly shown. The only solid foundations that we have in the Mit. are: (1) the definition of sapinda given by it on Yāj I 53; (2) the remark that bandhus are bhinnagotra sapindas (as contrasted with gotrajas); (3) that the bandhus of a man may be described under three classes; (4) that those that may be called ātmabandhus succeed before those called pitrbandhus and these latter inherit before mātṛbandhus. It is agreed on all hands that

1459a. Vide 11 Mad. 287, 17 All. 523, 30 Mad. 406 (for the daughter's son's son's succession) and 31 All. 454, 58 Mad. 238 (for the daughter's daughter's son's succession).

1460. ब्रह्मसूक्तबान्धवा इत्यनेन यथाक्रममासक्तपितृमातृबान्धवा धनाधिकारिणः । ते च 'आत्मपितुः स्वसुः पुत्राः ... विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवा ।' इत्यतएव p. 196.

1461. Vide *Kesar Singh v. The Secretary of State for India* 49 Mad. 652 at pp. 661, 686-89 for dissent from Sarvadhikari's views.

the nine bandhus enumerated in the verses of Śāṭatapa or Baudhāyana are only illustrative. Therefore, the nine bandhus expressly mentioned should not have been used to *exclude* any one as not a heritable bandhu, as we have not got anywhere an exhaustive enumeration. Any one who satisfied the first two requirements stated above was a bandhu. Of the nine bandhus enumerated in the verses quoted above, none is connected by direct descent with the propositus, his father or mother; but one is a descendant of his paternal grandfather, one of his paternal great-grandfather, two of his maternal grandfather, two of his father's maternal grandfather, one of his mother's paternal grandfather, two of his mother's maternal grandfather. Sarvadhikari makes a different classification of these (p. 627) viz. 'two are connected through the father, three through the mother, two through the paternal grandmother and two through the maternal grandmother'. The whole trouble has been caused by this latter grouping. Instead of emphasizing lines of direct descent, he catches hold of females who are never spoken of in ancient works in connection with tracing descent (except in the case of the mother of the man concerned). If, because the illustrations given happen to be connected only with four lines of families, persons connected with the propositus through other lines are to be excluded, there is no reason why a man's own daughter's son's son, son's daughter's son, sister's son, or sister's son's son should be held to be bandhus. They bear no close analogy to the ātmabandhus enumerated by Śāṭatapa. But it is admitted by Sarvadhikari that they are ātmabandhus. The terms ātmabandhu, pitrbandhu and mātṛbandhu are mere labels or devices to show nearness and preference among bandhus. Acc. to the V. Mayūkha¹⁴⁶² the words pitrbandhu and mātṛbandhu are to be dissolved as *sasthi-tatourusa* compounds (pituḥ bāndhavāḥ

1462 ननु पत्यादीनां सर्वेषां सुतनिरुपितानामिव धनभाक्त्वं बान्धवानामपि तथैवास्तु । अतः कथं पितृमातृभ्यां बान्धवानां धनसम्बन्धः । पितुः पितृव्यस्य पुत्राः इत्यादि तु संज्ञा-संज्ञिसम्बन्धमात्रार्थं न धनसम्बन्धार्थमिति चेदुच्यते । विनाप्येतद्वचनं पितृमातृपितृपितृत्या-दिभिर्व पितृमातृबान्धवेत्यपि योगेनैव तत्पटुत्तिसम्भवे संज्ञासंज्ञिसम्बन्धमौपधानार्थक्यापत्तिः । तेन बन्धुद्विषय धनसम्बन्धविधौ पितृमातृबन्धुमापणेनैव वचोर्थवत्ता । बन्धुदेशेनाशीचादि-विधायक्येवमेवेति दिक् । प. मयूख p. 144 In *Gajadhar Prasad v Gauri Shankar* 54 All 698 (F, B) Mukerji, J. (at pp. 725-26) prefers to dissolve the word पितृबन्धु or मातृबन्धु as either पञ्चमीतत्पुरुष or तुतीयातत्पुरुष (पितुः बन्धुः, पित्रा बन्धुः) rather than as वतीतत्पुरुष. No Sanskrit authority is quoted for doing this and this view of his is opposed to the view of the व्य. मयूख, the सरस्वती-पितास and some other works.

or mātuh bāndhavāh) i. e. according to it pitrbandhus or mātṛbandhus are bandhus of the father or mother and must also be bandhus of the propositus if they are to inherit. It is not known in what context the three verses quoted in the Mit. and other digests from Śātātapa or Baudhāyana occurred. In Manu V. 81 it is laid down that one should observe mourning on the death of a pupil, sacrificial priest and bāndhavas for the duration of *pakṣaṇī*. It is possible that the three verses only illustrate what is meant by bāndhavas in such a connection.

The Bālabhaddhā (vyavahāra p. 214) here also explains that females are included in the word 'bandhu', although the verses quoted speak of 'putraḥ' only and the Bombay and Madras High Courts have allowed female bandhus to inherit, though in Madras the position assigned to female bandhus is very much lower than in Bombay.

Strangers as Heirs—In default of even bandhus, the Mit. states¹⁴⁶³ that the teacher (of the veda) is the heir of the deceased, in default of the teacher the pupil (and relies on Āp. Dh. S II. 6. 14. 3) and that in default of pupil a *sabrahmacārin* (fellow student whose *upanayana* was performed by the same teacher as that of the deceased and who studied the veda under the same teacher)¹⁴⁶⁴ inherits. In the absence of even a fellow student the wealth of a brāhmana was to be given to some śrotṛiya (a brāhmana learned in the Veda) as laid down by Gaut (28. 39) and in default of a śrotṛiya in the same village, as said by the Dāyabhāga XI. 6. 27, to any brāhmana, since Manu (IX. 188-189) says, 'in the absence of all (heirs), brāhmanas that have studied the three vedas, that are pure and restrained, take the wealth; in this way dharma does not suffer: the rule is that the wealth of a brāhmana should never be taken by the king'. Nār.¹⁴⁶⁵ (dāyabhāga, 51-52) is to the same effect. To the same

1463. बन्धूनामभावे आचार्यः । तद्भावे शिष्यः । पुत्राभावे यः प्रत्यासक्तः सपिण्डस्तद्भावे आचार्यः । आचार्यभावे अन्तेवासीत्यापस्तम्बस्मरणान्तः । मिता

1464. शिष्याभावे सन्नद्धाचारी धनभाक् । येन सहैकस्मादाचार्यादुपनयनात्पणन-वर्धनानयतिः स सन्नद्धाचारी । मिता. The word सन्नद्धाचारि is derived by Pāṇini VI. 3. 86 as 'चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि'. The सि कौ explains 'ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स. दद्याच्चरणे समानत्वेन गन्धमाने'.

1465. ततः सजाति सर्वेषामभावे राज्याति तत् ॥ अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणेभ्यः स्वादाजा धर्म-परायणः । नारद (द्वयभाग, 51-52). The मिता. has a different verse 'नारदे नाम्नुक्तम्—ब्राह्मणार्थस्य तत्तासे दद्यादश्वेक कश्चन । ब्राह्मणादेष दानम्यमेतस्वी रणादे पोऽपवा । इति ।'

effect are Visnu¹⁴⁶⁶ Dh. S. 17. 13-14, Band. Dh. S. I. 5. 120-122 and Śankha-Likhita, Devala (q. by V. R. p. 597 and V. C. p. 155). This direction of so many ancient sages has not been respected in modern times.¹⁴⁶⁷ Manu (IX. 189) and Br.¹⁴⁶⁸ (S. B. E. vol. 33, p. 380 verse 67) say that the wealth of ksatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras escheats to the king in default of heirs up to a fellow student. When the king takes by escheat heirless property he has to set apart a portion of the wealth of the deceased for the maintenance of his concubines and servants and for the performance of his funeral rites and śrāddhas as stated by Kāt.¹⁴⁶⁹ 931. Kaut III 5, Nār. (dāyabhāga, 52) provide that the king (when he takes heirless property) should provide maintenance for his women and both the Mit. and the V. Mayūkha explain that the word 'women' stands for *avaruddhastri* (exclusively kept concubine) and not for his wives (who would succeed as heirs and then there would be no escheat), because the word 'patni' is not employed in the verse. These verses of Nār. and Kāt. are the foundation of the right to maintenance of a concubine against the heirs of the deceased paramour in modern times.¹⁴⁷⁰

1466. तद्वन्वि ब्राह्मणधनवर्जं राजगामि । ब्राह्मणार्थं ब्राह्मणानाम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 12-13; अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । ब्रह्मस्वं युज्यौत्रयं विभजेत्काकिं हरेत् । न विष विषमित्यह-
र्ब्रह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते । तस्माद्वाजा ब्राह्मणस्वं नाद्वीत परमं ह्येवद्विषं यद् ब्राह्मणस्वमिति ।
बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 120-122; this is q. by वि. र. p. 597 (except the half verse न विषं), वि. चि. pp. 155-156; परिब्रह्मणि वा ओत्रियद्वयं न राजगामि । इह-
लिखितं q. by वि. र. p. 598, वि. चि. p. 156. This is quoted as पैटीनसि's by अपरार्क p. 746.

1467. Vide *Collector of Masulipatam v Cavaty Venkata* 8 Moore's I. A. 500 at pp 526-527.

1468. येऽयुजाः क्षत्रविदशुद्धाः पत्नीभ्रातृविभजिताः । तेषां धनहरो राजा सर्वस्याधि-
पतिर्हि सः ॥ बृह q. by अपरार्क p. 746, वि. र. p. 598.

1469. अदायिकं राजगामि योविद्वयौत्र्यैर्देहिहिकम् । अपारय ओत्रियद्वयं ओत्रिये-
भ्यस्तद्वयेत् ॥ कारया q. by मित्त. on या II. 135, परा. मा. III. p 535, च. मयूख
p. 139. तदुच्यतेरुद्धस्त्रीविषयं योविद्वयद्वयात् । मित्त. ; अदायादकं राजा हरेत् स्त्रीवृत्ति-
भेदकद्वयवर्जन्यपत्र ओत्रियद्वयत् । तत् त्रैविद्येभ्यः प्रपञ्चेत् । अर्घशास्त्र III. 5.

1470. Vide 2 Bom. 573, 607, 12 Bom 26 (in both Kāt. is quoted), 26 Bom. 163, L. R. 53 I. A at p 163 for the concubine's right. In 48 Bom. 203 a woman whose husband was alive was not treated as a concubine entitled to maintenance from the heirs of her deceased paramour, but this decision has been recently overruled by a Full Bench in 47 Bom. L. R. p. 5 (F. B.).

Yājñavalkya's words apply only to the former, that if the latter (upakurvāna) leaves any wealth of his own it is taken by his mother, father and the other heirs. The Mit. further says that a worthy pupil is one who is capable of studying the philosophical parts of the Veda, of understanding them and of acting up to them, that a badly behaved pupil will not succeed, so also a badly conducted teacher shall not succeed. The Mit. explains that Yāj III 47 allowed a forest hermit to accumulate materials that will be enough to meet his needs for a day, a month or six months or a year and so he may on his death leave some wealth. Similarly, though an ascetic was required by Gautama (III. 10) to make no accumulation of wealth, yet even an ascetic requires clothes to cover his body, he has his sandals and books on Yoga and the like; and so also the perpetual student requires these.

The heirs enumerated above succeed to persons in those religious orders in priority of their kindred. It has been held that members of the three twice-born classes alone can be ascetics with the result that their pupils inherit and not the kindred and that in the case¹⁴⁷³ of śūdra ascetics their kindred succeed unless some usage to the effect that a pupil inherits is proved. For the foundation and administration of *mathas* and properties attached to them, the selection of the heads of *mathas* and their powers and duties and about ascetics and their pupils, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 906-914 and pp. 944-952.

Reunion.—A reunion properly so called can take place only between those who were parties to the original partition. Reunion, therefore, postulates three stages, viz. (1) joint family, (2) partition between members of a joint family, (3) an intention and an agreement, express or implied, to reunite in estate among members who were parties to the partition. If persons who had separated in interest merely stay together, that is not

1473. Vide *Dharmapuram v. Virapandiyam* 22 Mad 302 (holds that the ordinary law of succession applies to a śūdra ascetic); *Ramdas v. Baldevadasji* 39 Bom. 168; *Somasundaram v. Vasthalinga* 40 Mad 846, at p 869, *Haris Chandra v. Atir* 40 Cal. 545; but see *Sambasivam v. Secretary of State* 44 Mad. 704 (holding that the disciple of a śūdra ascetic who dies without leaving any blood relations is an heir under the Hindu Law, but that strict proof would be required of the claimant's spiritual relationship)

reunion in law, as said by the Sm. C. II. p. 302 and Vivāda-candra¹⁴⁷⁴ p. 82. The Vivādacandra quoting Visnupurāṇa says that reunion may be implied from a course of conduct, even though an express agreement cannot be proved. There is a divergence of views as to who can reunite. The Mit., the Dāyabhāga¹⁴⁷⁵, the Sm. C. hold, literally construing a verse of Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 381 verse 72), that a member of a joint family when once divided can reunite only with his father, brother or paternal uncle, but not with any other relation (such as a paternal uncle's son or paternal grand-father), while the V. C. (p. 157), the V. Mayūkha (p. 146), the V. P. (p. 533) hold that the members expressly mentioned by Br. are only illustrative and that a person may reunite with *any* member who was a party to the original partition. A reunited person is called *samsrsta* or *samsrstin*¹⁴⁷⁶ (who has reunited wealth). The subject of reunion has a comparatively ancient history. Gaut. 28. 26 states the general rule that on the death of a reunited co-parcener the surviving reunited member succeeds to the share of the deceased Kaut. (III 5 p. 160) states¹⁴⁷⁷ that those, who live together though they may have no ancestral estate or do so after dividing their ancestral estate, may divide their reunited estate again in equal shares. Manu IX. 210 (= Visnu Dh. S 18. 41) is similar to it.

1474 सहवासे पुरुषाणामाहत्य संसर्गभावाद्जनद्वारेण संसर्गो वाच्य इति तस्मिन्नि-
भूतावच्छेदकापनोदेन विभक्तानां धनार्थिनां पूर्ववदेकराशीकरणपर्यन्त संसर्गो न पुनः सहवा-
समात्रमिति मन्तव्यम् । स्मृतिश्च II. p 302. संसर्गो नैकापाकवासमात्रं संभूयव्यवसाये गतत्वात्
किं तु विभज्यैकीकृतधनत्वम् । यावच्चतुर्मासविभक्त्यनं मम यस्य यथा तव तथा मेमेति
स्वीकारः स च कचिद्वाचनिकः कचिद्व्यवहारान्वयेः । विवादचन्द्र p 82, यत्र संसर्गं
प्रमाणान्तरं नास्ति तत्र साधारणकृत्ये तत्तद्वंशविनियोजनमपि प्रमाणम् । न च तादृशवचना-
भवे तदभावः, अशुक्त्वापि कुर्या व्यवहारसिद्धेः । तदुक्तं बिष्णुपुराणे । अशुक्त्वापि वच-
किञ्चित् कृतं भवति कर्मणा । इति । विवादचन्द्र p. 86. संसर्गं तु सखजगोरुमतिमूलम् ।
वि. चि. p 157, निर्दिष्टमान भावि वा धनमावयोः पुनर्विभागावधि साधारणनिर्याकारिका
हुद्विदिच्छा वा संसर्गः । व्य. मयूख p. 146.

1475. संसृष्टत्वं च न येन केनापि किं तु पित्रा भ्रात्रा पितृव्येण वा । यथाह बृहस्पतिः ।
विभक्तो यः पुनः पित्रा भ्रात्रा वैकात्र संस्थितः । पितृव्येणापरां शीत्या स तत्संसृष्ट उच्यते ।
इति । नित. on या. II 138, संसृष्टिता च पित्रादितैव कर्तव्या नान्येन विभक्तो यः पुनः
पित्रा इत्यादि प्राग्लिखितबृहस्पतिवचनादिति बहवः । अस्माभिस्तुपलक्षणं पित्रादिग्रहण-
निर्यादि प्रायेव प्रयोजितम् । व्य. प्र p 533.

1476. विभक्त धनं पुनर्विभक्तं संसृष्ट तद्व्याप्तीति संसृष्टी । नित. on या II 138

1477. संसृष्टिनि श्रेते संसृष्टी रिक्यभाङ्ग । नौ. 28 26; अपितृव्यया विभक्तपितृव्यया
वा सह जीवन्तः पुनर्विभजेरन् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 5..

The verses of Yāj. (II. 138-139)¹⁴⁷⁸ on succession to a deceased reunited person are understood by the Mit. to be an exception to the rules contained in Yāj. II. 135-136 laying down that the wife and others inherit the property of a person dying sonless. Therefore it follows that where a person reunites with his brother and then dies leaving a son not reunited with him, it is the son who will inherit and not the brother, though reunited. But if A separates from two sons B and C of whom B reunites with him and C does not and then A dies, then the reunited son B succeeds to A's interest and C takes nothing. This is expressly stated by the Vivādacandra p. 85 that relies on the Smṛtisāra¹⁴⁷⁹. The two verses of Yāj. (II. 138-139) are variously read and interpreted by the Mit. and other commentators and it is not possible nor quite necessary to set out all these readings and explanations. Acc. to the Mit. the two verses mean: 'in the case of a deceased reunited person, the (surviving) reunited member should give (to the posthumous son of the former) the share of the deceased but may take it himself if there is no son (but only a wife); but from among the reunited brothers, the full brother, if reunited, should similarly give to the posthumous son of the deceased the latter's share and (if there be no son) he should take it himself to the exclusion of reunited half brothers; a reunited half brother takes the wealth of the deceased reunited member (dying sonless) and not another half brother who is not reunited; a full brother, though not reunited, may take the wealth along with a half brother who is reunited but the latter will not alone be entitled'. In this interpretation the word 'asamsrsti' in the latter half of II. 139 has to be taken in two connections, once with 'anyodaryah' in the first half and then again with 'samsrstah' (in the 2nd half). This last word is to be understood in two senses, viz.

1478. संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टी सोदरस्य तु सोदर । दद्यादपहरेच्चांशं जातरस्य च भृतस्य च ॥ अन्योदर्यस्तु संसृष्टी नान्योदर्यो धनं हरेत् । असंसृष्टश्चपि वादद्यात्संसृष्टी नान्यमातृजः ॥ य. II. 138-139. The first is विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17 17 also अपरार्क (p 747) reads 'नान्योदर्यधनं हरेत्' and आद्यात्सोदर्यो नान्यमातृजः. विश्वरूप, जितेन्द्रिय and विवाद-चन्द्र p 84 read 'चाद्यात्सोदरो नान्यमातृजः'.

1479 Vide *Fakirappa v. Yellappa* 22 Bom. 101, 104 for the proposition that a reunited son has a preferential right of inheritance to a grandson who remains separate. Vide विवादचन्द्र p 85 'यस्तु पिता पुत्रेणैव केनचित्संसृष्ट-स्तरप्रांशं संसृष्ट एव शुद्धीयात्मासंसृष्टी संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्ट इति वचनात्'... अत एव स्मृतिसारे यदा पित्रैव केनचित्पुत्रेणैव संसृष्टस्तदा तद्धनं संसृष्टिपुत्रो शुद्धीयात्मासंसृष्टी विभक्तपुत्रः संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टीरप्यविशेषणमभिधानादित्युक्तम् ।

(1) full brother (with the preceding word *asamarsti*) and (2) 'reunited' (with the word '*anyamātrjah*'). Further, acc. to the Mit. we have to understand 'eva' after '*anyamātrjah*'. Aparārka (p. 748) reads differently and he, Viśvarūpa and Śrīkaraṁiśra (Dayabhāga XI. 5-16) explain that a full brother though not reunited takes the whole estate and not the half brother though reunited with the deceased. The V. Mayūkha differs from the Mit. when it says that the word *apuhasya* (of one dying sonless) is not to be understood with Yāj (II 138). It derives two propositions from the first half of Yāj II. 138, viz (1) the wealth of one dying reunited is taken by the surviving reunited member or members; (2) in a competition between reunited full brother and reunited half-brother, the former takes the whole. The latter half of II. 138 is an independent sentence (and not joined with the preceding half as the Mit. understands) and applies where a reunited member dies leaving a wife who is pregnant but that fact being unknown the other reunited members divide the estate. In such a case if a son is born the surviving members should hand over to the son the share of the deceased reunited member. But if no such son is born then the survivors may take the estate. In II. 139 the Mayūkha holds that the words '*anyodarya*' and '*anyamātrja*' are not restricted to brothers only, but apply to a paternal uncle or his sons or other persons who were reunited, because their mother is also different from the mother of the deceased. The Dayabhāga discusses Yāj II. 138-139 under the topic of succession to the separate property of a sonless man and its treatment of succession to reunited property is very meagre (vide XII) ¹⁴⁸⁰ The V. P. p. 533 notices this and levels against Jīmūtavāhana the criticism that he got confused. Aparārka (pp. 748-749) seems to be of the same opinion as the Dayabhāga. The V. P. follows the Mit. and criticizes the explanation given by Śrīkara, Sm. C. and others (pp. 535-538). It says that the texts of Śankha, Nārada and others conflict with the text of Yāj. II 135 and that the order of heirs as to a reunited co-parcener is based on express texts and not on Yāj. II. 135 ¹⁴⁸¹ or logical reasoning. According to the V. P. the order of succession to a deceased reunited

1480. एतेन पत्न्याद्युत्रधनग्रहणाधिकारिणे आश्रयिकारावसरे वचनमिदं प्रवर्तते इति व्याचक्षाणो जीमूतवाहनो आन्त एवेत्यवसेयम् । व्य. प. p. 533.

1481. ततश्च परमीदृहि त्रादिक्रमविरोधादविरोधावैतत् संसृष्टभागविवक्ष्यमिति कल्प्यते । विभक्तौ कनैयायिकपत्नीदृहि त्रादिक्रमोऽत्र वाचनिकक्रमेण बाध्यते । अत्रिमन् क्रमे कस्य-चिन्न्यायस्याभावाद्वाचनिक एवायं क्रमः । व्य. प. p. 539.

person seems to be: (1-3) son, grandson, great-grandson; (4) reunited full brother; (5) reunited half brother and separated full brother; (6) reunited mother; (7) reunited father; (8) any other reunited member; (9) half brother not reunited; (10) mother not reunited; (11) father not reunited; (12) widow; (13) daughter; (14) daughter's son; (15) sister. The V. Mayūkha gives the order as follows: (1) son if reunited, (2) son not reunited, though there may be reunited members (other than a son); (3) the parents if reunited in preference to other reunited persons (other than a son); (4) full brother if reunited; (5) full brother not reunited and half brother reunited; (6) half brothers and uncles, if reunited; (7) other male members reunited (in preference to wife though she be reunited); (8) wife if she be reunited; (9) full sister (or daughter according to another reading);¹⁴⁸² (10) any other sapinda who is nearest. It is to be noted that Manu IX. 212 prescribes a peculiar rule of succession for reunited co-parceners viz. that full brothers (not reunited) and full sisters of the deceased reunited co-parcener equally inherit along with half brothers that are reunited the wealth of the deceased. This verse of Manu has been variously explained by Kullūka, Aparārka p. 749, Sm. C. (II pp 304-305), Nīlakantha, Vivādacandra (p. 83) and others.

It may be stated here that cases of reunion come very rarely before the courts.

1482. या तस्य भगिनी सा तु ततोऽं लब्धुमर्हति : अनपत्यस्य धर्मोपमभाषापितुकरय
 च ॥ बृह. १ by बृ. मयूख p 152, बृ. म. p 539. The बृ. म. says केचित्तु या
 तस्य कुर्वन्ति येषु : कुर्वन्ति भगिन्योरभवेऽनन्तरं सपिण्डः. Vide परा. मा. III. p. 541
 for similar words

CHAPTER XXX

STRIDHANA

Stridhana (woman's property). This subject abounds with differing views on several topics that fall under it, as will be seen below

The germs of the topic of *stridhana* can be traced to the Vedic Literature. As Sir Gooroodas Bannerjee remarks (in 'Marriage and Stridhana' p 370), 'nowhere were proprietary rights of women recognized so early as in India; and in very few ancient systems of law have these rights been so largely conceded as in our own'. The wedding hymn in the *Rgveda* (X. 85) contains two verses¹⁴⁸³ (13 and 38) which indicate that gifts were sent to the bridegroom's house with the bride. They are, 'the bridal gifts of *Sūryā* that *Savitr* sent off have gone forth; in the *Aghās* (*Maghā* constellation) are struck the kine and in the *Arjuns* (*Phalgunī* constellation) is carried (the bridal gift); for thee in the beginning they carried about *Sūryā* together with the bridal gifts &c.'. *Sāyana* explains 'vāhātū' as 'cows and other objects given for pleasing the girl to be married', while *Lanman* (*Harvard O series vol. VIII* p. 753) renders it as 'bridal car'. *Sāyana's* interpretation suits the context much better. In the *Tai. S VI. 2. 1* we read,¹⁴⁸⁴ 'the wife (of the sacrificer) holds on (to the cart), for the wife is the mistress of the household gear'. *Manu IX. 11* uses the word '*pārinahya*' (household gear) and states that the wife should be entrusted among other matters with the supervision over it. *Jaimini*¹⁴⁸⁵, according to *Śābara*, refers to

1483. सूर्याया वदतुः प्रागात्सविता यमवाहजत् । अथाह हन्यन्ते गार्गोर्ज्योः पदुस्तते ॥
तुयमग्रे ययवहत् सूर्या वदतुना सह ॥ इतः यदित्यो जाया वा अग्रे प्रजया सह ॥ *क्र. X. 85,*
13 and 38 These are almost the same as अथर्ववेद 14 1 13 and 14 2 1.

1484. पत्न्यन्वारभते पत्नी हि पारीणह्यस्येके । तै. स VI 2. 1. 1 (in connection with आतिथ्येष्टे).

1485. स्ववत्तामपि दुर्क्षयति । *जै. VI 1. 16.* पत्नी चै पारिणय्यस्येष्टे पत्यैव गतमनु-
मत् क्रियते । शबर The printed text differs from the *Tai. S.* text पारिणय्य
would mean 'nuptial gifts'. The *वि. र* p 517 explains पारिणय्य (in
Vas. 17 46) as पारिणय्य परिच्छद् आदर्शकङ्कणादि (paraphernalia, mirrors and
bracelets). *वि. वि.* p. 142 reads कङ्कृतिकादि (combs &c) *दि. ता* (folio 160)
says: पारिणाह्यपत्करः । आदर्शकङ्कणताम्बूलकरण्डकादिरिति कल्पवृक्षः । पारिणयमिति
पादाद्यौतकानित्यन्ये

this passage of the Tai. S. for establishing that women do own certain property. Medhātithi¹⁴⁸⁶ on Manu VIII 416 (cited above on p 452) quotes this passage of the Tai S. and argues that if Manu VIII 416 (saying that whatever a wife earns is her husband's) were literally understood passages like the one in Tai. S. would have no scope and that therefore Manu simply means that though women may be owners they cannot dispose of the property independently. It appears from these ancient passages that the properties, which in early days were held to be owned by women, were presents made at the time of marriage (such as ornaments and costly dresses) and household articles that are generally under the control of women and that the later smṛti rules about the devolution of stridhana in the female line arose from the peculiar nature of the articles over which dominion was conceded to women. This early state of things is indicated by some of the early sūtras. Āp Dh¹⁴⁸⁷ S. (II 6. 14. 9) states the view of some predecessors (which Āp himself does not approve) that the ornaments belong to the wife and also such wealth as came to her from her agnates (father, brother &c.). Baud. Dh. S. II 2. 49 says that daughters get the ornaments of their mother and whatever else it is customary for them to get. Vas 17. 46 prescribes that women (daughters) should divide the nuptial presents given to their mother. Śankha (q by Sam. Pr. p. 851) prescribes that in all forms of marriage ornaments and stridhana should be given to the girl. It may be that Manu VIII 416 only gives expression to an ancient opinion, that the literal meaning of that verse was given up long before and that all that Manu meant was that during coverture a woman was subject to the control of the husband as regards her stridhana.

Three principal topics have to be discussed under stridhana viz what constitutes stridhana, woman's dominion over her

1486. असति वा स्त्रीणां स्वाम्ये पत्यैवाद्युपगमनं कियते पत्नी वै पारिणयस्येजो इत्यादि-
श्रुतयो निरास्तम्भनः स्युः । अत्रोच्यते । पारतन्त्र्याभिधानमेतत् । असत्यो भर्तृवृत्तयः न
स्त्रीभिः स्वातन्त्र्येण यत्र कचिद्धनं विनियोज्यम् । मेघा on मनु VIII 416

1487. अलङ्कारो भार्याया ज्ञातिधनं चेति । आप घ सू. II. 6 14 9, मातुलङ्कार
दुष्टतरं सप्तदायिकं लभेरक्षत्यद्वा । बी घ सू. II 2 49, मातु पारिणयं स्त्रियो विभजेरन् ।
वसिष्ठ 17. 46 The वि र p 521 explains आप as 'ज्ञातिधनं चेति निवाहे यद्धनं
यौतकार्यं लब्धं तदपि भार्याया एव' The मित्रा. on वाङ् II 117 seems to have
read this as a supplement to the preceding sūtra about the special share
of the eldest son. The द्वायभाग IV 2 15 p 82 and विवादचन्द्र p 75 read
पारिणय in Vas and explain as परिणयनलब्धं धनं or विवादकालीनं respectively

strīdhana and inheritance to strīdhana. On each one of these topics great diversity of views prevails and the subject has become very complicated, as the *Dāyabhāga* remarks¹⁴⁸⁸.

Gautama contains three sūtras about the devolution of strīdhana, but he does not define or describe it.^{1488a} Kaut (III 2. p. 152) defines¹⁴⁸⁹: 'means of subsistence and what could be tied on the body (i.e. ornaments and jewellery) constitute strīdhana. The means of subsistence should be fixed at 2000 (panas) as the maximum, while there is no limit to (what may be given) as *ābadhya* (ornaments &c.)'. This may be compared with a verse of Kāt. (902) and a similar¹⁴⁹⁰ verse of Vyāsa viz. 'the father, the mother, the husband, brother and kinsmen should give strīdhana to a woman according to their means up to two thousand (panas) except immovable property' The Sm. C. and V. Mayūkha explain that this limit of 2000 applies to gifts made every year, but that if a gift is to be made once for all, then more may be given and even immovable property may be given.

The term strīdhana literally means 'woman's property'. But in the ancient smṛti works the word was restricted to certain special kinds of property given to a woman on certain occasions or at different stages of her life. Gradually such kinds of property went on increasing in extent and value. We have to follow this evolution of the meaning and content of the word strīdhana. One characteristic feature of strīdhana from the times of Gautama downwards has been that it devolved on females in the first instance. The oldest extant definition of it

1488. इत्यतिगहनमुक्तममजःस्त्रीधनम् । दायभाग IV 3 42 p 99.

1488a. For exhaustive treatment of strīdhana the following works may be consulted. Sir Gooroodass Bannerjee's 'Hindu Law of marriage and strīdhana' (5th ed. of 1923) pp. 319-519, Dr Jolly's T. L. L. on 'Adoption, Inheritance and Partition' (1885) pp. 226-270.

1489. वृत्तिराधन्यं वा स्त्रीधनम् । परहिसहस्रा स्याद्या वृत्तिः । आभयानियम. । अर्थ-शास्त्र III 2.

1490. पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृजातिभिः स्त्रीधनं स्त्रियै । यथाशक्त्या हिसहस्राद् दातव्यं स्थावराद्वहे । कात्या. 9 by स्मृतिच II 281, परा मा III. p. 548, च्य. मयूख p 154; हिसहस्रः परो दायः स्त्रियै देयो धनस्य च । यच्च भर्ता धनं दत्तं सा यथाकाममश्नुयात् ॥ व्यास 9. by स्मृतिच. II p 281, अपरार्क p 752, दायभाग IV. 1. 10, बालम्भडी, च्य. मयूख p. 154 The परा. मा III p. 548 quotes वृहस्पति 'व्याज्जनं च पर्याप्तं श्रेयार्थं वा यदिच्छति ।'

in Dharmasāstra works is that of Manu¹⁴⁹¹ IX. 194. 'what (was given) before the nuptial fire, what was given on the bridal procession, what was given in token of love, what was received from her brother, mother or father, that is called the sixfold woman's property'. The Mit. on Yāj II 143 explains that the number six is intended to exclude a smaller number of the kinds of *strīdhana* and does not exclude a larger number. In IX. 195 Manu appears to mention one more kind viz. '*anvū-dheya*' (gift subsequent)' Nār. (*dāyabhāga*, 8) has the same six kinds as Manu IX. 194, but reads '*bhartrdāya*' (the husband's gift) for Manu's 'what is given in token of affection', the latter being thus wider than Nārada's words Yāj. (II 143-44) enumerates¹⁴⁹² the several kinds of *strīdhana* as follows: 'what was given (to a woman) by the father, mother, husband or brother or was received by her before the nuptial fire, or what was presented on her husband's marrying another wife (*ūdhivedamika*) and the like—these are denominated *strīdhana*; so also what is given by the cognate relations (of the woman), the *śulka* (fee), and gifts subsequent to marriage'. The Mit. and most of its followers read '*ādhivedanikādyam ca*', while Aparārka and the *Dāyabhāga* read '*ādhivedanikam caiva*', the difference being that if one reads as the Mit. does, several other kinds not expressly enumerated can be easily included under *strīdhana*. But it should be noted that even without reading —'*kādyam*', Aparārka explains the verse in the same way as the Mit. does. Visnu¹⁴⁹³ Dh S. 17. 18 enumerates almost the same kinds of *strīdhana* as Yāj, but omits the word '*ādya*'.

Among *smṛti* writers Kātyāyana gives the most elaborate treatment of *strīdhana* in about twenty-seven verses. He

1491 अधग्रहणवह्निकं दत्तं च प्रीतिकर्मणि । भ्रातृमातृपितृमातृ षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥ मनु IX 194 कात्या. (894) acc to दायभाग (IV. 1 4 p. 72), वि. र. 522 and वि. चि. p 138 had practically the same verse (reading प्रीतिरिति स्त्रियै) The Mitā says, 'परपुत्रमनुनोक्तं . . . स्त्रीधनस्य षड्विधस्य तन्पुत्रसंख्याव्यवच्छेदार्थं नाजिकसंख्याव्यवच्छेदार्थः । अधग्रहणवह्निकं भर्तृदायस्तथैव च । भ्रातृमातृपितृमातृ षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥ चारुद (दायभाग, 8) .

1492. पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृदत्तमध्यगन्धुपागतम् । आधिदेदुनिकायं च स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥ बन्धुदत्तं तथा श्रुतमन्वाधेयकमिव च । या. II. 143-144 On आधिदेदुनिकं चैव, अपरार्क p 751 says चशब्द आलम्ब्य. तेन च स्त्रीधनान्तरपरिग्रहः । तद्यथा—कार्याः पत्न्यः समाश्रिताः, मातापत्यं समं हरेत् । स्वस्मादज्ञाच्चतुर्भागं, मातुः परिणामं स्त्रियो विभजे-रन्, अन्यदायः पत्नीस्वामिकं तत्स्त्रीधनमिति मन्वादिभिः परिकीर्तितम् । Against the reading चैव the बालमहोद्दि remarks 'अत्र आधिदेदुनिकं चैवेति मत्पुत्रतपाठो न शुक्', 'वशात्पुत्रस्य वैषम्यात्, नूनतापते, एवमान्तरविरोधापत्तेश्च ।'

1493 पितृमातृपुत्रभ्रातृदत्तमध्यगन्धुपागतमाधिदेदुनिकं बन्धुदत्तं श्रुतमन्वाधेयकमिति स्त्रीधनम् । निष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17, 15.

defines several kinds of *strīdhana* enumerated by Manu, Yāj, Nār., and Visnu (in all six) as follows¹⁴⁹⁴: what is given to women at the time of marriage before the nuptial fire is declared by the wise to be *adhyagni*¹⁴⁹⁵ *strīdhana*. That again which a woman obtains when she is being taken (in a procession) from her father's house (to the bridegroom's) is declared to be *adhyāvahanika* *strīdhana*. Whatever is given to a woman through affection by the father-in-law or mother-in-law and what is received by her at the time of doing obeisance at the feet (of elders) is said to be *prīṭidatta* (gift through affection) *strīdhana*. That is declared to be *śulka* (bride's fee) which is obtained as the price of household utensils, of beasts of burden, of milch cattle, ornaments and slaves. Whatever is obtained by a woman after marriage from the family of her husband as also from the family of her (father's) kinsmen is said to be *anvādheya* (gift subsequent). According to Bhṛgu whatever is obtained by a woman after marriage through affection from her husband or from her parents is *anvādheya*. It may be noted that Kātyāyana's definitions of *adhyagni* and *adhyāvahanika* are wide

1494. विवाहकाले यस्त्रीभ्यो दीयते ह्यग्निसंनिधौ । तदध्यग्निकृतं सद्भिः स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥ यद्युत्तमं नारी नीयमाना पितृगृहात् । अध्यावहानिकं चैव स्त्रीधनं तदुदाहृतम् ॥ प्रीत्या दत्तं तु यत्किञ्चित् श्वशुरा वा श्वशुरेण वा । पादवन्दनिकं चैव प्रीतिदत्तं तदुच्यते ॥ शूद्रोपस्करवाह्यानां दोह्याभरणकर्मिणाम् । मूल्यं लब्धं तु यत्किञ्चित्पुत्रकं तत् परिकीर्तितम् ॥ विवाहात्परतो यत्तु लब्धं भर्तृकुलात् स्त्रिया । अन्वाधेयं तदुक्तं तु लब्धं यन्पुत्रकुलात् तथा ॥ ऊर्ध्वं लब्धं तु यत्किञ्चित् संस्कारात् प्रीतितः स्त्रिया । भर्तुः पित्रोः सकाशाद् अन्वाधेयं तु तद् भूयः ॥ उदया कल्पया वापि भर्तुः पितृगृहेषु वा । अग्नौ सकाशाद् पित्रोर्वा लब्धं सौदायिकं श्रुतम् ॥ कात्या 895-901. The *mitra* quotes all except two (viz 898 and 900), the *dharmasūtra* (IV) quotes all except 897, *वि र*, (pp 510, 524-525) reads all, *दीपकालिका*, *दायभाग* IV 1 5 p 73, *कुल्लूक* on *मनु* 9 194, *वि चि* p. 138 read नीयमाना हि (or तु) पितृकात् in 896, *अपरार्क* p. 751, *च्यव* नि p 465, *विवादचन्द्र* p 77, *वि चि* p 138 read तद्वावण्याजितं श्रुच्यते for प्रीतिदत्तं तदुच्यते; *दीपकालिका*, व्यवहारसार p 237, *च्य य* p 543 read दोह्याभरणकर्मिणाम्; *वि चि* p 139 and *च्य. मयूख* p 153 read यद्द्वयं स्वकुलात्तथा; *मिता*, *स वि* p 380 read यद्द्वयं पितृकुलात्तथा. *दायभाग* reads भर्तुः सकाशात् पित्रोर्वा

1495. Some of the words deserve explanation. *अध्यग्नि* is formed as an *अव्ययीभाव* from *अग्नि* + *अग्नि* acc to *पा* II. 1. 6 'अव्ययं विभक्तिस्त्रीषु' and means *अग्नी अधिकृत्य अग्निसंनिधौ इत्यर्थः* (बालम्भडी); *आधिपदेनिक* *अधिपदेन धर्मपत्न्या सत्या रागत एव विवादान्तरकरणं तत् निमित्तं अस्वेति* । *शुपोधिनी* and *बालम्भडी* (which relies on *पा. V. 1. 38*) Some read *अध्यावहानिक*, others read *अध्यावहानिकम्*. *आवहन* or *आवाहन* means *पितृकुलाद् भर्तृकुलप्राप्तिः* (नन्दन on *मनु* IX 194) *तत्तमन-वोपलब्धमध्यावहानिकं*; *अन्वाधेय* means *अनु (विवादान्तर) आधीयते इति (नन्दन)*. Instead of *प्रीतिदत्त* some read *लावण्याजितं* (obtained by her loveliness) which is explained by the *वि चि* (138) as *लावण्यं शीलनैयुण्यादि* । तथा च *पादवन्दनायै शीलादिमतेषु वा स्त्रियै श्वशुरादिना दत्तं तृतीयं स्त्रीधनमित्यर्थः* ।

enough to include gifts made even by strangers on those occasions

These definitions given by Kātyāyana have been accepted by all digests including even the *Dāyabhāga*.

"That is known as *saudāyika* which is obtained by a married woman or by a maiden in her husband's or father's house from her brother or from her parents" (Kāt.). Some of the divergences in readings and in interpretation deserve to be noted. Acc. to the reading adopted by the Mit *adhyāvahanika* includes all gifts made by any one when the newly married girl is taken from her father's house in a procession, while the reading adopted by the *Dāyabhāga*¹⁴⁹⁶ and some others (*patrakṛt*) restricts the *adhyāvahanika* to gifts made by the father's or mother's family only. The V. R. (p. 523) includes under *adhyāvahanika* also the gifts made by the father-in-law and others when the girl is taken back to her father's house and the V. C. (p. 138) says that it is what is obtained at the time of '*dvāgama*'. The *Dāyabhāga*¹⁴⁹⁷ (IV. 3. 19-20 p. 93) explains '*dohyābharana-karminām*' differently as 'the gratification paid by house-builders or goldsmiths to induce her to press her husband to engage them' or as Vyāsa says 'what is given to a woman to induce her (cheerfully) to go to her husband's house'. The Sm. C. and V. P. explain *śulka* as the price of the articles which the bridegroom was in the habit of presenting to the bride at the time of marriage or when he started a house.¹⁴⁹⁸ The V.

1496 पैतृकादिरेकशेषेण पितृमातृकुलाद् यत्प्रभते धनं भर्तृगृहे लीयमाना तद्व्यावाह-
निकम् । दायभाग IV 1 6 p 73. 'भर्तृगृहाद्यदा पितृकुलं पाह्यते तदा स्वहारादिभिर्दत्त-
मव्यावाहनिकमिति मेधातिथिः तदपि ब्राह्मण्यस्याप्यात् ।' वि. र. pp. 522-523 ;
द्विगमनकाले यत्कुलोप्ययात तद्व्यावाहनिकमित्यर्थः । वि. चि. p 138. The printed
editions do not contain the comment of मेधातिथि on मनु IX. 194 and the
following verses

1497 गृहादिकमिभिः किरित्यभित्तकर्मकरणाय भर्तादिभरणार्थं स्त्रियै यदुक्तोचदान
तच्चुल्लं तदेव मूल्यं भर्तृगृहत्वात् । स्वासीक्तं वा यथा । यदा नेतुं भर्तृगृहे श्रुत्वा तत् परि-
कीर्तितम् । भर्तृगृहगमनार्थमुक्तोच्चादि यद्वत् तच्च ब्राह्मण्यविशिष्टम् । दायभाग IV. 3.
20-21 p. 93

1498 The change in the meaning of *śulka* is interesting. One mean-
ing of *śulka* is 'tax or toll on merchandize'. Vide *Visnu Dh* S III 29,
Yāj. II 173, 261, Vas 19, 37 Pāṇini V 1. 47 uses that word in that sense
(तदस्मिन्गृहस्थापलाभशुल्कोपदा दीयते) and the *Kāśikā* explains it as रसानिर्वेष्टो
राजभोगः शुल्कः. Another sense is 'the fee paid to the bride or her parents
by the bridegroom in consideration of marriage'. The word occurs in

Nir. (p. 468) states that *sulka* has two senses; (1) what is given as the price of the girl to the guardians of the girl which goes to the mother and brother (on her death); (2) what is given (by the bridegroom) as the price of the ornaments for the girl and of the household gear.¹⁴⁹⁹ Another verse of Kāt. (904) has been quoted by many writers, which restricts the literal sense of the word *stridhana*, 'over that wealth that is obtained by a woman by mechanical arts (such as spinning) or from a stranger through affection, the husband has ownership,

(Continued from the last page)

Gaut. 28 23 and in Sankha (*svayam śulkaṃ vadhū*) q by V. R. p 521 In very ancient days there appears to have been a practice to offer in some cases considerable wealth to the father of the bride to induce him to give her in marriage. Rg I 109. 2 refers to this. 'O Indra and Agni! I have heard that you are more liberal than even an unsuitable (or deficient) son-in-law or even a brother-in-law'. Yāska (VI. 9) in explaining this verse remarks that the southern people speak of the husband of the bride that is purchased as 'vijāmātr' (विजामाता इति शब्दं दाक्षिणाताः कृतायतिमाचक्षते अनुसमाप्त इव दत्तोभिजेतः) But this verse also shows that the bride's brother (*śyāla*) had to give wealth to his sister's husband, Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp 503-506 for passages about the sale and purchase of girls in marriage from ancient times right down to 1800 A. D. Though sometimes girls were purchased for marriage, popular feeling gradually asserted itself against this In the Vanaparva (115. 23) Gādhī claims as the custom of his family one thousand horses of the best kind from Rcika when the latter preferred his suit for the hand of Gādhī's daughter (उच्यते नः कुले किञ्चिद् दूर्ध्वैर्यत्समवर्तितम् । एकतः श्यामकर्णानां पाण्डुराणां तरस्विनाम् । सहस्रं वाजिनां सुन्दकमिति विधिं द्विजोत्तमम्) Vide Anusāsana 4 12 (for a similar statement) and 2 31. Manu III. 51 forbids the taking of even a small gratuity through greed by the father when giving away his daughter in marriage and says that if he does so he would be guilty of the sale of his child and in III. 54 (almost the same as Anusāsana 46. 1-2) Manu says that when agnates do not appropriate to themselves the gratuity paid (by the bridegroom) for the bride but hand it over to the bride then it is not sale, but it is honour shown to the girl and is merely kindness to her. The Mit defines *śulka* as the gratuity after getting which the girl is given The V. C p. 139 defines it as what is obtained from the husband on condition of furnishing household gear Ac. 'गृहोपस्करादिकरणोपाधिना स्त्रिया गृहपतिनो यत्नं तत्पुत्रकामिपर्यं'

1499. तत्र सुलकं द्विविधं कन्याविक्रयमूल्यत्वेन कन्यावह्न्यो वस्त्रमेवम् । तस्माद्व्यानि आह्वयानि वा । कन्यापूजनगृहोपकरणद्वयत्वेन वस्त्रमपरं सुलकम् । तत्राह्विरप्युच्यते । अथ. नि. p. 468.

the rest is declared to be *stridhana*.¹⁵⁰⁰ The *prima facie* view (*pūrvapakṣa*) in *Jai.* VI. 1. 12 urges that what a woman gets by serving cooked food or by cutting clothes does not belong to her. The gifts from strangers here referred to are other than those made by a stranger before the nuptial fire or at the time of the bridal procession. This definition makes it clear that what is obtained even from a stranger by a maiden or by a woman who is a widow at the time of the gift is pure *stridhana*. Devala says, 'maintenance (what was given for maintenance), ornaments, *sūka* (bride's gratuity), the profits of money-lending are a woman's *stridhana*. She alone is entitled to enjoy it and the husband is not entitled to enjoy it except in the case of distress'.¹⁵⁰¹ *Manu* IX. 200 states, 'the heirs of the husband should not divide (among themselves) the ornaments worn by women during the lifetime of their husband; if they divide them they incur sin'. In the printed editions of *Manu* there is no comment of *Medhātithi* on this verse, but the *V. R.* (p. 509), *V. C.* p. 139, *Dayatattva* p. 184 all say that acc. to *Medhātithi* even ornaments, though not donated expressly, become *stridhana*, if worn with the husband's consent.¹⁵⁰² According to the *Vaijayanti* such ornaments should be assigned to the share of the woman's husband so that she alone might put them on and that it is not meant that such ornaments are not to be taken into account at all at the time of partition.

1500. प्राप्तं शिल्पैस्तु यद्वित्तं प्रीत्या चैव यद्व्यतः । भर्तुः स्वाम्यं तदा तत्र शेषं तु स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥ कात्या. q. by दायभाग IV. 1. 19-20 p 76, स्मृतिच II p 281, परा मा III 550, व्य. मयूख p. 154. दायभाग explains: अन्यत इति पितृमातृभर्तृकुल-स्पर्तिरिकात् यत्तदर्थं शिल्पेन वा यद्वित्तं तत्र भर्तुः स्वाम्यं स्वातन्त्र्यम्, अनापद्यपि भर्ता गृहीतुमर्हति तेन स्त्रिया अपि धनं न स्त्रीधनमस्वातन्त्र्यात्. 'यदनया भक्तोत्सर्पणेन वा कर्तनेन वा धनमुपाजितं तेन यद्व्यत इति । उच्यते तद्व्यतया न स्वम् ।' भाष्य on जै. VI. 1 12.

1501. वृत्तिरभरणं शुल्कं लाभश्च स्त्रीधनं भवेत् । भोक्त्री च स्वयमेवेदं पतिर्नोर्हित्यना-पदि ॥ देवल q by अपराक्षि p 755, स्मृतिच II, p 283, दायभाग IV. 1. 15 p. 75, वि. र. p 512, व्य. मयूख p 56, वि. चि. p 141. Some read वृद्धिः (व्य. म. p. 545 does so) लाभ is variously explained. लभ्यते इति लाभः । एतदुक्तं भवति । पार्वत्यादि-प्रीत्यर्थं व्रतादौ यत् स्त्रिया लभ्यते तदपि स्त्रीधनमिति । स्मृतिच. II, p. 283, व्य. म. p 545 and मदनरत्न follow this, 'लामा वस्तुभ्यो लब्धम्' वि. र. p. 512, वि. चि. p. 141; 'वृत्तिर्जीवनार्थं पित्रादिदत्तं लाभो वृद्धिः' व्य. मयूख p 156

1502. परसौ जीवति यः स्त्रीभिरलङ्कारो धनो भवेत् । न तं भजेत् दायादा भजमानाः पतन्ति ते ॥ मनु IX. 200, which is almost same as विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 22 पत्युलङ्घनेना- (ज्ञानेना) प्यदतोप्यलङ्कारो यो मण्डनार्थं धृतः सोऽपि दायादेनं हर्षेण हृति मेधातिथेरिति यकाश. वि. र. p 509; पत्युरदतोपि तद्वस्तुना परिहितोप्यलङ्कारस्तावन्नैव भार्यायाः स्त्रीयो भवतीति मेधातिथिः । वि. चि. p 139 and दायतत्त्व p 184.

Saudāyika is not a special kind of *stridhana*. It is rather a comprehensive term for several kinds of *stridhana* as the definition given by Kāt shows and as the V. C. (p. 139) expressly states¹⁵⁰³. It is almost synonymous with *stridhana* in the technical sense. Acc. to most writers, it is wealth received by a woman, whether, as a maiden or as a married woman, in her father's or husband's house from her parents or relatives of the father and mother. The Sm C. II. p. 282 and V. R. p. 511 hold that *saudāyika* is all wealth obtained by a woman whether as a maiden or as a married woman from her mother, father or paternal relatives only, while the *Dāyabhāga* IV. 1. 23 pp 76-77 and V. C. hold that *saudāyika* includes also all property donated by the husband except immovable property, which latter she cannot alienate even after her husband's death. There is a verse of Vyāsa¹⁵⁰⁴ that defines *saudāyika* similarly, 'whatever is obtained by a woman as a maiden at the time of marriage and after marriage from the house of her father or husband, is termed *saudāyika*'. The word '*saudāyika*' is derived from '*sudāya*' and means, according to the *Dāyabhāga* IV. 1. 22 p. 76, 'received from affectionate kindred'. The *Amarakośa* says that '*sudāya*' means 'gifts of *yautaka* and the like' and that *saudāyika* is merely a derivative without change of meaning¹⁵⁰⁵.

Another word requiring explanation is '*yautaka*'. It occurs in Manu IX. 131, 'whatever is the *yautaka* of the mother goes to the maiden daughter' (and not to the married daughter or son). So *yautaka* seems to be a synonym for *stridhana* in

1503. एवं रीघनानि भवन्ति । एतदेव स्त्रीणां सौदायिकं तथा च कात्यायन । ऊढया ... भवेत् । पत्युरित्यत्रापि गृहे इति सम्बन्धः । . . आतुरित्युपलक्षणम् । तेन कन्यया वा ऊढया वा पितृतो वा तत्कुलतो वा पतिकुलतो वा यत्तद्धं तत्सर्वं तस्याः सौदायिकमित्यर्थः । वक्ष्यमाणहस्यादिकमप्येतत्प्रपञ्चः । वि. चि. p. 139, दायभाग IV. 1. 21 reads भर्तुः सकाशात् पित्रोर्वा, 'भर्तुः सकाशादिति कल्पतर्वादौ पाठः' व्य. प्र. p. 543.

1504. यत्कन्यया विवाहे च विवाहात्परतश्च यत् । पितृभर्तृगृहात्मात्रं धनं सौदायिकं स्मृतम् ॥ व्यास. q. by स्तुतिच II p 282, स. वि. p 378.

1505. सुदायसम्बन्धिभ्यो लब्धं सौदायिकम् । दायभाग IV. 1. 22, यौतकादे ह यदेयं सुदायो हरणं च तत् । अमरकोशः, ननु 'सौदायिकं ह यदेयं सुदायो भरणं च तत्' इति निघण्टुपाठात् कथं सौदायिकशब्दोन्नयः अशुक्तः । स्वार्थे तद्धितान्ततयेत्यनवयम् । स्तुतिच II p 282 The quotation from Amara seems to be corrupt as printed by Mr. Gharpure, the Mysore edition correctly reads यौतकादे ह यदेयं सुदाय इति निघण्टुपाठात् (vol III. 2. p. 655) 'सुदाय एव सौदायिकं स्वाधिकं ह । स्वादायौ लब्धमिति वा । स्वदाय(सुदाय?)सम्बन्धिभ्यो लब्धमिति ह प्राश्न.' वाल्मह्मी on श. II. 143

the technical sense The Sm ¹⁵⁰⁶ C II p. 285, Madanaratna (folio 105 b) and V. Mayūkha remark 'yautaka is that wealth that is received as a gift from anybody by a woman while she is seated together with her husband at the time of marriage and the like'. It is derived from *yuta* (joined). It should, however, be noted that Yāj II. 149 employs the word *yautaka* as an adjective in the sense of 'separated' and that Medhātithi on Manu IX 131 explains 'yautaka' as the separate property of a woman, her *strīdhana*. The Sm C II. p 285 remarks that Devasvāmī derived 'yautaka' from 'yu' (to separate) and held it to mean 'wealth obtained from the family of the woman's father which is separate in its characteristics'. The V. C. p 142 and Vivādacandra p. 74 read 'yautuka' and the former explains it as gifts from the father and the like at the time of marriage. The Dāyatattva (p 186) states that both forms 'yautaka' and 'yautuka' are in vogue and relies on Vācaspatī and Rāyamukuta in support.

Kaut (III 2. p 153) names *śulka*, *anvādheya*, *adhivedanika* and *bandhudatta* as kinds of *strīdhana*.

The above are the principal *smṛti* texts on the question of what constitutes *strīdhana*. It will be seen that the *smṛtis* only enumerate and describe certain kinds of property as *strīdhana*, which word is not used by them in the etymological sense of 'all kinds of property possessed by a woman'. They do not attempt a comprehensive definition of *strīdhana*. From the texts of the *smṛtis* it follows that *strīdhana* was a technical term, which at first included only six kinds of property, then nine and ultimately by the time of Kātyāyana it included all property (whether movable or immovable) obtained by a woman, either as a maiden or at marriage or after marriage,

1506 यौतकं विवादादिकाले एकत्रासनीपविष्टाभ्यां लब्धम् । अत एवोक्तं निवण्डु-
कारिर्धुतयोर्यौतकमिति । मदनरत्न folio 105 b ; च्च. मयूख p 158 quotes the मदनरत्न;
दि. १ p. 517 explains 'यौतकमत्र परिणयनकाले पित्रादिभिः स्त्रियै वृत्तम्'; परा. मा.
III. p 552 explains as पितृकुललब्धम् यौतकं समानासनीपवेदानमस्यासन्नयोर्वधुरयो-
र्विवादादौ । येन केनचित्समर्पितं धनं तद्वधुरयोर्वधुतयोर्यौतकं मतमिति निवण्डुकारीकृत्वात् ।
.. देवस्वामी तु पितृग्रहाल्लब्धं भर्तृग्रहाल्लब्धपैत्र्या द्रव्यधनतया यौतकं मातृधनं (भ्रातृधनं!)
नेत्याह । तच्चिन्त्यम् । पक्षद्वयस्यापि कल्पनामात्रत्वात् । स्मृतिच. II p 285. Vide च्च. प्र.
p 548 for most of these being brought together. स्प. नि. p. 463 explains
यौतकं as मातृकुललब्धम्. 'यौतकशब्दः द्रव्यभावेन च स्त्रीधने । तत्र हि तस्या एव केषलायाः
स्वाभ्यम् । अन्ये तु सौदायकमेव तत्सम्बन्धस्त्रीधने तत्र हि तस्या स्वातन्त्र्यम् । मेघ. on
मनु IX 131: वाचस्पतिमिश्रायसुकुटुम्बाद् यौतकं यौतकमपि साधु । परिणयनकालः
परिणयनपूर्वपरिधुतकाल स च इद्विभाङ्गात्स्वभ्यस्यभिवादान्मो विवाहस्य विद्वतः । वाच-
स्प. p. 186.

from her parents or the family or relatives of the parents or from the husband and his family (except immovable property given by the husband) and that what was obtained by a woman *after her marriage* by her own labour or from strangers did not become *stridhana*. Most *smṛtis* employ the word 'datta' (donated), but Kāt. and Vyāsa sometimes use the word 'obtained' (*prāpta* or *labdha*), which is ordinarily wider than 'datta'. But it is clear that the commentators do not expressly say that 'obtained' includes 'inherited', though from their general remarks to be quoted below it is arguable that they probably included inherited property under property obtained.

This is *stridhana* in a technical sense.

It is now necessary to find how *stridhana* was defined by the several commentaries and digests that are held authoritative in the several schools. This is a most important matter for practical purposes, since the courts have to follow the opinions of commentators¹⁵⁰⁷ that are authoritative in each school and are not at liberty to put their own construction upon ancient *smṛti* texts, if such construction would run counter to the express opinions of the authoritative commentators. First then comes the *Mitaksarā*. Its gloss on Yāj. II. 143 may be translated as follows¹⁵⁰⁸: 'whatever is given by the father, mother, husband and brother; what was presented by the maternal uncle and the like at the time of marriage before the nuptial fire; and *ādhuvedanika*, that is, gift made (by the husband) at the time of marrying a second wife as will be described subsequently in the words 'he should give to the wife that is superseded' (Yāj. II. 148); by the word 'ādya' (meaning 'and the like') is indicated property that is obtained by succession, purchase, partition, seizure or finding—all this is declared by Manu and others to be *stridhana*. The word *stridhana* is employed here in its etymological sense and not in a technical sense, since, when the etymological sense is possible, it is improper to resort to the technical sense' The *Mitaksarā* expanded the

1507. Vide *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramlinga* 12 Moo I. A. 397, 436, quoted in *Aimaram v. Bajirao* 62 I. A. 139 at p. 143

1508. विवाहात्प्राप्तं पत्युः अथवा च पत्युः पत्न्या विवाहकालेऽप्राप्तं पत्युः मातुःपितुः
दत्तं, अधिवेदनिकं अधिवेदनमिति अधिविकल्पितं दद्यादिति पदप्रमाणम् । आद्यस्येन
रिक्त्वपक्षविभागापरिग्रहा धेयमन्वयः एतत्स्वीयं मन्त्रादिभिर्वक्तम् । स्त्रीधनज्ञानं यौगिकी
न पारिभाषिक । योगसम्भवे परिभाषाया अशुक्त्वात् । मिता on या II. 143 As against
the last sentence of the Mit may be compared the maxim (*nyāya*) 'स्त्री-
योगसम्पत्तिः' (relied upon in परा. सा I. 1. p. 300)

definition of strīdhana so as to include under it the five kinds of property of which a man becomes owner in various ways according to Gautama X. 39. The result is that, according to the Mit, property of any description belonging to a woman becomes strīdhana even if it be inherited by her from a male as a widow or as a mother or even if it be obtained at a partition by a wife or mother (acc. to Yāj. II 115 or 123 respectively). The same interpretation of the word 'ādyā' has been accepted by several works, such as the Madanapārijāta (p 671), the S. V. (p. 379), V. P. (p 542), the Bālabhāṭṭi. Aparārka without reading 'ādyā' gave the same explanation of 'ca' as stated above (on p. 773). On the other hand, the Dāyabhāga gave a restricted meaning to the word. Jīmūtavāhana reads Yāj II. 143 as 'ādhrvedanukam cava', quotes the verse of Devala (in note 1501), remarks that strīdhana is not restricted to the six kinds of Manu (IX. 194) but includes other kinds mentioned by other smrtis and finally¹⁵⁰⁹ observes: 'that alone is strīdhana which a woman has authority to donate, sell or enjoy independently of her husband's control'. The Dāyabhāga does not expressly state the kinds of property that a woman can dispose of independently of her husband, but immediately after defining strīdhana it quotes the texts of Kāt. (about earnings from mechanical arts and gifts from strangers) and Nār. (IV. 28), 'what has been given to a wife by her loving husband, she may spend or give away as she likes even after his death excepting immovables'. From this it follows that, according to the Dāyabhāga, all gifts from relations except a gift of immovable property made by the husband and gifts from even strangers made before the nuptial fire or on the bridal procession constitute strīdhana, but property inherited by a woman or obtained on partition, gifts from strangers (other than the two kinds noted above) and property acquired by her by mechanical arts or by her labour are not strīdhana. The Dāyatattva closely follows the Dāyabhāga.

The Sm. C. does not give a definition of strīdhana, but it does not adopt the interpretation of the word 'ādyā' given by

1509. तदेवमप्यवस्थितसंख्यसंनिधनकीर्तनात् यदसंख्यया विवक्षिता किं तु स्त्रीधन-
कीर्तनमात्रपराणि वचनानि । तदेव च स्त्रीधनं यद् भवतु स्वातन्त्र्येण दानविक्रयभोगान्कार्त्तुम-
धिकरोति । ... स्थावरस्य भर्तृवृत्तमात्रे स्त्रिया दानाद्यनधिकारः । तदाह नारदः । भर्ता प्रीतेन
यद्वत् स्त्रियै तस्मिन्नुत्तरे तत् । सा यथाकाममस्तीयाद् दद्याद्वा । स्थावरान्नृते । भर्तृवृत्तविक्र-
यणाद् भर्तृवृत्तस्थाराद्रुते अन्यत् स्थावर देयमेव भवति । दायभागे IV 1. 18 and 23.
अकृष्ण says 'स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्येण विनियोग्यं स्त्रीधनमित्यर्थः ।'

the Mit. Therefore it may be said that it is in line with the *Dayabhāga*. The Par. M. III p. 547¹⁵¹⁰ (another Madras authority) appears to follow the Mit., since it says " 'ādya' includes 'ādhivedanika' and what is acquired by inheritance, sale and the like." The *Vivādacintāmaṇi* (the leading authority in Mithilā) does not define *stridhana* in general, but enumerates the several kinds of *stridhana* described by Manu, Yāj., Viṣṇu, Kāt., and Devala and so is on a par with the *Dayabhāga*. The V. *Mayūkha* divides *stridhana* into two kinds, *pārībhāṣika* (technical) and *apārībhāṣika* (non-technical). The former comprises properties expressly stated to be *stridhana* by the sages, while the latter includes all other property belonging to a woman (except what is called technical) and acquired by her by partition or cutting (sewing or other mechanical arts).¹⁵¹¹ This division is peculiar to the V. *Mayūkha*. The *Vīramitrodaya* (the paramount authority in the Benares school) agrees with Mit. as stated above.

It is beyond the scope of this work to go deeply into modern caselaw. But it is necessary to show how the Indian Courts have in modern times dealt with *stridhana* as defined by the commentators. It may be said at once that the inclusion by the Mit. of property inherited by a woman or obtained at a partition under *stridhana* has been totally discarded by the Privy Council for all provinces in India except Bombay¹⁵¹². A woman may inherit property from a male, such as from her husband, father or son or she may inherit property from a female, that is, from her mother, daughter &c. Both these kinds of property

1510. आद्यज्ञानेन अध्यावाहनिककथं (रिक्थ?) कथादिमासं च । परा. मा III p. 547.

1511. यत्तु विभजेरन्मुताः पित्रोरुर्ध्वं विक्पसृणं सममिति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तं तत्पारिभाषिकातिरिक्तविभागकर्तृनादिलभ्यपरम् । च्य. मयूख p 160.

1512. Vide *Sheo Shankar v. Debi Sahas* L. R. 30 I A. 202 (a case from Allahabad) for the proposition that according to the law of the Benares school even property inherited by a woman from a female is not her *stridhana* and does not pass to her heirs. The principal grounds for the decision were that as regards property inherited by a female from males the rule deducible from the gloss of *Vijñāneśvara* had already been discarded and that even as to property inherited from a female the same rule had been applied in most High Courts (p. 208). Vide also *Batwantrao v. Bai Rao* L. R. 47 I. A. 213, 223 where the Privy Council approve of the Bombay High Court's decision in *Bhau v. Raghunath* 30 Bom 229 that a daughter succeeding to her father takes the property absolutely as *stridhana* in the Bombay Presidency.

are stridhana according to the Mit, but the Privy Council has held as to both these kinds that they are not stridhana; e g if a daughter inherits property from her father or inherits the stridhana property of her mother, it does not become her stridhana, that on the death of the daughter, the property does not pass to her heirs, but to the next heir of the person from whom she inherited it. The Bombay school makes a distinction. If a woman enters a family by marriage and then inherits to a male of that family (as e g a widow succeeding to her husband, a mother to her son or a predeceased son's widow to her father-in-law), the property she inherits is not her stridhana, she takes only a limited estate in it and on her death it passes to the next heir of the male from whom she inherited. But if a woman inherits from a male belonging to the family in which she was born (e. g a daughter succeeding to her father, a sister to her brother) or if a woman inherits property from a female, the property so inherited becomes her stridhana (in Bombay). As to property acquired by a wife or mother on partition¹⁵¹³, it has been held by the Privy Council that it is not stridhana even in provinces governed by the Mitaksarā (including Bombay).

Kāt (903) declares.¹⁵¹⁴ 'whatever was given to a woman for wearing only on some occasion (or on condition) or with fraudulent intent by the father, brother or husband is not held to be stridhana.' The idea is that if the father or husband gives some ornament to his daughter or wife for wearing on some special occasion (*upādhan*) or if a father or husband in fraud of his co-parceners gives some family property to his daughter or wife it cannot become stridhana.

Dominion over stridhana.—What is stridhana and what dominion a woman has over stridhana depend on three things, viz the source of acquiring the property, her status at the time of acquisition (i e whether she was a maiden or a married woman whose husband was living or a widow), the school of law by which she is governed. Certain verses of Kāt and Nār are the principal texts on this subject. Kāt (905-907, 911)

1513 Vide *Deb. Mangal Prasad v. Mahalal Prasad* I L R 39 I A 111, 131-132 (about the share of immovable property on partition not being stridhana and not passing on her death to her stridhana heirs)

1514 यत् उल्लसद्गौरो धारयन्त्येकतयुगायिना अलङ्कारादि दत्त यत्र दाय्याद्वा दितृशर्तार्थं दत्त तन्नीयम न भवतीत्यत्र कात्यायन । यत्र सांगणिकं दत्त यत्र योग्यशेषेण । पित्रा दत्तायाम पत्या न तत्त्वैर्यनमित्येवं । *द्वुत्तिच II p 251 The verse is quoted by वरा मा. III p 519, व्य नद्वय p 151 (read तत्र योग्ये यत्न)

says:¹⁵¹⁵ 'on obtaining wealth of the *saudāyika* kind it is declared (lit. desired) that women have independent power over it, since it was given by them (the kindred) as support (or maintenance) in order that they (women) may not be reduced to a terrible (or wretched) condition. It has been declared that women always have independence in *saudāyika* property as regards sale or gift at their pleasure and even in immovables (if *saudāyika*). A woman, when her husband is dead, may deal with the gift (of movables) given by the husband as she pleases, but she should preserve it as long as he is alive or she may spend it on his family. Neither the husband nor the son, nor the father nor the brothers have power to use or alienate the *stridhana* of a woman'. The verse of Kāt about property acquired by labour or about the gift from strangers through affection and that of Nārada about the gift of immovable property made by the husband have already been quoted. From these texts it follows that a Hindu woman during her maidenhood¹⁵¹⁶ could dispose of her *stridhana* property of every description at her pleasure, that during her widowhood she could dispose of every kind of *stridhana* including movable property given by the husband but not immovable property given by him and that a married woman whose husband was living could dispose of at her pleasure only that kind of property called *saudāyika* (i.e. gifts from relations except those made by the husband). Under modern decisions the distinction between *saudāyika* and

1515. सौदायिकं धनं प्राप्य स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यमिष्यते । यस्मात्तदावृत्तसंरक्षार्थं तद्वत्तुल्यं जीवनम् ॥ सौदायिकं सदा स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यं परिकीर्तितम् । विक्रये चैव दाने च यथेष्टं रथाय रेवति ॥ भर्तृदायं मृते पत्यौ विन्यसेत् स्त्री यथेष्टतः । विद्यमाने तु सरस्वते क्षयवेत्तकुलेऽप्यथा ॥ न भर्ता नैव च ह्युता न पिता भ्रातरो न च । अ.दाने वा विसर्गे वा स्त्रीधने प्रभविष्यत् ॥ कात्याय. अपराकं p 752 (except भर्तृदायं &c.), स्मृतिच II p 282, दायभाग IV 1 22 and 24 and न्य. मयूख p. 155 (except भर्तृदायं &c.), वि. र pp 510-11, 514 (all), वि. चि. pp. 139-140. On आवृत्तसंरक्षार्थं वि. र says, 'आवृत्तसंरक्षार्थं तेन यस्मादियं वित्तभावाद्वाक्यं न भवत्येतदर्थम्' (p 511), 'आवृत्तसंरक्षार्थं अत्रकर्मार्थं' (अहिष्णु) On दायभाग says 'पत्यौ विद्यमानेपि स्वातन्त्र्यस्य सदेत्यभिधानात्'. On भर्तृदायं the स्मृतिच says 'भर्तृदायौ भर्तृदत्तम् । तन्मध्ये तु तदनन्तरोक्तपादत्रयेणापि माने पत्यौ स्वातन्त्र्यस्युक्तम् । विद्यमाने तु सरस्वदित्यभिधानात् । सरस्वद्वत्तुल्यं भवत्युक्तं विना न विन्यसेदित्यर्थः'. वि. र p. 511 and वि. चि. p. 140 take भर्तृदायं to mean husband's own property and the former says that हस्तसुध and पारिजात explained it as स्त्रीधनं given by the husband

1516 So long as a Hindu maiden is a minor she cannot alienate her property or dispose of it by will, only her guardian can alienate it for purposes laid down in Hunooman Pershad's case, vide 6 Moo 1. A 393 (cited above on p 449),

non-saudāyika is retained,¹⁵¹⁷ but the distinction between saudāyika given by the relations and that given by the husband is not kept.¹⁵¹⁸ Now the woman's power to dispose off as she likes depends on the question whether the gift was meant to pass an absolute estate or a limited estate even if the husband was the donor. During marriage when the husband is living her dominion depends under modern law upon the character of the stridhana. If it is of the kind called saudāyika she can dispose of it by sale, gift or will as she likes without her husband's consent; but as to other kinds of stridhana property (such as gifts from strangers, property acquired by mechanical arts or property inherited) she cannot dispose of it without her husband's consent. If she disposes of it without such consent the alienation is void. According to the D B IV. 1. 20 property acquired by a married woman by mechanical arts or by gift from a stranger is subject to the husband's dominion during his life and may be taken by him even when there is no distress. No one else (except the husband) has got control over even such stridhana. After the husband's death, she can dispose of even non-saudāyika stridhana as she likes. But even as regards saudāyika the texts concede certain rights to the husband in certain circumstances. Yāj II. 147 says: 'the husband is not liable to return to the wife her stridhana taken (i e used) by him in a famine, for (indispensable) religious acts, in disease, or when imprisoned (by the creditor or by the king or an enemy)' ¹⁵¹⁹

1517. Vide *Bhar v Raghunath* 30 Bom 229 (where it was held that property inherited by a woman from her father could not be bequeathed by her without the consent of the husband who survived her) Requests to a woman are on the same footing as a gift for the purposes of stridhana. Vide *Danodhar v. Purmanandas* 7 Bom 155

1518. Vide *Shalig Ram v Chararjit Lal* 57 I A. 282, 289

1519. बुभिक्षे धनकार्यं च व्याधी संमतिरोधके । दृष्टीतं स्त्रीधनं भर्ता न स्त्रियै दातुमर्हति ॥ वा II 147, on which मिता says. प्रकारान्तरेणापहरन् दद्यात् । भर्तृव्यतिरेकेण जीवन्त्या स्त्रिया धनं केनापि दद्यादेन न ग्रहीतव्यम् ।, some like एव म p 546 read नाकामो दातुन्, वि र p 513, वि चि p 141, विवाद्चन्द्र p. 73 regard संमतिरोधके as an adjective of व्याधी, 'संमतिरोधकेति व्याधिविशेषण कार्यामुदानवाधके इति तदर्थः । नि. चि.; 'नाकामो दातुमर्हतीत्यपि दारिद्र्यादिक्रुनदानासामर्थ्यं बोध्यम् । सति तु सामर्थ्यं बुभिक्षादिदृष्टीतमप्यवर देयम् । एतावत्तैव वचनोपपत्तौ सामर्थ्येऽप्यदाननिवृत्त्यर्थस्य कारणं निवृत्तत्वात् । एतद्वद्व्याप्यपि पत्न्युरेव पत्नीधनग्रहणाधिकारः । प्रतिदानं चेष्टया नाप्यपेक्षितं । एव म p. 546

Kat. (914)¹⁵²⁰ has a similar verse which says that he may return stridhana wealth if he chooses to do so when it is used by him in a disease or in calamities or when harassed by creditors. Kaut. (III. 2 p. 152) is closely similar to Yāj. and adds that the woman can spend it without blame for the maintenance of herself, her son and daughter-in-law or when the husband has gone abroad without making provision for the maintenance of these. Kaut. (III. 2. p. 152) further provides¹⁵²¹ that there should be no complaint (by the wife) as regards the expenditure of stridhana made more than three years before by joint action of the husband and wife when they have given birth to two children (or to twins) and when the marriage has been in the most approved forms (*brāhma* and the other three), that when stridhana has been expended by (the husband and wife) that are married in the *gāndharva* or *āsura* form both should be made to restore it with interest and that what is expended when the marriage is in the *rākṣasa* or *paśūca* form the expenditure of stridhana should be dealt with as theft. The meaning of 'mithunam prajātayoḥ' and 'trivarsopabhuṅktam' in Kaut. is not quite clear. It is probable that Kautilya lays down a rule of limitation. If more than three years are allowed to pass without complaint, then no complaint made later (than three years after the expenditure) would be entertained. So also if there be no children of the marriage and the husband expends stridhana without objection by the wife then also no complaint would be entertained as the restraint on alienation of stridhana by the husband and wife was meant for the benefit and advancement of the children. None of the later *smṛtis* like those of Yāj., Nār. or Kāt. makes these distinctions and so Kaut. probably represents an early stage in the evolution of the husband's dominion over stridhana. These later *smṛtis* hold that the husband and wife may be entirely separate as regards their properties and as a general rule the husband's debts are not binding on the wife's properties nor are the wife's separate debts binding on the husband or his properties (Yāj. II. 46,

1520 अथापि त्वयसनस्थं च धनिकैर्व्यप्रीडितम् । ज्ञात्वा निवृत्तं यस्मैत्या दद्याद्वत्ने-
च्छया तु सः ॥ कात्या. १ by अपराकं p. 755, स्मृतिच. II p. 283, वि. र. p. 513,
वि. चि. p. 141, तदास्मद्वत्स्वभावमर्जि मवासापतिविधाने च भार्याया भोक्तृमदोषः । प्रति-
रोधकस्याधि-दुर्भिक्ष-भयप्रतीकारे धर्मकार्ये च पत्युः । अर्थशास्त्र III 2 p. 152.

1521. सम्भूय वा दम्पत्योर्मिथुने प्रजादयोस्त्रिवर्षोपभुङ्क्तं च धर्निष्ठेषु विवाहेषु नाव-
शुजीत । गान्धर्वस्योपभुङ्क्तं सद्बद्धिकहभय दाययेत । राक्षसपैशाच्योपभुङ्क्तं स्तेय दद्यात् ।
अर्थशास्त्र III. 2 p. 152.

Visnu Dh. S. VI. 31-32). But the same smṛtis make it clear that under certain distressing circumstances the wife's separate property was liable for the maintenance or debts of the husband. The Mit. expressly states^{1521a} that if the husband uses his wife's stridhana under any other circumstances (than those specified by Yāj. II. 147 and Kāt.) then he has to return it, that no relation except the husband has any right to use a woman's stridhana during her lifetime even in distress or disease &c. and relies on Manu VIII. 29 which requires the righteous king to award the punishment for theft against such relatives as appropriate the wealth of women. The Sm. G. and V. Mayūkha follow the Mit., but the V. R. and V. C. hold that Kātyāyana's verse applies not only to the husband, but also to the son, father and brothers of the woman. Kāt. (912-913) provides^{1521a} that if any one of the four persons (q. in n. 1515 above) forcibly consumes stridhana he should be made to return it with interest and should be also liable to fine (or punishment) and that if any one of these consumes stridhana amicably after securing her consent then he would be liable to return only the principal amount, when he becomes well-off (i. e. able to pay). Devala¹⁵²² also states, 'if the husband makes a gift of stridhana without cause or enjoys it, he must pay it back with interest, but he may use the stridhana of his wife for relieving the distress of a son (and also of the family, acc. to V. Mayūkha). Kāt. (908)¹⁵²³ adds a special rule, 'if the husband has two wives and he does not reside with one of them (i. e. neglects her), he should be forcibly made to return (the stridhana of his neglected wife) by the king even though she bestowed it upon him through affection.' The texts of Kāt., Devala and Nār. quoted above about the dominion of the woman over her stridhana and about the husband's power over it are

1521a. यदि कोकतरो स्त्रीयां कीचनं भक्षयेद् बलात् । सङ्गृह्यैव स दाप्यः स्वाह् वृण्वे
चैव समाप्नुयात् । तदेव यद्युज्जाप्य भक्षयेत्परीतिपूर्वकम् । मूलमेव यदाप्यः स्वाह् वृण्वे
यन्वादा भवेत् ॥ कात्या. q. by अपराक p. 755, द्वापभाग IV. 1. 24 p. 78, स्मृतिच. II. p. 282.

1522. इषा मोक्षे च भोगे च क्षिये दद्यात्सङ्गृह्यैव । पुत्रातिहरणे वापि कीचनं भोक्तु
मर्हति ॥ देवल q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 283 (पुत्रग्रहणं कुटुम्बोपलक्षणार्थम्), अपराक
p. 755, यद. मयूख p. 156.

1523. अप चेत्त द्विभार्यः स्वाह् च तां भजते पुनः । प्रीत्या निवृत्तमपि चेत्तमतिदाप्यः
स तद् बलात् ॥ कात्या. q. by अपराक p. 755, द्वापभाग IV. 1. 24 p. 78, स्मृतिच. II,
p. 283. The य स p. 156 ascribes this verse to देवल.

authoritative in all schools even now. Manu IX. 199¹⁵²¹ provides: 'wives should not spend (for their own benefit) from the property of their families which is common to many, nor from their own property without the husband's permission.' The V. Mayūkha interprets this as meaning that she has no independent power even over *adhivedanika* and the like, but this would be opposed to the express texts of *Kāt*, *Vyāsa* and *Devala*. Therefore the words must be taken as only recommendatory.

Kāt. (916) delivers a special rule viz 'stridhana'¹⁵²⁵ which was promised (to a woman) by her husband should be paid to her as a debt by the sons (i.e. by her own sons or stepsons) provided she resides in the husband's family, she should not reside with her paternal family.' The *Sm. C.* and *V. P.* (p. 546) explain that even grandsons and great-grandsons are liable to pay just as sons are. According to *Kāt*, as understood by the *Sm. C.* and others a wife who is full of evil acts, is immodest, wastes property and is given up to adultery, does not deserve (to dispose of) *stridhana* and *V. P.* and *V. C.* explain that it may be taken away from her in such a case.¹⁵²⁶ In modern times this rule of forfeiture of rights would not be enforced by the courts as regards *stridhana*. Some explain this verse as referring to the widow as heir and separate the words as 'strī dhanam.'¹⁵²⁷ Vide *Ganga v. Ghasla* 1 All 46 (F. B.), 48-49.

Succession to Stridhana.—The several schools of Hindu Law differ from each other perhaps more widely on this subject than

1524. न निर्हारं स्त्रियः कुर्युः कुटुम्बाद्बहुमस्यगात् । स्वकादपि च वित्ताद्धि स्वस्य भर्तुरनाज्ञया ॥ मनु IX 199 This verse is variously explained कुल्लुक, रायवा-
नन्द and others explain निर्हार as 'रत्नालकाराद्यधी धनसञ्चयः,' while सर्वज्ञानारायण
and व्य. मयूर explain as 'व्यय' and सर्वज्ञ explains स्वकात् as 'स्वस्यासाधारण-
धनादपि स्त्रीधनव्यतिरिक्तात्'

1525. भर्त्रा प्रतिश्रुत देयमृणवत्स्त्रीधनं हुतैः । तिष्ठेद् भर्तुकुले या तु न सा पितृकुले
वसेत् ॥ कात्या q by स्मृतिच II p. 283 (first half), वि. r. p. 514, वि. वि. p. 142.
The व्य. m. p. 153 quotes the first half as देवल's

1526. अपचारक्रियया कृता निर्लज्जा वार्यनाशिका । व्यभिचाररता या च स्त्रीधनं सा न
चार्हति ॥ कात्या q by मेधा on मनु VIII .28 (without name), स्मृतिच II p. 283.
वि. चि. p. 141-142, व्य. म. p. 157, व्य. म. p. 545 'या पुन. अतिदुष्टा स्त्री सा स्वधन-
मनिच्छन्मपि विनियोज्य नार्हतीत्याह स एव' स्मृतिच

1527. For a comparison of the ancient and medieval Hindu Law of
strīdhana with the Roman, French and English law, vide Bannerjee's
'Marriage and strīdhana' pp. 394-399.

on any other. But one thing is generally common to all schools viz. that as regards succession to stridhana daughters are preferred to sons, though in later days sons were introduced by some writers as heirs along with daughters or even as preferable to daughters for certain kinds of stridhana. This was probably due to the fact that the value of stridhana property became considerable in later times and society which held to the doctrine of the dependence and inferior position of women could not tolerate the idea that large estates should go to women alone. The causes of the variance among writers on the devolution of stridhana are historical. The text-writers wrote at different times and in different countries and probably reflect the popular sentiments of their own countries and times tinged now and then by personal predilections also. The digests sometimes expressly say that their interpretation follows the usage of their times (vide V Mayūkha in note 1529 below).

The succession to stridhana varies according as the woman is unmarried or married, according as the marriage was in an approved or an unapproved form, and also according to the species of stridhana and the school of law to which she is subject.

First, the important texts of the smṛtis on succession to stridhana may be brought together. The oldest extant text is that of Gaut 28.22 which provides,¹⁵²⁸ 'stridhana devolves (first) on daughters; (in a competition among daughters) it goes to those that are unmarried (*apṛatta*, lit. not 'given away in marriage) and (in a competition among married daughters) to those that are not well provided for (i. e. that are indigent).' Manu (IX 192-193) provides: 'when the mother dies all the full brothers and full sisters should equally divide the mother's estate. Even to the daughters of those daughters some thing should be given (that is) as much as would be seemly out of the estate of their grandmother on the ground of affection'. In Manu IX. 195 it is said that the six kinds of stridhana, as also anvādheya stridhana and gifts made by the husband through affection, should go to her progeny if she dies in her husband's lifetime. The verses of Manu (IX. 192-3) are variously explained by the commentators, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa holding that mother's estate means estate other than technical stridhana. Most of them rely on a text of Br. and

1528. स्त्रीधनं दुहितृणां तन्मन्त्राणां तन्मन्त्रिणां च । गौ. 28. 22.

hold that full brothers and unmarried sisters succeed together and married sisters (i. e. daughters of the woman whose heirs are to be found) get some trifle ($\frac{1}{4}$ of each brother acc. to Kullūka). Manu IX. 196-197 further provide that when a woman was married in one of the five forms of marriage viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Āśva, Prājāpatya and Gāndharva and died without issue her stridhana goes to her husband and if she was married in the Āśva and the other two forms it went, if she died issueless, to her mother and father. Yāj. II.¹⁵²⁹ 117 provides that daughters take the stridhana estate of their mother and on failure of them the (male) issue. In II.¹⁵³⁰ 144 Yāj. again says that stridhana goes to daughters, but that if the woman dies without issue then it goes to the husband if she was married in one of the four forms (brāhma, daiva, āśva, prājāpatya) but to her parents if she was married in the other four forms. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (17. 19-21) and Nār. (dāyabhāga, 9) contain the same rules as Yāj. II. 144-145, while Nār. (dāyabhāga 2) states that the mother's wealth should be divided among the daughters and in the absence of daughters the latter's issue takes it. Śaṅkha-Likhita¹⁵³¹ declare that the mother's estate is taken in equal shares by the full brothers (sons of the deceased mother) and their unmarried sisters. Br.¹⁵³² (S. B. E.

1529. मातृदुहितरः शेषवृत्तात्तस्य ऋतेऽन्वयः । वा. II. 117 on which the *mita* says, 'दुहितृणामभावे अन्वयः पुत्रादिर्दुह्यात् ।', some construe the word अन्वय as meaning the issue of the daughters (i. e. daughters's daughters and daughter's sons). Vide च्च. म. p. 159, "यत्तु याज्ञवल्क्य 'मातृदुहि ... न्वयः' इति तत्राज्यस्यार्थं कन्यासन्ततिपरमिति केचित् । परे तु दुहितृभावे पुत्रा एव यद्विदुः, नारदीये तद् मातुरेव परामर्शादित्याहुः । आचारसंवादी चार्थः पक्षः ।" नारद (दायभाग, 2) is मातृदुहितरौभावे दुहितृणां तदन्वयः ।, about which the *mita*, on याज्ञ. II. 145 remarks 'तच्छब्देन संनिहितदुहितृपरामर्शात्' । The मद्. पा (p. 667) explains नारद as मातुरेव दुहितर आच्छुस्तदभावे दुहितृणां दौहित्रीणां तदभावे तदन्वये ये जावा दौहित्रास्तेषामित्यर्थः ।; the *viśva* च्च p. 75 says 'दुहितृणामभावे तदन्वयस्तदुत्रादिभिर्न जेत्यर्थः । मातुरन्वय इति बालरूपः ।'

1530. अतीतायामप्रजति बाण्यवास्तदुवाच्युः । अमज. श्रीधरं भर्तृगङ्गादिषु चतुर्णां । दुहितृणां प्रवृत्ता चेष्टेषु विवृणोति तत् । वा. II. 144-145, माङ्गादिषु चतुर्षु विवाहेष्वमजायामतीतायां तद्वृत्तिः । शेषेषु च पिता हरेत् । सर्वेष्वेव प्रवृत्तायां यद् धनं तद् दुहितृणामि । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 19-21, श्रीधरं तदुपस्थानां भर्तृगङ्गप्रजाह्वयः । माङ्गादिषु चतुर्णां पितृगामीतरेषु च नारद (दायभाग, verse 9).

1531. सप्तं सर्वं सौदृष्यां मातृकं रिचधर्ममिति कुमार्यम् । सङ्कलितं च by दायभाग IV. 24 p. 79, परा मा. III. p. 551, बालम्हरी on वा. II. 145 हरदत्त on नी 28 22 reads सप्तं ... द्रव्यमहोः श्रीकुमार्यम्.

1532. श्रीधरं स्वादुपस्थानां दुहिता च तद्वृत्तिनी । अयता चेत्समूहा तु लभते मानमात्रकम् । इह. प. by स्मृतिच. II p. 285, हरदत्त on नी 28. 22, दायभाग IV 2. 3 p. 79 (अपर्ययद पुत्रपरं तेषामप्रजाभिर्दुहितृभिः सह मातृधनविभागः), परा. मा III. p. 552 (reads सा न मातृकम्), विवादचन्द्र p. 75.

33 p. 383 verse 87) declares, 'stridhana goes to her progeny, but the unmarried daughter is preferred, while the married one gets only some trifle as a token of regard'. Parāśara holds that the unmarried daughters take all the stridhana, but in a competition between married daughters alone and sons they all take equal shares. Devala¹⁵³³ states, 'on the death of a woman her stridhana is taken in equal shares by her sons and daughters; if she leaves no issue it would be taken by her husband, mother, brother or father'. Parāśara¹⁵³⁴ (q by Par. M. III. 552) states that stridhana devolves on the unmarried daughter, that the son does not get it, but that he shares equally with a married daughter. Kaut¹⁵³⁵ (III. 2 p. 153) prescribes that if a woman dies during her husband's lifetime her sons and daughters divide her stridhana; if she has no son then daughters divide it, on failure (of both sons and daughters) the husband takes it and that the *śulka*, *anvādheya* or any other kind of stridhana given by her relatives is taken by her relatives. Kātyāyana¹⁵³⁶ (917-920) whose treatment of stridhana is the most detailed of all *smṛti* writers has the following verses on succession to stridhana: 'Sisters whose husbands are living should share with their brothers the stridhana (of their mother); this is the rule of law about stridhana and partition (among brothers and sisters) is prescribed. On failure of daughters the (stridhana) wealth devolves on sons (of the deceased woman); the wealth given to a woman by her kinsmen (paternal or maternal) goes in the absence of the kinsmen (that gave it) to the husband.

1533. सामान्यं पुत्रकन्यानां सुतायां स्त्रीधनं स्त्रियाय् । अपञ्जाया हरेर्द्धता माता भ्राता पितापि वा । देवल q. by द्वायभाग IV. 2 6 p. 79, व्यव. नि. p. 466, बालम्भट्टी on वा. II, 143.

1534. अपञ्जायास्तु दुहितः स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम् । पुत्रस्तु नैव लभते प्रप्तायां तु समांश-भाक् । पारस्कर q. by परा मा III. p. 552 (तद्व्यतिष्ठितोदुहितुविषयम्), व्यव. नि. p. 463. Is it पराशर ?

1535. जीवति भर्तुरि सुतायाः पुत्रा दुहितरश्च स्त्रीधनं विभजेरन् । अपुत्राया दुहितरः । तदभावे भर्ता । सुलकमन्वाधेयमन्यद्वा बन्धुभिर्दत्तं वाच्यवा हरेदुः । अर्थशास्त्र III 2. p. 153.

1536. भगिन्यो बान्धवैः सार्धं विभजेरन् सभर्तुकाः । स्त्रीधनस्येति धर्मोयं विभागस्तु प्रकल्पितः । दुहितृणामभावे तु रिश्यं पुत्रेण वृद्धवंतः । बन्धुवृत्ते तु बन्धूनामभावे भर्तृणामि तत् ॥ पितृभ्यां चैव यदत्तं दुहितुः स्थावरं धनम् । अपञ्जायामतीतायां ब्राह्मणानि तु सर्वदा ॥ आह्वरा-दिषु यत्तन्मयं स्त्रीधनं पितृकं स्त्रिया । अभावे तदपत्यानां मातापित्रोस्तादृश्यते ॥ कार्या q. by अपराकं p. 721 (the first two only), स्मृतिच II pp. 285-287 (all except पितृभ्यां &c.), वि. र p. 518 and वि. चि. p. 143 (first two); द्वायभाग IV, 2 12 p. 92 has the verse पितृभ्यां (ascribes it to वृद्धकारपायन); व्यव. म. p. 162 reads पुत्रगामि for भर्तृगामि.

Whatever immovable property was given by the parents to their daughter always goes to her brother if she dies without issue. Whatever wealth was obtained by a woman from her parents in the forms of marriage beginning with *āsura* is declared as going to her parents on failure of her progeny.¹⁵³⁷ The first two verses are apparently in conflict and must be read with Gaut 28 22. So probably the following propositions were laid down by Kat. viz (1) unmarried daughters are preferred; (2) married daughters whose husbands are living share along with their brothers, if there be no unmarried daughter; (3) widowed daughters take only if there are no daughters whose husbands are living or if there are no sons; (4) wealth given by paternal and maternal kinsmen goes to them and on failure of these, to the husband; (5) immovable property given by parents goes to the brother of the woman on failure of issue; (6) wealth given in the *āsura*, *rāksasa* and *paśāca* forms goes to parents on failure of issue. Yama has a verse very similar to Kātyāyana's about a woman married in the *āsura* and the following forms. The commentaries and digests make valiant efforts to reconcile the conflicts among the *smṛti* texts quoted above. It is not quite necessary to go into that question here in detail for fear of encumbering this work too much.

How the devolution of *stridhana* was dealt with by the commentators has now to be seen. They all prefer daughters to sons for certain kinds of *stridhana*. Why the devolution of *stridhana* property should be different from that of the property of a male is not clearly explained anywhere. The Mit on Yāj¹⁵³⁸ II. 117 gives the reason that woman's property goes to the daughter because in her more particles of the mother's body inhere than in the son. Probably the daughters were preferred as heirs to *stridhana* as a sort of equity, when sons were allowed to exclude daughters in the inheritance to the father's wealth.

According to the Mit. there are two lines of succession to *stridhana*, one for *śulka* and the other for all other kinds of *stridhana*. *Śulka*, acc. to the Mit. that quotes Gaut., devolves first

1537. आसुरादिषु यद् द्रव्यं विवाहेषु भक्ष्यते । अमज्जायामतीताया पितृव ह धनं हरेत् ॥ यमः by स्मृतिच. II. p 286, द्वापभाष IV 2. 28 p 88

1538. मातृकुलदृष्टं पुत्रैरेवापाकरणीयं न पुत्रितुभिः । कृणवक्षिह ह धनं पुत्रितो गृहीयुरिति । शुक्र चेतत् । पुमान् पुंसोधिके शुके स्त्री भवत्याधिके स्त्रिया—इति स्ववयवाया पुत्रितुषु बाह्व्ययात् स्त्रीधनं पुत्रितुगामि । पितृधनं पुत्रगामि पित्रवयवानां पुत्रेषु बाह्व्ययात् । निता. on या. II. 117, पुमान्पुंसौ &c. is मञ्ज III. 49,

on the full brothers, then on the mother.¹⁵³⁹ Some like the Subodhini, the Dīpakalikā, Haradatta on Gaut. 28. 23 hold that it devolves on the mother first and then on the full brothers; but many works such as the Dayabhāga IV. 3. 28 (p. 95), Sm. G., Par. M, V. P., V. C. follow the Mit. It is somewhat strange that the Madanapārijāta p. 668 (which was really composed by the author of the Subodhini in the name of his patron Madanapāla, holds that the śulka is first taken by the brothers and then by the mother. This raises a doubt whether the printed Subodhini is correct or whether the author changed his opinion.

As regards succession to the property of a maiden there is no difference at all between the Mit. and other works. The Mit. quotes a text of Baudhāyana¹⁵⁴⁰ that the wealth of a deceased maiden first devolves on her full brothers, then on the mother and then on the father. The V. P. adds that on failure of the father the maiden's wealth goes to the parents' nearest sapinda.¹⁵⁴¹ Yāj. II. 146 provides that if a girl who had been promised in marriage dies before marriage, the intending bridegroom was entitled to take back the śulka or other gifts

1539. भगिनीशुल्कं सोद्वर्णामूर्ध्वं मातुः पूर्वं चैके । गौ. 28. 23-24, मिता. (on या. II. 145) says, 'शुल्कं तु सोद्वर्णामेव; 'मातुरभावे सोद्वर्णं गृह्णीयुस्त्वित्यर्थः; 'सुयोधिनी on या. II. 145, 'शुल्कं तु सोद्वर्णामेव । भगिनीशुल्कं सोद्वर्णामिति गौतमवचनात्सोद्वर्णभावे मातुः । ऊर्ध्वं मातुरिति तद्वचनदेव । पूर्वं चैके इति तु परमतम् । व्य. म. p. 553; शुल्कं तु सोद्वर्ण एव गृह्णीतुः । तथा च गौतमः । भगिनी .. मातुरिति । द्रुहिवादिषु पौत्रा र्यन्तेषु विद्यामानेष्वपि भगिनीशुल्कं सोद्वर्ण एव हरेयुस्त्वित्यर्थः । मद्. पा. p. 668; 'ऊर्ध्वमिति मातुर्मरणान्तरमित्यर्थः । कल्पतरुरप्येवम् । ... माता चान्न भगिन्येव । तथा च तद्वपमातुरभावे द्रुहिवादिषु पौत्रपर्यन्तेषु सत्त्वपि स्वभगिनीशुल्कं सोद्वर्ण एव गृह्णीयुस्त्वित्यर्थः । बालम्भटी (व्य. p. 257), ऊर्ध्वं मातुरपरतवित्यर्थः । मातापित्रोस्तु सन्भावे तयोरेव । दीपकालिका.

1540. रिक्तं सुतायाः कन्याया गृह्णीतुः सोद्वर्णस्तदभावे मातुस्तदभावे पितुरिति बौधायनस्मरणात् । मिता. on या. II. 146; the व्यासभाष्य makes of this a verse as रिक्तं... सोद्वर्णः स्वयम् । तदभावे भवेन्मातुस्तदभावे भवेत्पितुः ॥. The smṛtantra (folio 106a) reads it as रिक्तं ... समम् । ... तदभावे पितुर्भवेत् ॥; मातापित्रोरभावे तत्पत्यासन्नगामि । व्य. म. p. 552 The above passage of the Mit. is referred to in *Gandhi Maganlal v. Bai Jadab* 24 Bom 192 (F. B.) at p. 211 (where it was held that a paternal grandmother in Gujarat inherited the wealth left by her maiden granddaughter in the absence of nearer heirs, that she took an absolute interest and that on her death the property goes to her heir and not to that of the grand-daughter).

1541 Vide also *Janglubai v. Jetha Appaji* 32 Bom. 409, 412 and *Vithal v. Balu* 60 Bom 671, 677 for instances of sapindas of the parents inheriting to the stridhana of a woman dying respectively as a maiden or as a woman married in an approved form of marriage.

made by him after deducting his own expenses and those of her family.

The Mitākṣarā order of succession for all kinds of strīdhana, other than sulka and maiden's property, is as follows: (1) unmarried daughter; (2) married daughter who is indigent; (3) married daughter who is well provided for; (4) daughter's daughters; (5) daughter's son; (6) sons; (7) son's sons (here also the rule of *per stirpes* applies); (8) husband (if the woman was married in one of the four approved forms); (9) sapindae of the husband in the order of propinquity; on failure of any sapinda of the husband, her mother, then her father and then the sapindas of the father (before it goes to the Crown). But if the woman was married in one of the unapproved forms, then on failure of her descendants her strīdhana went to her mother, then to her father and then to the father's sapindas in the order of propinquity. On failure of the sapindae of the father it would (by analogy) go to her husband and then to his sapindas (before going to the Crown). When grand-daughters directly inherit the strīdhana of their grandmother they take *per stirpes* (acc. to the Mit which quotes Gaut. 28 15), if they are the daughters of several daughters.¹⁵⁴² The Mit (on Yāj. II. 145), Aparārka (p. 721) and several others provide (following Manu IX. 198 = Anuśāsana 47.25) that if a woman of a lower caste dies issueless leaving strīdhana, then the daughter of her co-wife of a higher class inherits that strīdhana and on failure of such step-daughter, the son of the latter inherits. It may be noted that as regards succession to strīdhana, the rule of representation which holds good in relation to succession to males does not apply. When a male dies leaving separate property and a son and a grandson (son of a predeceased son) both succeed together, the grandson representing his deceased father. But if a woman possessed of strīdhana dies having only a son and a predeceased son's son, the son will take the whole of the strīdhana excluding the son's son. Vide *Ba. Raman v Jagannadas* 41 Bom 618.

It is not possible nor necessary to deal exhaustively with the devolution of strīdhana according to the various schools of Hindu Law. But a few indications from the important text

1542. तासां भिन्नमातृकाणां विधमार्गा समवाये मातृद्वारेण भागकल्पना । प्रतिमातृनां वा स्वर्गो भागविशेषः—इति गौतमस्मृत्यात् । मिता. ८८ पा. II. 145.

books having authority in the different provinces will be offered. According to the Sm. C. (which is the leading authority in Madras after the Mit.) stridhana includes only those kinds of property that are so described in the smrtis (i. e. only technical stridhana) and the lines of devolution are as follows: (1) śulka devolves in the same way as laid down by the Mit. cited above (Sm. C. II. p. 287); (2) Yautaka devolves on unmarried daughters first (Sm. C. II. p. 285); (3) Anvādheyaka and Bhartrdatta pass to sons and married daughters whose husbands are living, all inheriting together in equal shares (Sm. C. II. p. 284); (4) other kinds of technical stridhana such as adhyagni &c pass first to the maiden daughters and married daughters who are *apratisthita*,¹⁵⁴³ then to married daughters that are provided for; then to daughter's daughters, then to daughter's sons, then to sons, then to son's sons &c., then to the husband or father (according to the form of marriage). The Madras High Court follows the Mit. (in preference to the Sm. C.) as to the devolution of Anvādheyaka and Bhartrdatta and holds that certain kinds of non-technical stridhana (such as gifts by strangers during coverture) devolve acc. to the rules of the Mit. Vide *Salem v. Lutchmana* 21 Mad. 100.

The Vivādacintāmaṇi, the leading authority in Mithilā, restricts stridhana to the technical stridhana recognized by the smrtis and lays down the devolution of it as follows: (1) Śulka¹⁵⁴⁴ (defined as property received by a woman at the time of her marriage, if in an unapproved form) passes as under the Mit. cited above; (2) Yautaka passes first to unmarried daughters, then in the way laid down by the Mit. for all stridhana; (3) all technical stridhana other than the two preceding varieties passes to sons and unmarried daughters together, then to sons and married daughters jointly, then to daughter's daughters, then to daughter's sons and then as under the Mit. system (for stridhana in general.)

The Vyavahāramayūkha which is held to be of paramount authority in Gujarat, Bombay Island and Northern

1543 The word अप्रतिष्ठिता is explained by the Sm. C. as follows, 'अप्रतिष्ठिता अनपत्या निर्धना दुर्भगा विधवा वा । एवमपरा कर्तृसारात् गौतमवचनं श्याख्यातम् । अस्य विज्ञानेऽवरकृता श्याख्या हेयो स्वदुद्धिमात्रेणाभ्याहारादिकरणात् ।' स्मृतिच. II, p. 285 वि. श्रि. p. 147 also says 'अप्रतिष्ठिता अनपत्या निर्धनभर्तृका दुर्भगा चेति रत्नाकरादयः ।'

1544 गौतमः । भगिनीश्रुत्वं सोऽर्पणामूर्ध्वं मातुः । पूर्वं चैतरेके । आहुरादिविवाह-
वपलपविषयमेतत् । वि. श्रि. p. 143.

Konkan¹⁵⁴⁵ proposes various lines of succession to strīdhana. Its treatment is based on the Sm. C. and the Madanaratna. It first divides strīdhana as stated above into technical (pāribhāsika) and non-technical (apāribhāsika). The first is subdivided into four classes for the purpose of inheritance; (I) śulka which passes as stated above under the Mitākṣarā; (II) yantaka goes to unmarried daughters, (if there be no unmarried daughters)

1545. For the territory in which the V Mayūkha is supreme, vide *Lallubhai v. Mankuvarbai* 2 Bom. 388 (F B) at p 418, *Jankibai v. Sundra* 14 Bom 612 at pp 623-24, *Vyas Chimanlal v Vyas Ramchandra* 24 Bom 367 (F B.) at p 373. How the Vyavahāramayūkha composed by a Mahā rāstra brāhmana whose family had settled at Benares came to be regarded as a work of high authority in Gujarat is explained in *Lallubhai v. Mankuvarbai* 2 Bom. 388 at pp 418-419 and in *Bhagīrthibai v. Kahnayirav* 11 Bom 285 (F B) at pp. 294-95. As there is divergence between the views of the Mit and the Mayūkha in the rules of succession, it becomes a matter of great practical importance to settle with precision the exact limits in Northern Konkan up to which the Mayūkha must be regarded as a work of paramount authority. It has been judicially decided that Karanja, an island opposite the Bombay harbour, is governed by the Mayūkha (in *Sakharam v. Sstabi* 3 Bom. 353), that Mahad, the southernmost Taluka of the Kolaba District, is not so governed and that the predominance of the Mayūkha cannot be taken further south than Cheul and Nagothna in the Kolaba District (vide *Narhar v Bhan* 40 Bom 621). Similarly difficult questions arise whether Kathiawar which is quite contiguous to Gujarat and some territory bordering on Gujarat towards the north or east is governed by the views of the Mayūkha in preference to those of the Mit. Some parts of Kathiawar which were (and even now are) under the domination of the Gaikwad of Baroda may, on the analogy of the grounds on which the Mayūkha is held to be of paramount authority in Gujarat, be deemed to be governed by the Mayūkha. It appears to me that the tendency of courts should be to restrict the extent of the territory in which the Mayūkha is supreme and to hold that everywhere the Mitākṣarā is supreme, except in those territories where the Mayūkha has been expressly recognized as supreme by the feudatory States contiguous to Gujarat or by judicial decisions. The Mit is the paramount authority in the whole of India except in Bengal, therefore on the analogy of the maxim that a general rule is applicable and is supreme in all cases except where an exception clearly covers the matter (अपवादविधयः परिहरेण उत्तमस्य व्यवस्थितिः) districts outside modern Gujarat but bordering on it should not be held to be governed by the Mayūkha.

then probably to the married daughters; (III) *anvādheya*^{1445a} and *bhatpriti-datta* (husband's gift of affection) are inherited by sons and unmarried daughters together in accordance with Manu (IX. 192 and 195), (if there be no unmarried daughters) by sons and married daughters, then daughter's issue, then son's sons; (IV) other¹⁵⁴⁶ kinds of technical *stridhana* devolves as under the Mit; (V) non-technical¹⁵⁴⁷ *stridhana* is inherited in the following order; sons, son's sons, sons' sons' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, daughter's daughters. When there is no issue of the woman the succession depends in all cases as under the Mit on the question whether the woman was married in an approved or an un-approved form. The V. Mayūkha employs language somewhat different from that of the Mit. in speaking of the inheritance to *stridhana* when a woman dies without

1545a Vide *Sitabai v. Vasantrao* 3 Bom L. R. 201 (where a long passage from the V. Mayūkha is quoted in translation and it is held that *anvādheya* includes gifts or bequests from parents after marriage as well as from the husband and that sons and daughters succeed equally to *anvādheya*), *Dayaldas v. Savitribai* 34 Bom 385 (F B), where it was held that a passage of the Mayūkha wherein the view of the Mit was first stated and then the view of others really meant that the latter was the view of the Mayūkha, that sons and daughters inherited *anvādheya* together and that if there were both married and unmarried daughters, the unmarried daughters and the sons inherited together सुतायाः स्त्रिया धनं पुत्रैर्दुहितृभिश्च साम्येन ग्राह्यम् । तथा च मद्र-जनन्यां . . . सनाभयः ॥ एतच्चान्ताधेयमनुमीतिदत्तविषयम् । एतद्विविधधनविषयेऽपरीणितपरीणितपुत्रीसमवाये विशेषमाह बृहस्पतिः । स्त्रीधनं स्यादपत्यानां . . . । अमत्तानामभावे मत्ताभिरविधवाभिर्जातुभिः सह विभज्य ग्राह्यामित्याह कात्यायनः । मदनरत्न (folio 105 b) Vide च स text pp. 157-58 for the two views. It will be noticed that the Mit construes the verse of Manu distributively; i.e. sons take equally when they succeed and daughters do so when they succeed and that Manu does not mean that sons and daughters inherit simultaneously.

1546. अन्ताधेयमनुमीतिदत्तान्ताधेयमनुदधयन्त्यादिस्त्रीधनं दुहितर एव गृह्णीयुः । साधु च मत्तायसासमवाये सत्यमत्ता एव गृह्णीयुः । मदनरत्न (folio 105 b) : अन्ताधेयमनुमीतिदत्तभिश्च पूर्वोक्ते पारिभाषिके स्त्रीधने तु विशेषमाह गोतमः—स्त्रीधनं ... अमतिष्ठितानां च—इति । च. मयूख p. 159

1547. Vide *Mamial Rewasat v. Bai Rewa* 17 Bom. 758 (as to inheritance of non-technical *stridhana*) where it was held that as regards *stridhana* under the Mayūkha the woman is recognized as a fresh source of devolution, that the words 'sons and the rest' mean no more than sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, that as regards property which does not class as *pāribhāṣika stridhana*, the sons and the rest take precedence over the 'daughters and the rest' (i.e. their issue), that failing sons and daughters the heirs to *pāribhāṣika stridhana* and *apāribhāṣika stridhana* are the same, save that as between male and female offspring the latter have a preferential right as to *pāribhāṣika*, while the former have a similar right as to *apāribhāṣika*. पारिभाषिकातिरिक्तं मातृधनं दुहितृसमये पुत्राव्य एव लभेरन् । च. मयूख p. 160.

issue. But it has now been judicially held that both mean the same thing¹⁵⁴⁸.

In the *Dayabhāga* school the devolution of various kinds of *stridhana* according to the *Dayabhāga* and D. K. S. is as follows: (I) *sulka* devolves¹⁵⁴⁹ in the following order: (1) full brother, (2) mother, (3) father, (4) husband; (II) *Yautaka* devolves¹⁵⁵⁰ in the following order: (1) unmarried and unbetrothed daughters, (2) betrothed daughters, (3) married daughters, who have or are likely to have sons, (4) barren married daughters and childless widowed daughters taking together in equal shares, (5) sons, (6) daughter's sons, (7) sons' sons, (8) son's son's sons, (9) step-son, (10 and 11) stepson's son, stepson's grandson. Then if the marriage was in an approved form, *yautaka* passed in the absence of any of the above in order to husband, brother, mother and father. If the marriage of the woman was celebrated in an unapproved form then her *stridhana* passed in order to mother, father, brother, husband. (III) *Anvādheya* gifts¹⁵⁵¹ (gifts or bequests) made subsequent to marriage by the father

1548. Vide *Tukaram v Narayan* 36 Bom 339 (F. B.), where there is an elaborate discussion about the following passages of the Mit. and the *Mayūkhya*, तद्भ्रातृभ्यश्च पित्रभ्याम् । माता च पिता च पितरौ तौ गच्छतीति पितृभ्याम् । तद्भावे तत्प्रत्यासक्तानां धनग्रहणम् । मिता. on या. II 145, भर्तृभावे तत्कुले तस्याः प्रत्यासक्तं लभते । पित्रभावे च पितृकुले तस्याः प्रत्यासक्तं । .. यत्तु मिताक्षराया भर्तृभावे तत्प्रत्यासक्तानां सपिण्डानां पित्रभावे च तत्प्रत्यासक्तानां सपिण्डानामिति तत्रापि तेनार्याः प्रत्यासक्तानास्तत्प्रत्यासक्तानास्तद्वारा तत्कुले प्रत्यासक्ता इति याचद्वित्येव व्याख्येयम् । मय. मयूख p 161.

1549 अतः (छुल्लं) प्रथम सोदराणां तद्भावे मातृमातृभावे पितुः । एषां पुनरभावे तद्वत्तुं मर्तुः । दायभाग IV. 3. 29 p 95

1550. ततश्च परिणयनलब्धस्त्रीधनं दुहितुर्वै न पुत्राणां तत्रैव च क्रमार्थं गौतमवचनं स्त्रीधनं दुहितुणा . हितानां च । ब्राह्मादिषु विवाहेषु यल्लब्धमध्यस्थिधनं स्त्रियाः तत्तस्यां पुत्राणां प्रथमं दुहितुणामेव तत्रापि प्रथमं कन्यायास्तद्भावे प्रत्यासक्तभावे परिणीतायाः । तत्पुत्रद्विजभावे च पुत्रस्याधिकारः । अभजःस्त्रीधने भर्तृराधिकारात् । *Dayabhāga* IV 2 22 and 23, pp 85-86. It will be noticed that the D. B. distinguishes between un-betrothed, betrothed and married daughters. Vide Bannerjee's 'Marriage and Stridhana' pp 477, 489-491 for order of inheritance to *Yautaka*

1551. यत्पुनः परिणयनानन्तरं पितृमातृभर्तृकुलात् स्त्रिया लब्धं धनं तद् भ्रातृणामेव । तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । बन्धुवृत्तः ॥ पृष्ठः ॥ (या १ 144) ... अतः प्रथम सोदराणां तद्भावे मातृमातृभावे पितुः । एषां पुनरभावे तद्वत्तुं भर्तुः । यथा कात्यायनः । बन्धुवृत्तं तु बन्धूनामभावे भर्तृभ्याम् । तद् । *Dayabhāga* IV. 3. 10 and 29 Vide *Prosanjo v Sarat* 36 Cal. 86 (son being held the preferential heir to a married daughter to *stridhana* given to a woman after marriage by her father), *Ram Gopal v Narain* 33 Cal. 315 (mother held entitled to preference over the husband of a childless woman who died leaving property gifted to her by her father after marriage) In both these cases there is an elaborate examination of passages of the *Dayabhāga* and it is shown how Śrīkrṣṇa and even modern writers have created confusion by offering varying explanations.

brother's son, sister's son, husband's sister's son, brother's son, daughter's husband. Br. says that the mother's sister, maternal uncle's wife, paternal uncle's wife, father's sister, mother-in-law, elder brother's wife are declared to be like one's mother, that when these women have no *aurasa* child or a son of their co-wife or a daughter's son or a son's son or stepson's son, then the sister's son and the rest may take their wealth. This text, acc. to the *Dāyabhāga*, simply declares that a sister's son and the others may be heirs to the *stridhana* of the maternal aunt and the rest but the priority is determined among the six heirs mentioned above in *Brhaspati's* text by the principle of religious benefit. Though the sister's son is the first in *Brhaspati's* text, it is the husband's younger brother who stands really the first among the six if regard is had to the principle of religious benefit. The *Vir.* (V. P. p. 554) states that in the absence of heirs up to the stepson and stepson's sons, the sister's son and the rest (mentioned in Br.) are the heirs to a woman's *stridhana* even when *sapindas* like her father-in-law are alive, since mere *sapinda* relationship would not count when in conflict with a special text. It does not appear that the V. P. holds that the six take in the order stated in the text of Br.;¹⁵⁵⁴ it rather states that among these six the choice of the preferential heir

(Continued from the last page)

नार्यपरम्। द्वायभाग IV 3 31, 35, 36-38 pp 96-98 Vide also pp 187-188
The verses of Br. occur in Sm C II p 287, V. Nir p 472, Par M III p 555, V *Mayūkha* p 161, V. P pp 553-554. The above verses of Br mean that males who are a woman's sister's son or her husband's sister's son or her husband's brother's son or her own brother's son or her daughter's husband or her husband's younger brother are like her son and inherit her *stridhana* in certain circumstances

1554 In *Bai Kesserbai v. Hunsraj* L. R. 33 I A 176 the above text of *Brhaspati* was discussed in a Bombay case at great length (pp 190-197) and it was held that under the *Mayūkha* a co-widow was entitled to succeed to the *stridhana* of a widow in preference to her husband's brother or brother's son, that the text of Br. must be taken distributively, that is, when the marriage is in an approved form the husband's sister's son will succeed and that when the marriage is in an unapproved form the brother's son or sister's son will succeed, that the text does not indicate the order of succession which is governed by the principle of propinquity under the *Mit* or the *Mayūkha*. It may be noted that the V. Nir p 472 expressly gives the distributive order. Acc. to the Sm C the six heirs referred to in the text of Br. take in the order stated therein. The *Dāyabhāga* does not hold this view.

would be determined by greater or less propinquity¹⁵⁵⁵. On failure of these six the husband's sapindas, sakulyas and samānodakas take and then the father's kinsmen.

The question of an unchaste daughter's succession to *strīdhana* would be decided in the same way as her succession to her father's property. Under the *Dāyabhāga* an unchaste daughter will not succeed. But under the *Mitākṣarā* as interpreted by modern courts an unchaste daughter who is a kept mistress or a prostitute may succeed but only after virgin daughters or married daughters as the case¹⁵⁵⁶ may be. The *Mit.* on *Yāj.* II 290 relies upon the *Skandapurāṇa* for the proposition that prostitutes are a fifth caste descended from certain *apsarases*.¹⁵⁵⁷

It has been held by the courts that though prostitution entailed degradation according to ancient Hindu Law, it did not sever the tie of blood. So the *strīdhana* of a *naikin* (a dancing girl) or of a married woman who becomes a prostitute may be inherited by her brother or sister or her husband or her husband's relations.¹⁵⁵⁸

It may not be out of place here to suggest how *strīdhana* should be dealt with when Hindu Law comes to be codified as it is likely to be in the near future. It may be urged that all distinctions on the ground of sex should be altogether done away with and whenever a woman succeeds to any property whether of a male or of a female she should take an absolute estate. But if this change is opposed by a large volume of opinion as it is quite possible, then it should at least be provided

1555. तदेवामभावे सत्त्वपि श्वशुरादिषु सपिण्डेष्वनन्यगतिकैतद्वचनबलान्न गिनी-
पुत्रादीनामेव मातृष्वसादिधने प्रत्यासत्तितारतम्येनाधिकारः । स्वपादीनां तु मासाच्छादन-
मात्रभाक्त्वम् । वचनविरोधे सपिण्डवत्प्रत्यासत्तेरप्योजकत्वात् । च्य. म. p 554.

1556. *Vide Tara v. Krishna* 31 Bom. 495 and *Govind v. Bhiku* 46 Bom. L. R. 699.

1557. स्मर्यते हि स्कन्दपुराणे पञ्चद्यूढा नाम काश्यपाप्तरसतरसतर्कतिर्विषाखया
पञ्चमी जातिरिति । सित्त on यो. II 290.

1558. *Hiralal v. Tripura* 40 Cal. 650, F. B (holds that brother's son inherited the *strīdhana* of a woman who had become a prostitute), *Narayan v. Laxman* 51 Bom. 784 (sister of a prostitute was held to be her heir), *Narain Das v. Tirlok* 29 All 4 (husband held entitled to property acquired by a woman after she deserted him), *Subbaraya v. Ramasami* 23 Mad. 171 (stepson was held entitled to succeed to a woman's property though she had deserted her husband and led a life of unchastity).

that all property which a woman inherits from a female should be her absolute property. Then as regards inheritance to stridhana one simple and straightforward rule should be laid down that the woman's sons and daughters should succeed together taking equal shares. A third suggestion would be that when there are no descendants of the woman herself, then the husband should be the next heir. When the stridhana is that of a maiden, the heirs in order should be her brothers and sisters, then her mother, then her father and after the father the latter's nearest heir. It is not quite necessary at this stage to specify what further rules of devolution should be prescribed.

CHAPTER XXXI

MAINTENANCE AND OTHER TOPICS

The subject of maintenance occupies an important place in modern Hindu Law. A brief statement of the law of the *smṛtis* and the digests on this subject must be made here.

The liability to provide maintenance for certain persons arises under the ancient Hindu Law in either of two ways viz. (1) on account of bare relationship between the parties or (2) on the ground of the possession of property. A verse¹⁵⁵⁹ quoted by Medhātithi on Manu III. 72 and IV. 251, by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 224 and II. 175 and occurring in some mss. of the Manusmṛti after XI 10 provides, 'Manu declares that one must maintain one's aged parents, a virtuous wife and a minor son by doing even a hundred bad acts.' From this verse it follows that irrespective of the possession of property there is a personal legal obligation on the father to maintain his minor son, on the husband to maintain his wife and on the son to maintain his aged parents. Baud. Dh. S (II. 2. 48) goes further and provides¹⁵⁶⁰ that a son is bound to maintain a mother even if she be *patila*. To the same effect are Āp Dh. S I. 10. 28. 9 and Vas. 13. 47.

1559. इदं च मातापितरौ साक्षी भार्या सुतः शिष्यः । अयकार्यकालं कृत्वा भर्तव्या मयुरज-
वीत् ॥ मेधा on मनु IV. 251 quotes part of it as स्मृत्यन्तर, while the *mita* on Ya. II 175
ascribes it to Mann. This verse is cited in *Savitribai v. Luxmibai* 2 Bom. 573
(F. B.) at p. 597 (which holds that a Hindu widow voluntarily living apart from
her husband's relatives is not entitled to a money allowance as maintenance
from them if they were separated from him at the time of his death and
that she is not entitled to such maintenance from them whether they were
separated or unseparated from him at the time of his death if they have no
ancestral estate belonging to him in their hands). The texts of Mann,
Yāj. I. 76 and Nār. are held on p. 598 of that report to impose a personal
obligation enforceable by the State. Vide *Raja Rama Rao v. Raja of
Pittapur* 45 I. A. 148 at p. 154 where it is stated that the grandson is not
included under the word 'son' and a grandfather is under no personal
obligation to maintain a grandson if there is no ancestral property in
his hands

1560 पतितामपि तु मातरं बिभृयाद्वनभिभाषमाणः । यौ. घ. सू. II. 2. 48 ; पतितः
पिता परिषयाज्यो माता तु पुत्रे न पतति । वसिष्ठ 13. 47 ; अत्याज्या माता तथा पिता सपिण्डा
ह्यनन्तरं सर्वे धारयाज्याः । यस्त्वजेरकामादपतितः स दण्डं प्राप्नुयाद् द्विगुणं शतम् ।
नृसंहिता १. ४५ अपराकं p 523 on या. II 227.

Manu VIII. 389 prescribes that the man who abandons and does not maintain his parents, wife and son, when they are not *patita*, should be fined 600 *panas* by the king. Nār. also (S. B. E. 33 p. 184 verse 95) provides punishment for such a husband. Yaj. I. 76 states that if a man abandoned a wife who was obedient, diligent, the mother of a son and agreeable in speech he was to be made to give one third of his property to the wife and to maintain her, if he had no property. Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 163 made the husband punishable like a thief if he abandoned his blameless wife. Kaut. II. 1 prescribes¹⁵⁶¹ that if a man being able fails to maintain his child or wife, parents, minor brothers and sisters, unmarried daughters, widowed daughters, when these are not *patita*, should be fined twelve *panas*. These dicta have been followed even by modern courts in India. In *Subbarayana v. Subbappa*¹⁵⁶² it has been held that a son is bound to maintain his aged mother whether he has inherited property from his father or not

The manager of a joint Hindu family is under a legal obligation to maintain all male members of the family, their wives and children. Nārada states¹⁵⁶³ that if any one among several (undivided) brothers dies without issue or becomes an ascetic the rest should take the estate and give maintenance to his wives till their death, provided they keep the bed of their husband unsullied but that they may cut off the maintenance if they (wives) behave otherwise. This is because the surviving brothers succeed to the estate in which the deceased had an interest during his lifetime. This is made quite clear¹⁵⁶⁴

1561. अपरपद्वारं मातापितरौ आतृणयास्यवहारात् भगिनीः कन्या विधवाश्चाभिभ्रतः शक्तिमतो ह्यदृशयणो दण्डोऽन्यत्र पतिनेत्योऽन्यत्र मातुः । को. II. 1. p. 48.

1562. 8 Mad. 236, referred to in *Surampalli v. Surampalli* 31 Mad. 338 at p. 342.

1563 This verse of Nār is quoted in *Bhiskubas v. Hariba* 49 Bom. 459, 463, 27 Bom. L. R. 13 at p. 16.

1564. तथा च नारदः । या. पत्न्यो विधवाः सास्त्र्यो ज्येष्ठेन श्वशुरेण वा । गोत्रजेनापि वाच्येन भर्तृव्याद्यादनाशनेः ॥ धनग्राहिणेति सर्वत्र ज्येष्ठादौ कोषो ब्रह्मण्यः । धनग्रहणमिति त्वाद् भरणस्य । अत्र विशेषमाह कात्यायनः । स्वर्पति स्वामिनि स्त्री तु ग्रास्ताद्यादनमागिनी । अविभक्तधनार्थे तु मामीत्याभरणान्तिकम् । धनार्थं यावत्त धनेन वृत्तजीवने धनसाध्यं तु नित्यनैमित्तिककर्म कार्त्तं व्रतादिकं सिध्यति तावज्जननित्यर्थः । तु शब्दो वा शब्दार्थः । .. एता- पञ्चनसम्पादकक्षेत्रांश वा मामीतीत्यर्थः । स्मृतिच II. p. 292 and sq. प्र. p. 516. (The passage of नारद in Mr. Gharpure's edition is rather corrupt) The sq मयूख p. 139 quotes कात्यायन, this verse of Kātyāyana is quoted in *Lakshman v. Satyabhamabas* 2 Bom. 494 at p. 511,

in the Sm. C. explaining a verse of Nār. viz. 'widows that are virtuous must be maintained with food and raiment by the eldest brother (of the deceased) or by the father-in-law or by any other gotraja' on which it remarks: "The words 'by him who takes the estate' must be understood before all the words such as 'the eldest brother'". Kāt. (922) states, 'when the husband goes to heaven the wife is entitled only to food and raiment if he was unseparated or she may get a share in (ancestral) property till her death'. The Sm. C. remarks that as maintenance depends upon taking wealth, Kāt. provides two alternatives. In cases too numerous to cite this has been followed by all High Courts. Similarly an heir is bound to maintain out of the estate taken by him those persons whom the deceased was legally or morally bound to maintain. Those persons who are excluded from inheritance or partition are entitled to maintenance and their virtuous wives and unmarried daughters also are entitled to be maintained (Yāj. II. 140-142 Manu IX. 202, Vas 17. 54). The Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 43-46)¹⁵⁶⁵ provides that those who are past undertaking transactions (i e. are very old) should be given food and raiment and also those who are blind, idiotic, impotent, immersed in vice and suffering from (incurable) diseases, and those that engage in prohibited acts, except the *pāṭa* and his issue. Devala (quoted in the V Mayūkha p. 165) has a similar passage, 'when the father is dead (or even when being alive he makes a partition) the impotent, the leper, the lunatic, the idiot, the blind, an outcast and his offspring, a person wearing a heretical sect mark—these are not entitled to a share of the heritage; to these except the *pāṭa* food and raiment are to be given'. These persons suffer from a personal disqualification and maintenance is given to them in lieu of a share not because their status is denied but because they are incapable of management and enjoyment of property. Vide *Raja Ram Rao v. Raja of Piltapur*.¹⁵⁶⁶

The general principle is that an heir is legally bound to provide out of the estate taken by him as heir maintenance for those persons, male or female, whom the late owner was morally or legally bound to maintain. For example, if there is no ancestral property the father-in-law who possesses only self-

1565 Vide note 1151 above for श्री. व. स. II. 2. 43-46 This and the text of Devala are quoted in *Murari v. Parvatibai* 1 Bom. 177 at p. 183.

1566 45 1. A 148 at p 154.

acquired property is not legally bound to maintain his daughter-in-law (widow of a predeceased son); but on the death of the father-in-law, his heir i. e. son, widow, or daughter would be legally bound to maintain a widowed daughter-in-law.^{156a} The Bombay High Court, however, adds the condition that the predeceased son must have been in union with his father when he died; vide 23 Bom. 608.

By Act XVIII of 1937 it has been provided that in a family governed by the Mitākṣarā the widows of deceased coparceners such as the daughter-in-law and the grand-daughter-in-law are entitled to their husband's interest. The Act does not expressly state that their rights to maintenance are taken away. In many cases such widows may prefer to take a share instead of being allotted only maintenance and so far the law of maintenance will tend to become obsolete.

Another important question is what is the effect of unchastity on the right to maintenance? As regards the wife's right to maintenance and the effect of unchastity thereon during the husband's lifetime, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 571-73 above. Manu XI. 176 says that a wife guilty of adultery should be confined by the husband in the same house and should be made to undergo the same penance as a man guilty of adultery has to undergo; Yāj. I. 70 also says that a wife guilty of adultery should be deprived of her status as a wife as to wealth and religious observances, should be given bare maintenance and should be confined to a part of the house. Unchastity on the part of a Hindu widow disentitles her to maintenance under certain circumstances Vas 21. 10 provides that four classes of wives must be abandoned viz. one who yields herself to her husband's pupil or to his *guru* and especially one who attempts the life of her husband or who commits adultery with a man of a degraded caste and in 21. 12 Vasistha states that the wives of brāhmanas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas, who commit adultery with a śūdra, may be purified by penance if no child is born (of the adulterous intercourse) but not otherwise'. It is provided by Yāj. I. 72 that if a woman (of the three higher castes) conceives through adultery with a śūdra or kills her foetus or attempts the death of her husband or is guilty of grave sins (such as brāhmana-murder) she shall be abandoned

^{156a} Vide *Rajani Kanta v. Sajani Sundari* 61 I. A. 29; *Yamunabai v. Manubai* 23 B. m. 608.

Manu IX. 188 provides that when women become *pat-ita*, the rite called *ghatasphota* (the procedure of which may be seen at p. 388 of the H. of Dh. vol. II and in note 1168 in the Appendix to this volume) may be performed, but they must be given food and raiment and they must be provided with a hut near the family house. Yaj. III. 296 has a similar provision. The result is that there is no text which provides that a widow who is once unchaste must be deemed unchaste for ever and must for ever forfeit her claim even to a starving maintenance even if she repents, reforms her ways and gives up an immoral life. On the contrary the texts say that widows guilty of adultery are purified by penance and may be restored to all their social privileges. For example, Manu¹⁵⁶⁷ XI. 189 says generally about all persons that after they perform the appropriate *prāyaścitta*, they should not be rebuked or avoided (but should be restored to all social intercourse). The Mit. on Yaj. I. 72 expressly says that the abandonment of even such women as are referred to in that verse consists in not associating with them conjugally and in religious matters, but does not mean that they are to be driven out of the house.¹⁵⁶⁸

On Yaj. III. 297 (which states that in the case of women there are three peculiarly grave sins viz. adultery with a low-caste man, killing the foetus and attempt to murder the husband) the Mit. sums up the whole position as follows: (1) total abandonment of women for the four grave sins laid down in Vas. 21. 10 takes place when they do not perform penance; (2) women guilty of adultery not of the aggravated kind mentioned in Vas 21. 10 are to be given starving maintenance that would keep body and soul together and are to be lodged in a hut near the house and to be afforded protection (Yaj. I. 70 and III. 296), even if they do not perform the requisite penance. But the Mit. is silent as to the claim to maintenance of widows that at first led a life of incontinence (but not of the aggravated kind) and subsequently reformed their ways. But from Manu XI. 189 it may be inferred that widows not guilty of

1567. एनस्त्रिभिरनिर्णिक्तैर्नाथि किञ्चित्सहाचरेत् । कृतनिर्णेजनांश्चैव न जुगुप्सेत कश्चि-
च्चिद् मनु XI 189 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 54 31. अपराक p 98 says on वा. I. 70, कृतमाय-
न्त्रिणा तु संप्रवहार्या भवति-कृतनिर्णे ... कश्चिच्चिद्-इति मनुवचनात् ।

1568. एतान्श्लेषभोगधर्मकार्ययोर्ये तु निष्कासनं युहात्तस्याः । निरुन्ध्यादेकवेदमनि-
इति नियमात् । निता. on वा I. 72. निरुन्ध्यादेकवेदमनि is मनु XI 176 This
passage of the Mit. is quoted in *Bhikubai v Harba* 27 Bom L. R. 13
at p 20 (=49 Bom 459 at p 467).

aggravated adultery that have undergone the proper *prāyścitta* and that return to decent life would have been entitled to ordinary maintenance from the period they turned over a new leaf.¹⁵⁶⁹

A brief reference to the modern case law on this point may be made here. In *Bhikubai v. Hariba*¹⁵⁷⁰ Sir Lallubhai Shah (after an elaborate examination of ancient and medieval authorities and decided cases) held that a widow who had been unchaste, but who is proved to have given up the life of unchastity is entitled to bare maintenance. In *Lakshmichand v. Anand* the Privy Council make the general observation.¹⁵⁷¹ 'It is true that the right of a Hindu widow to maintenance is conditional upon her leading a life of chastity and that she loses that right if she becomes unchaste'. In *Kisanji v. Lakshmi*¹⁵⁷² it was held that subsequent unchastity disentitled a widow from recovering maintenance, even though it is claimable under an agreement made with the deceased husband's father and brother. In *Musammal Ganga v. Ghasita* 1 All. 46 (F. B.) it has been held that unchastity does not incapacitate a daughter from inheriting stridhana. In *Angammal v. Venkata* 26 Mad 509 the same rule was laid down.

The illegitimate son born of a śūdra concubine to a man of the three higher castes appears to have been held entitled to maintenance from very early times. Gaut. 28. 37 provides, 'the son from a śūdra woman of a man (of the three higher varnas) who is without issue receives maintenance (lit source of maintenance), if he is obedient, in the same way as a pupil might receive'. And Gautama (28 43) extends the same rule to the offspring of *prahloma* unions. Vide p. 601 above and note 1135 for the text of Gaut. and Br. on the point. Manu IX.

1569. Vide *Sathyabhama v. Kesavacharya* 39 Mad 658 at p 660 where it is said, 'But in none of these texts is there any provision for a woman who has repented and was subsequently leading an honest life. It is not to be presumed from the omission to provide for such a contingency that the resumption once made is to be irrevocable and that the fallen woman who had reformed is to be denied even a starving allowance'. Vide also *Bhikubai v. Hariba* 27 Bom L R 13 at pp 23 and 26 and *Ramkumar v. Bhagawanta* 56 All 392, 394.

1570. 27 Bom L R. 13 = 49 Bom 459.

1571. 62 I. A. 250 at p. 255

1572. 33 Bom L R. 510 But this case seems to be in conflict with the decision in *Shivlal v. Bai Sankh* 23 Bom L. R. 420.

155 also provides that the son of a man of the three higher castes from a śūdra woman (not married to him) is not entitled to share in the ancestral estate. Br. (S.B.E. 33 p. 374 v. 31) states¹⁵⁷³ that an obedient and meritorious son born from a woman of the śūdra caste to a man who has no other child should get maintenance and that the sapindas should divide the rest of the wealth of the deceased. Both the Mit and the V. Mayūkha, while explaining Yaj. II. 133-134 about the rights of the illegitimate son of a śūdra from a śūdra woman, remark that one who is begotten on a *dāsi*¹⁵⁷⁴ by a member of the regenerate classes is not entitled to a share even at the father's choice nor to a half share after his father's death but that he is only entitled to maintenance.¹⁵⁷⁵

There is a good deal of case law on this subject, but much of it is irrelevant in this treatise. The right of maintenance attaches in the first instance to the separate property of the putative father and if the latter leaves no such property but was a member of a joint family it attaches to the property of the joint family of which the putative father was a member.¹⁵⁷⁶ It has further been held that it does not matter if the woman was not a *dāsi* (a slave) or a permanent concubine in the exclusive keeping of a man or that the intercourse was adulterous.¹⁵⁷⁷ It has been also held that the illegitimate son's right to maintenance is a personal right and cannot be transmitted to his son¹⁵⁷⁸ and that maintenance has to be provided for him till his death¹⁵⁷⁹ (and not merely up to his attaining majority),

1573. अनपत्यस्य . . समवाप्नुयुः ॥ बृह. cited above in n. 1135 and q. by द्वायभाग IX. 28, अथ, मयूख (p. 103). This verse of Br. is cited and translated in *Krishnayyan v. Muttusami* 7 Mad. 407 at p. 412 and in *Rajani Nath v. Nisai* 48 Cal. 643 (F. B.) at p. 686.

1574. For the meaning of *dāsi* vide above p. 602 n. 1137.

1575. अथ च सुदुग्धगाहः . किं त्वत्कूलश्रेणीविवनमात्रं लभते । मित्ता on यज. II. 133-134 q. above in n. 1136 Vide अथ, मयूख p. 104 and अथ, म. p. 488 for almost the same words. The word जिवनमात्रं does not mean 'bare maintenance' or 'bare necessities of life,' has no reference to the amount of maintenance but is used to distinguish it from *amśa* (share). Vide *Hiralal v. Meghraj* I. L. R. (1938) Bom. 779 at pp. 787 and 794.

1576. *Ananthaya v. Vishnu* 17 Mad. 160; *Subramania v. Valu* 34 Mad. 68. *Vellaiyappa v. Natarajan* 58 I. A. 402, *Hiralal v. Meghraj* I. L. R. (1938) Bom. 779 = 40 Bom. L. R. 935.

1577. Vide *Rahi v. Govind* 1 Bom. 97.

1578. *Roshan Singh v. Balwant Singh* 27 I. A. 51 = 22 All. 191.

1579. *Hargobind v. Dharam Singh* 6 All. 329; *Kuppa v. Singaravelu* 8. Mad. 325; *Hiralal v. Meghraj* I. L. R. (1938) Bom. 779.

except in Bengal.¹⁵⁸⁰ The fact that the texts employ the word "sūdrāputra" (in the masculine gender) has been interpreted by the decided cases as involving that an illegitimate daughter is not entitled under Hindu Law to maintenance. *Vide Parva v. Ganpatrao*¹⁵⁸¹ and *Vellaiyappa v. Natarajan*.¹⁵⁸²

Another frequent subject of litigation in modern times has been a concubine's right of maintenance under the Hindu Law. It has been held that a concubine has no legal right to claim maintenance from her paramour during the latter's lifetime, as he can discard her at any time and as she cannot compel him to keep her.¹⁵⁸³ So also a Hindu is not entitled to transfer joint family property to a concubine for her maintenance during his lifetime.¹⁵⁸⁴ But on the death of the paramour a great difference is made in the rights of a concubine that was in his exclusive keeping till his death. Such a concubine has been held to possess a legal right to maintenance payable out of the estate, ancestral or self-acquired as the case may be, in the hands of those who take it after the death of the paramour. The rights of women, who are not wives, to maintenance are based mainly on two texts, viz. of Nārada and Kātyāyana, that are explained in the Mit, the V. Mayūkha and other medieval works. Nārada says:¹⁵⁸⁵ 'A king devoted to dharma should give maintenance to the women (strī) of a deceased person (when the king succeeds as heir by escheat), except when the deceased person is a brāhmana'; while Kāt. (931) states,¹⁵⁸⁶ 'heirless property goes to the king after keeping aside (wealth sufficient to provide) for the women (yosit), the dependents (or servants) and the funeral rites and srāddhas (of the deceased)'

1580. *Nilmoney v. Baneshur* 4 Cal. 91.

1581. 18 Bom 177, 183.

1582. 50 Mad 340.

1583. *Ramanarasu v. Buchamma* 23 Mad. 282, *Ningareds v. Lakshmawa* 26 Bom 163, *Akku v. Ganesh* 47 Bom. L. R. 5 (F. B.) at p. 12.

1584. *Thakur Rab Prasad v. Chhotay Munwan* 12 Lucknow 469.

1585. अन्त्यज ब्राह्मणत्वं किञ्च राजा धर्मपरायणः । तत्क्रीणां जीवनं दद्यादेव दाप-
विधिः स्मृतः ॥ नारद (दापभाग 52). q. by the Mit. on Yāj. II 114, परा मा. III, p. 535,

1586. अदायिक राजगामि योषिद्वष्ट्यौषद्वहिकम् । अवात्य ओत्रियद्वयं ओत्रिये-
ष्वस्तद्वयेत् ॥ कात्या. q. by मिता. on वा II 114, परा मा. III, p. 535, वय म.
p. 139. This verse is quoted in *Savitribai v. Luxmibai* 2 Bom. 573 at
p. 608, *Yashwantrao v. Kashibai* 12 Bom. 26.

Kaṭ. also similarly prescribes (III.¹⁵⁸⁷ 5. p. 161), 'the king takes heirless property except that of *śrotriya*s, setting apart (wealth) for the maintenance of women (of the deceased), for funeral rites and for poor or wretched (dependents of the deceased)'. The Mit., the V. Mayūkha, the Par. M. and others state that the verses of Nār. and Kāt refer to *avaruddha-stri* alone, since the word *patnī* (duly wedded wife) does not occur therein, but only the words '*yast*' and '*stri*'.¹⁵⁸⁸ There has been a great divergence of views in the decided cases about the significance of *avaruddha stri*. It is generally rendered as a concubine or mistress in the exclusive keeping of a person till the latter's death'. Several conditions are necessary to constitute a woman an *avaruddha stri* capable of claiming maintenance from the estate of her deceased paramour in the hands of his sons or other heirs. In the first place, she must have been continuously and exclusively in his keeping till his death. How long she should have been thus in his keeping cannot be fixed by any hard and fast rules. She must have been so long in his keeping continuously till his death that it can be said that the connection had become permanent. In *Bai Nagubai v Bai Monghubai* a period of five years was deemed to be sufficient. In the second place the concubine¹⁵⁸⁹ must observe sexual fidelity to her deceased paramour after his death in order to be able to claim maintenance from the estate in the hands of his heirs or successors. In *Bai Monghubai v. Bai Nagubai*¹⁵⁹⁰ a third condition was laid down viz. that the connection of the concubine with the deceased paramour should be perfectly open and recognized and she must have been kept practically as a member of the family. But in *Bai Nagubai v Bai Monghubai*¹⁵⁹¹ the Privy Council overruled the above decision and held that in order to entitle a mistress to maintenance it is not necessary that she should have resided in the same

1587. अद्यावत्क राजा हरेत्स्त्रीवृत्ति-मेत-कदुर्पवर्जमन्यत्र ओत्रियद्वय्यात् । तत् त्रैविद्येभ्यः प्रच्छेत् । कौ. III. 5 p 161, Dr Sham Shastri's translation (p 205) 'property for which no claimant is found shall go to the king, except the property of a woman, of a dead man for whom no funeral rites have been performed or of a siggardly man' is clearly inaccurate and hardly in consonance with the actual words of the text.

1588 यदपि कात्यायनेनोक्त-अद्यावत्क पर्येत्-इति तद्व्यवहृत्स्त्रीविषयं योविद्वद्व्यात् । नारदवचनं च अन्यत्र ... स्तुत-हृत्यवहृत्स्त्रीविषयमेव । कृशितद्व-यहणात् । निता. on या. II 114.

1589 *Yashwantrao v. Kashibai* 12 Bom. 26 at p 28.

1590. 24 Bom. L. R. 1009 = 47 Bom. 401.

1591. 53 I. A. 153 = 50 Bom. 604 = 28 Bom. L. R. 1143,

house with the deceased together with his wife and the ordinary members of his family. And in *Dayavati v Kesarbai*¹⁵⁹² it was further held that the concubine need not prove that she was recognized by the family of the deceased or that his relationship with her was known to the family. A further restriction was imposed by the case of *Anandlal v Chandrabai*¹⁵⁹³ that the intercourse with the paramour should not have been adulterous. But this case has been overruled by a recent Full Bench decision in *Alku v Ganesh*¹⁵⁹⁴ which holds that a permanently kept concubine is entitled to be maintained out of the estate of her deceased paramour, although she has a husband living (who was examined in the case as a witness), provided she observes sexual fidelity to the deceased paramour after his death. It becomes, therefore, necessary to examine the Sanskrit medieval commentaries and digests in order to arrive at a correct interpretation of the expression '*avaruddha stri*'. Strangely enough, the Mit. does not define the word in the section on *dāyabhāga*, but only under '*stri-sangrahana*'. Yāj II 290 provides, 'a man should be awarded a fine of fifty *paṇas*, if he has intercourse with *dāsīs* that are *avaruddhā* or that are *bhujīsyā* and also (other women such as prostitutes and *svārnīs*), even though ordinarily they (i.e. *dāsīs* and others) are approachable (without incurring the consequence of punishment)' The Mit. explains that the word '*ca*' placed after '*bhujīsyāsu*' in Yāj. II. 290 is meant to include *veśyās* and *svārnīs* along with *bhujīsyās*. Acc. to the Mit. the verse prescribes the same fine for intercourse with three kinds of women, viz. *dāsīs* that are *avaruddhā*, *dāsīs* that are *bhujīsyā* and other women such as *veśyās* (who are ordinarily approachable by all males of their own or higher castes) and *svārnīs* (who abandon their husbands and resort at their desire to some other male of their own caste, as defined by Yāj. I. 67). A woman though originally a *veśyā* or a *svārnī* may be known to be kept by a man. In that case if another man approaches her, Yāj II 290 declares that he would be liable to be fined in the same amount as if he approached an *avaruddhā dāsī* or *bhujīsyā*, because being in the keeping of another at the time she would be like a wife (as the other two classes do) so far as punishment for approaching a kept woman is concerned. This verse is not concerned with the maintenance

1592. 36 Bom. L. R. 61.

1593. 48 Bom. 203 = 26 Bom. L. R. 63

1594. 47 Bom. L. R. 5 (F. B.).

of women at all. The Mit. here defines '*avaruddhā dāsi*' as "a slave woman who is prohibited by her master from intercourse with other men with an order to stay in the master's house alone in order that there may be no loss of attendance (on the master)." The Mit. defines a *bhujisyā dāsi* as 'one who is restricted (as to enjoyment) to certain definite males' (*puruṣanīyata-parigrahā bhujisyā*).¹⁵⁹⁵ It is worthy of note that the Mit. employs different phraseology in defining the two words. In defining a *bhujisyā* it employs the word '*nīyata*', which generally means 'fixed or definite', while in defining '*avaruddhā*' it employs the word '*niruddhā*' meaning 'prevented or prohibited'. If the two words were intended to convey the same meaning, there is no reason why the Mit. should not have employed the same word (*niruddhā*) in defining a *bhujisyā*. The difference between an *avaruddhā dāsi* and a *bhujisyā* is that the former is ordered to stay in the master's house, while the *bhujisyā* is not so ordered and secondly the *avaruddhā* is forbidden to have sexual intercourse with any one except the master, while the *bhujisyā* is not so forbidden, but she is to restrict herself to enjoyment by certain specified males (friends or men of the master's family) and not necessarily by the master alone. This is the meaning assigned to those words by Mitramiśra in his commentary¹⁵⁹⁶ (not his digest) on Yāj II 290. The Mit. itself indicates the meaning of '*nīyata*' by saying elsewhere that ownership springs from certain fixed sources (*nyatopāyakaṁ svatvam* on Yāj II 114). It is respectfully submitted that the Privy Council gave a wrong interpretation of the word '*avaruddhā*' in *Rai Naqubai v. Bai Monghubai*.¹⁵⁹⁷ Though slavery is now abolished in India there is no reason why the two characteristics of *avaruddhā* (viz staying in the master's house and being

1595. Vide note 1134 for या II 290. उक्तलक्षणा वर्णयित्वा दास्यस्ता एव स्वामिना श्रुत्युपादानेन्युदासार्थं गृह एव स्थातव्यमित्येवं पुरुषान्तरोपभोगतो निरुद्धा अव-
रुद्धा । पुरुषनियतपतिगृहा भुजिष्या । यदा दास्योऽवरुद्धा भुजिष्या वा भवेद्युक्तदा तासु । तथा
चक्षन्दा वेद्यास्यैरिणीनामपि साधारणस्त्रीणां भुजिष्याणां च ग्रहणम् । मित्ता. on या.
II. 290.

1596. हीनां स्त्रीमित्युक्तमपवादति । अवरुद्धास्त्वित्यादि । दासी पुरुषविभेदेण विवाह्या
परिगृहीता च त्रिविधा । एकेन पुरुषेण स्वभोगार्थं पुरुषान्तरोपभोगतो निरुद्धा, भुजिष्या वेद्या
चेति । भुजिष्या च स्वमित्रपुरुषान्तरोपभोगविषय. स्वपरिचर्याकारिणी । ... एवं च
सक्तमाया वेद्याया एकेन बहुभिर्वाभिगमे दण्डाभावः । अवरुद्धाभुजिष्ययोरपि नियतपुरुषस्या-
भिगमे दण्डाभाव, गम्यास्त्रियभिधानादिति मित्ताक्षरास्वरस । मित्रमिश्र in com. on या
II. 290.

1597 53 I. A. 153 = 50 Bom. 604.

exclusively kept by the master) stated by the Mit. should not have been strictly adhered to by the Privy Council, particularly when they were holding heirs liable for the maintenance of kept mistresses, which is hardly ever allowed in any other system of law. With the greatest respect to the Full Bench, it must be said they went wrong in holding that *bhujisya* means 'a mistress who is restrained from intercourse with other persons (other than the master)' and in holding that the only distinction between an *avaruddha* and a *bhujisya* is that the former is required to stay in the house of the paramour, while the latter is not (47 Bom. L. R. at pp. 13 and 22). The learned judges have not correctly interpreted the word 'niyata' and also the explanation of 'bhujisya' given by the Bālabhāṭṭi¹⁵⁹⁸. The meaning of the Bālabhāṭṭi was misunderstood on account of the wrong meaning attached to the word 'niyata'. What the Bālabhāṭṭi means in explaining the definition of *bhujisya* is 'one who is to be enjoyed by certain definite males only other than the master' (i. e. by the master and also certain defined males) and it does not mean 'who is forbidden to be enjoyed by males other than the master'.

The F. B. further rely upon a passage of the Mit. in support of their conclusion (47 Bom. L. R. at pp. 14 and 22) On the question of what properties are impartible, the Mit. on Yāj. II. 119 quotes Manu IX. 219 viz 'clothes, conveyances, ornaments, cooked food, water (wells &c.), women, *yogakṣema* and pastures (or ways)—these they der'are are impartible' The Mit. explanation¹⁵⁹⁹ of the word 'striyah' may be translated as follows: 'striyah' here means 'female slaves; if they are uneven in number they should not be divided by taking their price into consideration, but they are to be made to work in turns (for the separated members of the family), but as regards women kept by the father such as *svairinis* and the rest, they are not to be divided by the sons even though they be even in number'. It is difficult to see how this passage supports the Full Bench decision. That

1598. *पुरुषान्तेति । स्वभोग्यतां तु नैवेति भावः । पुरुषेति स्वमिच्छिन्नेत्यर्थः । बालभट्टी*
on या. II. 290.

1599. *स्त्रियश्च दास्यो विषमा न मूल्यद्वारेण विभाज्याः पर्यायेण कर्म कारयितव्याः । अवकक्षास्तु पित्रा स्वैरिण्याया सत्ता अपि पुत्रैर्न विभाज्याः । क्रीडु च संयुक्तास्त्रिभागः—इति गौतमस्मरणम् । मिता. on या. II. 119; the ह्योधिनी remarks, 'पित्रवकक्षस्वैरिण्यादीनां समानामप्यविभाज्यत्वे गौतमवचनं दृष्टव्यं क्रीडु च संयुक्तास्त्रि । संयुक्ता उच्युकाश्च अवकक्षास्त्रि वाच्यः ।'. अरक्षिता ग्रहे वज्राः पुरुषैराप्तकारिभिः—इति तेनोक्तत्वात् । एव च वज्रामित्यत्र ग्रहेऽवकक्षामित्यवधारणस्य । स्मृतिच. II, p. 321.*

passage can be explained in two or three different ways. In the first place, the Mit. having itself clearly distinguished and defined three classes, viz *avaruddhā*, *bhujisya* and *svairinī* (together with *veśyas* also) it cannot be lightly supposed that elsewhere it gives up that distinction. Therefore it would be difficult to say that here (on Yaj. II. 119) the Mit. means that *svairinīs* are also the same as *avaruddhās*. Hence the interpretation should be that women who are *avaruddhā* (kept exclusively by the father) and even other women also like *svairinīs* (who had sexual connection with the father though not as *avaruddhā*) should not be divided i. e. a 'ca' should be understood after '*svairinyādyāh*'. Or it is possible to hold that the word '*avaruddhā*' in that passage is not employed in the strict technical sense (as defined by the Mit. on Yaj. II. 290), but in its etymological sense meaning 'women who are *svairinīs* and the like that are taken into his harem (or under his protection) by the father should not be divided'. This interpretation derives support from the explanation offered by the Subodhini (which is repeated almost verbatim by the Bālabhāṭṭi) about the text of Gautama quoted by the Mit. that '*samyukta*' in Gaut. means 'enjoyed' or 'confined' (in the house). This shows that the words '*ruddhā*' and '*avaruddhā*' were used in the etymological sense by distinguished writers. The Sm. C. II p. 321 while explaining the word '*ruddhā*' in Manu IX. 12 applied to a wife guilty of adultery explains it as meaning 'confined in a part of the house' (*gr̥he avaruddhām*). When the Mit. states (p. 811) that the verses of Nār. and Kāt. refer to *avaruddhā* *strī* it follows that these verses do not refer to *bhujisya*, who would therefore be deemed not entitled to maintenance at all.

There is a large body of caselaw about the right of a widow in a joint Hindu family to reside in the family house, about the right of a daughter-in-law against her deceased husband's father who has no ancestral property in his hands and against the heirs of the father-in-law, about the amount of maintenance to be allowed to a widow and about the rate at which arrears of maintenance are to be allowed, about the period for which arrears may be awarded, about making the maintenance a charge on the estate in the hands of the heirs, about varying the rate of maintenance fixed by a decree or an agreement &c. These are not quite germane to the present volume, particularly because most of the decisions on these

matters are not based on the words of the smrtis or of the medieval digests, but are based on logic and principles of justice and equity. But there is one matter which deserves a passing reference. Ancient Hindu Law attached the highest spiritual importance to the payment of debts (vide pp. 414-417 above). Therefore debts contracted by a Hindu are held by the Courts to take precedence over the right of maintenance of a man's wife, his infant child or his widow after his death.¹⁶⁰⁰ Similarly debts contracted by the manager of the joint family of which the widow's husband was a member would take precedence over the widow's right of maintenance, provided the debts were for the benefit of the family or were for legal necessity.

The last *vyavahārapada* is *prakīrnaka*, which is defined by Visnu Dh. S. 42 ' 1 as ' miscellaneous ' (*yadanuktam tat prakīrnakam*) or by Nār. as matters that were to be set in motion by the king himself (vide note 331). These have been dealt with above and do not require any further treatment here.

At the end of this section on Vyavahāra it would not be out of place to say a few words about wills. Owing to the joint family system and the custom of adoption testamentary dispositions did not come into vogue in ancient India. Among the many kinds of documents (*lekhya*) mentioned by Kaut., Br, Kāt and others cited above there is no term for a document which can convey the idea of a modern will. But it need not be supposed that the idea had not at all dawned upon the minds of people before the advent of the British¹⁶⁰¹. Wills were known among Mahomedans and contact with them would naturally suggest the idea of a will. Oral or written instructions by a man expecting death to his heirs intended to affect the disposal of his property must have been given occasionally and should not

1600 Vide *Lakshman v. Satyabhamabai* 2 Bom. 494 at pp 499, 505, *Radhabai v. Gopal* 45 Bom. L. R. 980 at p. 991.

1601. In *Nagalutchmee Ummal v. Gopoo Nadaraja* 6 Moo I A. p 309 the P. C. said (at p. 344): ' It must be allowed that in the ancient Hindu Law, as it was understood through the whole of Hindustan, testamentary instruments in the sense affixed by English lawyers to that expression were unknown; and it is stated by a writer of authority (Sir Thomas Strange) that the Hindoo language has no terms to express what we mean by a will. But it does not necessarily follow that what in effect though not in form are testamentary instruments which are only to come into operation and affect property after the death of the maker of the instrument were equally unknown.

be supposed to have been entirely unknown. Verses 341-359 of the *Rajatarangini* IV. appear to embody the political testament of king Lalitaditya of Kashmir in the first half of the 8th century. *Kāt.* (566) makes a very near approach to the modern conception of a will¹⁶⁰². He says, 'if a gift was promised by a man for a religious purpose whether when in good health or when afflicted with disease, the son should be made to pay it, if the father dies without giving it over.' Here the mere declaration of the intention of a person was made enforceable after his death against the son or other heir. *Brhaspati's* verse saying that a promise or direction to take effect after the death of the promisor was not ordinarily enforceable has already been quoted above (n. 823). In the quarterly of the *Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁsodhaka* *Maṇḍala* of Poona, vol. XX p. 210 (for May 1940) there is a letter (dated 1775 A. D.) written by one Naro Babaji, who, after referring to his illness, provides on a generous scale for his funeral and *śrāddha* expenses and makes dispositions in favour of his daughter-in-law, of another widow, and for the marriage of his kinsman's sons and distribution of the balance of his assets¹⁶⁰³.

1602 स्वर्धेनार्तेन वा देयं आवृत्तं धर्मकारणात् । अदत्त्वा तु मृते दाप्यस्तत्सुतो नात्र संशयः । कार्या य by अपरार्क p. 782, वि. चि. p. 16, व्य. मयूर p. 206. 'आवृत्तत्वा पक्षि दानमकृत्वा च मृतस्तदा तद्वापादैस्तद्देयम् । अयच्छन्तो राज्ञा दाप्याः । एतच्च धर्माधि प्रतिभवेण सति द्रष्टव्यम् । अपरार्क p. 782

1603. यादी चिरेजीव राजश्री माधवराव यासि नारो बाबाजी असिखाद उपरि सन ११८५ मम्मयनाम संवत्सरे आपले शरीर आज महिनाभर वेथा झाली आहे न जाने शरीराचा भरवसा नाही आपला घर्माचा ऐवज अन्तकाल वेगरे ठेवला आहे तो वेगेमनाजे :

धर्म करावा बीतपशील

५००० आपण जिवंत असतां आपले हाते प्रायश्चित व हिरण्यद्वारा मोक्षत वेगरे प्रसंग आल्यास करवावें

१०००० क्रियेस लावावे

१००० मासिक वर्षभ्रातृ मिलोन

× ×

१५००० आपले गयावर्जन व कासीत एक गापीत्रीपुरश्चरण व किरकोल धर्म

५००० यासिबाप किरकोल धर्म कासीत अपवा आन्य क्षेत्री

× ×

४००००

(Continued on the next page)

One of the earliest wills to come before the British Indian Courts was that of the notorious Umichand¹⁶⁰⁴ (who died in 1758 A. D.). Bengal Regulation XI of 1793 recognized by section VI the power of a Hindu proprietor to make a will or declaration giving, prior or subsequent to 1st July 1794, his entire landed estate to his eldest son or next heir or other son or heir or to any person or persons. In a Bombay case the will of a Hindu made in 1789 is referred to¹⁶⁰⁵. A Pundit of the Recorder's court of Bombay gave it as his opinion in 1812 A.D., 'there is no mention of wills in our *Shaster*; therefore they ought not to be made' (vide Strange's Hindu Law, vol. II p. 449). In I. L. R. (1940) 1 Cal. 415 at p. 424 the Privy Council observe that the Hindu will in its present form is a development since the middle of the 18th century.

It is beyond the scope of this work to dilate on the modern Acts dealing with Testamentary dispositions such as the Indian Succession Act (Act 39 of 1925).

Now that the foregoing lengthy presentation of the ancient and medieval Hindu judicial procedure and substantive law has been brought to a close a few general observations may be indulged in here. The Hindu Law of pleading and evidence compares favourably with similar laws of many other countries and has extorted the admiration and encomiums of such

(Continued from the last page)

× ×

याशिबाय कलमे

५००० राधाबाई सून तिजपाशीं वस्ता अजमासे पांचा सहा हजारान्या आहेत याशिबाय काशीस गेली आथवा आपले बापाचे घरीं राहीली तर तीस रुपये द्यावे

३००० तीर्थस्वरूप दादाचे क्रियेस लावावे

५०० भाचेसून रखमाबाईस वर्षास धर्माकरिता ५० रुपये देतच आहा दुईं तुम्हापासोन जाईल तेन्हा तीस द्यावे

३५००० तुम्ही आपले तीन्ही मुलाचे लग्नास खर्च करावा

५३५०० सद्वद्दममाणे कराव

सद्वद्द रुपये जाऊन बाकी राहिल त्यात तुम्ही तिजोबाचे व त्याचे बायकोचें आपणापाशीं ठेवून चालवार्जे दुहे तो थोर झाल्यावर कोणी त्यास नीर वेईल आणि तो तुम्हापासून वेगळा निघे लागला तर बाकी निमे त्यास द्यावे व तुम्ही निमे द्यावे. × × ×
The rest gives a history of the family and how the testator earned his fortune

1604. The will is set out in an English translation in W. A. Montrose's 'The Hindu Will in Bengal' (Calcutta, 1870) pp. 9ff.

1605. Vide *Jugmohandas v. Sir Mangaldas* 10 Bom. 528.

eminent Jurists and Judges as Sir William Jones, Sir Thomas Strange and others. For example, Sir Thomas Strange in 'Hindu Law' (1830) vol. I observes (at p. 311), " sufficient be it to observe that Hindu pleading was noticed with commendation by Sir William Jones and that, with some trifling exceptions, the Hindu doctrine of evidence is, for the most part, distinguished nearly as much as our own, by the excellent sense that determines the competency and designates the choice of witnesses with the manner of examining and the credit to be given them ; as well as by the solemn earnestness with which the obligation of truth is urged and inculcated ; insomuch that less cannot be said of this part of their law than that it will be read by every English lawyer with a mixture of admiration and delight, as it may be studied by him to advantage. Even the *pious perjury* which it has been supposed to sanction^{1605a} being resolvable after all into no greater liberty than what our juries (not indeed with perfect approbation) have long been allowed to take, where the life of a prisoner on trial before them is at stake ; credit is to be given to the pregnant brevity of the Hindu oath viz. 'what you know ..declare at large and with truth' (Manu VIII. 80) ; as also to the noble warning, with which the subject as detailed by Manu is ushered in, that ' either the court must not be entered by judges, parties and witnesses or law and truth must be openly declared ' (Manu VIII. 13)." The medieval digests made a very near approach to the modern ideal of equality of all men before the law. How even in the 20th century the much vaunted equality before the law of all people in England is far from being achieved and how it often proves quite illusory where the poor or the labouring classes are concerned is well brought out in a book entitled ' Justice in England ' by a Barrister published by Victor Gollancz in 1938, especially in chapters I and VI. The Hindu jurists evolved tolerably clear and sound ideas about contracts, debts, deposits and pledges, sales, mortgages and gifts of immovable properties, developed a system of joint family rights and liabilities and laid down a peculiar law of inheritance and succession to males and females. The Hindu system of inheritance and succession

1605a This is a reference to the texts of Gaut. 23 29, the Mahābhārata, Manu, Yājñavalkya and others cited on p 353 above Sir William Jones remarks (in Works, vol. VIII p. 445, ed. of 1807) · 'In the great system of contracts and the common intercourse between man and man, the *Positve* (*Poths*?) of the Indians and the Digest of the Romans are by no means dissimilar'.

pursues a middle course. It does not distribute the estate of a deceased person simultaneously among several heirs as under the Mahomedan Law (where the widow, the father, mother, sons and daughters of a man take the estate together if they are all alive at the time). Nor did the Hindu system confine the descent to a single person among a group of heirs of the same degree and sex as in the English system before 1926 (where the eldest son succeeded to the real estate of an intestate person).

It has further been seen how the ancient and mediæval Hindu rules as to debts, adoption, partition and inheritance have been moulded for over a century by Legislation and by decisions of the Privy Council and the Courts in India. Many persons feel that the time has now arrived for the codification of Hindu Law. A Committee presided over by Sir B. N. Rau has prepared a draft code which attempts to codify certain branches of Hindu Law. From several quarters there has been vehement opposition to this draft code. The objections raised are many. It is not possible to deal here with the several objections in detail. But some of them which raise questions of fundamental importance will have to be briefly stated and answered. The first objection is that in view of Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858 the Indian Legislature should not interfere with the customs and usages of the people that are part and parcel of the Hindu religious system. But this objection is hollow and unsubstantial and conveniently ignores what has happened during the last hundred years or so. All that the Queen proclaimed was: 'Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We desire it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all *interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects* on pain of our highest displeasure.' Notwithstanding the noble sentiments expressed here, the Indian Legislature both before and after the proclamation passed numerous laws that more or less impinged upon or affected the religious theories, sentiments and practices of millions of Hindus! The following is a list of some of the important laws of this character which will convince any one of the fact that

people have always submitted to laws passed by the Governor-General or the Legislature that prevented them from carrying out their cherished ideas and practices: Regulation XVII of 1829 which declared the practice of *Sati* illegal and a crime punishable by the courts; the Caste Disabilities Removal Act (XXI of 1850); Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (XV of 1856, which legalises the marriages of Hindu widows notwithstanding any custom or interpretation of the Hindu Law to the contrary); the Indian Penal Code (XLV of 1860, which makes sexual intercourse by a man with his own wife that is under thirteen years of age punishable as rape); the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929), which makes the marriage of a male below 18 and of a female below 14 punishable as a crime; the Hindu Inheritance (Removal of Disabilities) Act (XII of 1928) which sets aside the *Mitāksarā* rules about exclusion from partition and inheritance except in the case of those that have been lunatics or idiots from birth; the Hindu Law of Inheritance Amendment Act (II of 1929, which enables the son's daughter, daughter's daughter, sister and sister's son to succeed under the *Mitāksarā* in that order after the paternal grandfather and before a father's brother); the Hindu Gains of Learning Act (XXX of 1930); the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act (XVIII of 1937, which enables the widow of a deceased member of a joint Hindu family to succeed to the interest of her husband in the joint family property and to succeed to her deceased husband's separate property for the same share as that of a son). The Privy Council claimed more than 70 years ago that 'the British Government by virtue of its sovereign power asserted, as the former rulers of the country had done, the right to visit endowments of this kind (viz temples) and to prevent and redress abuses in their management' (*Rajah Mutlu Ramalinga v. Peranayagum* 1 I. A. 209 at p. 232). Non-Hindu Judges of the Privy Council and the High Courts have been interpreting and laying down the Hindu Law for over a hundred years and on many points the law declared by them has thoroughly changed the law of the *smṛtis* and digests. If all this has been allowed to happen without hardly a demur, there is apparently no satisfactory or convincing reason why an elected Indian Legislature the majority of whose members are likely to be Hindus should not pass an Act dealing with Hindu Law.

Another objection raised even by some retired judges of the High Court is that the present system of laying down the

Hindu Law by means of judicial decisions is quite satisfactory and there is no need of a code of Hindu Law. This objection merely shows that change is rather a painful process for most men. The present method may be a veritable El Dorado or paradise for lawyers and busy bodies fomenting longdrawn litigations. One must stand appalled at the colossal expenditure of time, labour and money which must have been involved during the last hundred years or more in fighting out doubtful points of Hindu Law from the lowest court to the Privy Council. It not unfrequently happens that after a point had been settled by a Full Bench decision of a High Court and after common people and lawyers had followed the law thus settled for fifty years the Privy Council upsets the decision on an appeal by an enterprising litigant. For example, the Bombay High Court decided in 1879 in *Ramji v. Ghamau* (6 Bom. 498) that the adoption by the widow of a deceased co-parcener, who had not her husband's express authority to adopt, was invalid, if made without the consent of the surviving co-parceners. But in 1932 the Privy Council held that *Ramji v. Ghamau* was wrongly decided and that a widow can adopt without her husband's express authority and even in the teeth of the opposition of the surviving members of her husband's family. And when an appeal was made to the principle of '*stare decisis*' the Privy Council was pleased to observe, 'It was pressed on their Lordships that *Ramji v. Ghamau* had been accepted and acted upon in the Presidency of Bombay since 1879 and that the decision should not be disturbed. But this is a belated appeal. It should have been made when *Yadav v. Namdeo* was before the Board.' To ordinary minds this dictum, speaking with the utmost respect, appears strange. If for some reason or other a certain line of argument is not placed before the Privy Council by the counsel of a private party and a wrong decision is given, is it to be supposed that all litigants are to be precluded from trying to set the wrong decision right for all time to come? The Privy Council has not seldom set right a wrong decision given by the Board in a prior appeal. In *Sahu Ram v. Bhup Singh* 44 I. A. 126 the Privy Council held that the pious duty of the son to discharge his father's or grandfather's debts does not attach while the father or grandfather is alive; but in *Brij Narain v. Mangla Prasad* 51 I. A. 129 the Privy Council held (at p. 134) that the pious duty is always there irrespective of the question whether the father or grandfather is alive or dead.

Others opine that one Code for the whole of India is not and cannot be a practicable proposition. In support of their objection they rely on the existence of the several schools of law now prevalent in the whole of India. If India desires to be a self-governing political unity in the future, there is a compelling reason why it should be governed by a single Code of Hindu Law, as it has been governed and will be governed in other substantial provinces of law by codes applicable to all alike. That will help in the direction of solidarity and will be of some use in doing away with fissiparous tendencies. There are really only two schools of Hindu Law. And the unification of Hindu Law will be helped by the abolition of the right by birth which is the cornerstone of the Mitākṣarā school and which the draft Hindu Code seeks to abolish. Many people are vehemently opposed to the change. But they forget that, what with the rule that any member of a joint Hindu family may alienate his interest for value, what with the Gains of Learning Act, the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act and other enactments, the real core of the ancient Hindu family system has been removed and only the outer moribund shell remains (vide p. 604 above). Some are opposed to giving along with sons a share to daughters, particularly to married daughters. But here a compromise may be effected by allowing a share to unmarried daughters alone (as Yāj II 124 and the Mitākṣarā thereon expressly provide).

Another provision in the draft Hindu Code which has come in for severe animadversion is the provision that a woman even when taking by inheritance an estate from a male or by partition should be held to become absolute owner thereof. In the first place, if a man's agnate of the 13th degree or a male cognate up to the 5th degree takes an estate absolutely and may squander it away as he pleases, one fails to see why his own widow should not have a like power in the 20th century, whatever may have been the view of ancient works. In the second place, this objection can be met by means of a compromise, viz. that a widow inheriting her husband's estate will take only a limited estate if at the time of her husband's death any one of the compact series of heirs or any direct lineal descendant of her husband (such as a son's daughter or daughter's daughter) be alive, but she will take an absolute estate if none of these exists. Such a compromise should allay all fears about the widow unfairly disposing of the estate against near relations

like the daughter or daughter's son or husband's brother &c. There are numerous other objections, but they are in matters of detail and if once it is agreed that there should be a Code of Hindu Law passed by the Indian Legislature these matters of detail may be adjusted to the satisfaction of most people.

Similarly serious objections are raised to the provisions of the Code as regards marriages and divorce. The draft code proposes to do away with the prohibitions based on sameness of gotra and pravara. This is a desirable change and being optional should not be opposed. Some reasons for this change have been advanced in H. of Dh. vol II. p 498. Besides, this provision will affect only a small percentage of the Hindu population. Similarly the insistence on monogamy is opposed by many. In this case some compromise may be arrived at as regards classes to whom two wives are an economic advantage. The provisions about divorce have been overdue. Among the higher castes no divorce has been allowed on any ground whatever. Many hard cases occur where there is no redress and the draft code proposes to give relief in such cases.

On the most contentious subject of adoption the draft code, it is satisfactory to note, has made certain provisions which are in line with the suggestions put forth by me in note 1338a above.

Compelling reasons exist why Hindu Law should be codified as early as possible. Men naturally desire that they should have easy access to the laws by which they are to be governed in all their actions, dealings and relations. It is hardly a commendable or desirable state of things that people should be forced to consult lawyers or bulky textbooks every now and then and even in small and simple matters. The general outlines and provisions of Hindu Law must be within easy reach of every intelligent or inquiring Hindu. This can only happen if there is a code for all Hindus or, if that is deemed impracticable for the present, at least for a large province or for a number of provinces.

CHAPTER XXXII

SADĀCĀRA

CUSTOMS AND MODERN CUSTOMARY LAW¹⁶⁰⁶

From Gautama^{1606a} downwards many writers dilate upon the sources of *dharma*. Gautama I. 1-2 states: 'the Veda is the source (*mūla*) of *dharma* and also the tradition (or *smṛtis*) and practice of those who know the Veda'. Similarly Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 1. 1-2) says: 'we shall propound the acts (that produce merit) which are evolved from conventions and practices; the authority (for finding out the *dharma*s) are the conventions of those who know the *dharma* and the Vedas'. Vas. I. 4-7 provides: 'dharma is declared by the Vedas and *Smṛtis*; on failure of these two the practice of the *śiṣṭas* is the authority (for finding out what *dharma* is); a *śiṣṭa* however is one whose heart is free from (worldly) desires and (only) such acts of *śiṣṭas* are (to be held as) *dharma* for which no (worldly

1606. This chapter and the next represent, with a few minor additions, two of the four lectures I delivered in November 1944 at the Bombay University as the Sir Lallubhai Shah Lecturer. I am thankful to the Syndicate of the Bombay University for permission to incorporate these two lectures in this volume

1606a. वेदो धर्ममूलम् । तद्विद्वांश्च स्मृतिश्चिले । गौ. I 1-2, अथातः सामयाचारिकान्धर्मान् व्याख्यास्यामः । धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 1-3, श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्मः । तदलाभे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणम् । शिष्टः पुनरकामात्मा । अशुद्धमात्रकारणो धर्मः । वासिष्ठ I 4-7; श्रुति, स्मृति, सदाचारः स्वस्य च भियमात्मनः । सम्यक्प्रवृत्त्यजः कामः धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् ॥ या. I. 7; वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिश्चिले च तद्विद्वान् । आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ मनु I. 6. हरदत्त explains *mūla* in Gaut. as *pramāṇa* and सामयाचारिकान् as 'पौरुषेयी व्यवस्था समयः स च त्रिविधः विधिनियम प्रतिषेध इति । समयमूला आचाराः समयआचाराः तेषु भवा सामयाचारिकाः एवं धृतान्धर्मानिति । कर्मजन्योऽप्युदयनिःश्रेयसहेतुपूर्वकस्य आत्मगुणो धर्मः '. According to him सामयाचारिकान् means relating to practices based upon agreements or conventions Manu distinguishes between *śīla* and *ācāra* The first means, acc. to Kullūka and others, such moral qualities as 'devotion to learning, to gods and to parents' &c mentioned in *Hārīta* (quoted by Kullūka) All commentators connect 'svasya' in Manu II 12 and Yāj I. 7 with 'priyam', but Pandit Gattalal connects it with 'sadācāra' which means according to him 'sampradāya' (in *Satsiddhāntamārtanda* I. 5 p. 49, Nir. ed. 1942).

or secular) cause (or motive) can be assigned'.¹⁶⁰⁷ Manu II. and Yāj. I. 7 declare that Veda (or śruti), smṛti and the practices of the good are the principal *sources* of dharma. The words employed in these works are *śīla*, *saṁaya*, *ācāra* or *sadācār* or *śīstācāra*¹⁶⁰⁷ (the latter three meaning the same thing'. Āp. employs both words viz. *saṁaya* and *ācāra*, the first of which probably means 'agreement or convention or usage', while the latter means 'custom'. The word 'custom' now conveys the idea of some antiquity,¹⁶⁰⁸ while usage or convention does not necessarily convey that idea. A usage may be recent or it may be established by agreement among a certain class of persons (such as traders or craftsmen) We have to see what is meant when it is said that *ācāra* or *śīstācāra* or *sadācāra* is the source (*mūla*) of dharma. An indication of the meaning is furnished by the word *pramāṇa* employed by Āp. and Vas. The meaning is that just as the revealed books (Veda) and the smṛtis authoritatively lay down what dharma is, so also in our quest to find out what dharma is in the varying circumstances of life the practices of those who may be called *śīstas* furnish us with the necessary criterion or norm i e. *śīstācāra* is the touchstone for judging whether an act is in consonance with what the *śāstras* require us to do. The theory of the ancient writers was that the smṛtis were based on parts of Veda (that consists of *mantras* and Brāhmaṇa texts) which though formerly existent are not now extant or available, that similarly the practices of those who were learned in the Vedas and were deemed to be *śīstas* must be inferred to have been based on portions of Veda not now available. This theory was advanced by such ancient

1607. As to the qualifications of *śīstas*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 971-72 where references are given to Baud Dh S , Mann, the Matsyapurāṇa and a few other works. The Tai. Up. I. 11 contains perhaps the oldest extant indication as to who should be regarded as *śīstas*, though that word itself is not used. अथ यदि ते कर्मविचिकित्सा वा वृत्तविचिकित्सा वा स्यात् : ये तत्र ब्राह्मण-संमतिनिः युक्ता आशुक्ता अलूप्ता धर्मकामाः स्युः यथा ते तत्र वर्तेन् तथा तत्र वर्तेया । अथाभ्याख्यासेषु । ये तत्र ब्राह्मणाः . . धर्मकामाः स्युः यथा ते तेषु वर्तेन् तथा तेषु वर्तेया ।

1608. Vide *Dalglisch v. Guzuffer* 23 Cal. 427, 429 and *Sariatullah v. Pran Nath* 26 Cal. 184, 187 for the meaning of usage in modern enactments as distinguished from 'custom'. In *Juggomohun Ghose v. Manickchand* 7 Moo I A. 264 at p 282 (mercantile) usage is sharply distinguished from custom in that the former need not possess the characteristics of antiquity, uniformity and notoriety that the latter must possess.

writers as Āp.¹⁶⁰⁹ and was taken up by many subsequent works. Manu II. 7 also states that whatever dharma has been ordained for any person by Manu, all that has been entirely declared in the Veda for the Veda is full of all knowledge. But it does not follow from this nor is it ever meant that all practices of śīṣtas are authoritative in matters of dharma. The qualification was added that where the practices of śīṣtas are clearly referable to or are prompted by a seen motive or by the desire to secure pleasure, there they are not authoritative. Manu (II. 18) restricted the word *sadācāra* to the customs handed down from generation to generation among the four varnas and the mixed castes in the country called by him *Brahmāvarta* (II. 17). But many other writers did not so restrict it in this way.

We have to distinguish between what are called the sources (*mūla* or *pramāṇa*) of dharma and the *sthānas* of dharma (Yāj I. 3 and 7).¹⁶¹⁰ The former indicate to the inquiring spirit what dharma is (i.e. they are what are called *jñāpaka hetu*), while the latter must be studied as aids by the expounders of dharma in order to correctly grasp what dharma is, i.e. the different lores (other than Veda and *smṛti*) are not directly the sources of dharma, but are only mediately so. This distinction is an ancient one as even Gautama XI. 19 provides that the king is helped in his administration of justice by the Veda, the *dharmaśāstras*, the auxiliary lores (*angas*), the *Upavedas* and the *Purāṇa*.¹⁶¹¹

The position of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* in relation to the authoritativeness of *smṛtis* and customs requires careful and

1609. आर्यसमयो ह्यसुहृत्मानकारणः । ... ब्राह्मणोका विधयस्तेषामुत्सन्नाः पाठाः प्रयोगादनुनीयन्ते । यत्र तु मील्युपलब्धितः ग्रहस्ति तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति । तदनुवर्तमानो नरकाय राक्षसि । आप च. सू. I. 4 12. 8, 10-13 The first sūtra may be used for explaining Vas I 4, *सुहृत्मानकारण* means 'that has a known or perceptible worldly motive such as covetousness'. Vide note 1653 below Compare जे. I. 3 7 अथ वा कारणाग्रहणे &c quoted below

1610. पुराणन्यायममीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिभिताः । वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥ या I 3, on which मित्रा. says, धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश स्थानानि हेतवः । एतानि च त्रैविधिकरभ्येतस्यानि, while मित्रमिश्र explains, 'विद्यानां दुरुपार्थसाधनज्ञानानाम् । अत एव धर्मस्यापि स्थानान्युपाया विद्यायाः प्रवृत्तिद्वारा धर्मयोजकत्वात्.' On I 7 मित्रमिश्र says, पुराणादीनां स्वर्गादिकथाप्राधान्यादिति हास्यचतुर्लक्षेनार्थवादादिरूपतया स्थापयामीमांस-पोस्तर्कद्वारा शिक्षादीनामद्वानां तत्तदुपकारसम्पादनेन वेदानुग्राहकतया धर्मो भ्रामण्यं न साक्षादिति न तावन्न गणितानि ।

1611. तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गाः उपवेदाः पुराणम् । गौ. XI, 19,

detailed consideration. In I. 3. 1-2¹⁶¹² Jaimini considers the question whether such *smṛti* injunctions as 'one should perform the *Astakā śrāddhas*',¹⁶¹³ or 'one should construct a tank or set up a *prapā* (place for free distribution of water to thirsty travellers)', or 'tufts of hair should be kept on the head' (at *caula* according to the *gotra*) are authoritative and establishes the conclusion that they are authoritative, since such *smṛti* injunctions equally with Vedic ones are addressed to the same persons (viz. the followers of the *Veda*) who have to act according to them. The idea is that those who perform the acts expressly enjoined by the *Veda* are also seen to perform the acts enjoined by such *smṛtis* as that of *Manu* and therefore the principal reason why these *smṛtis* are authoritative is the fact that those who know the *Veda* accept these *smṛtis* as authoritative and hold fast by them, as *Medhātithi* on *Manu* II. 6 says citing some verses from his own work called *Smṛtivilēka*¹⁶¹⁴ Śābara endeavours to show that there are indications (*lūga*) in the Vedic texts pointing to the existence of what is prescribed in the *smṛtis* e. g. he cites the Vedic verse 'yām janāh' as indicative

^{1612.} धर्मस्य शब्दमूलत्वाद् शब्दमनपेक्ष स्यात् । अपि वा कर्तृसामान्यात्प्रमाणमु-
मानं स्यात् । जै I 3 1-2 The word अनुमान is here used in the sense of
स्थिति 'अपि वा पक्षो न्याययते । प्रमाण हि स्थितिः । ग्रन्थस्त्वनुनीयेत कर्तृसामान्यात्स्थिति-
वैदिकपदार्थयोः । तेनोपपन्नो वेदसयोगल्लैवर्णिकानाम् ।' शबर, about अटका he says
'अटकालिङ्गाश्च मन्त्रा वेदे दृश्यन्ते यां जना प्रतिनन्दन्तीत्येवमाद्य' 11. That verse is,
यां जना प्रतिनन्दन्ति रात्रिं धेनुमिवायतीम् । सवत्सरस्य या पत्नी सा नो अस्तु सुमङ्गली ।
This occurs in आप म पा II 10 27, in पारस्करगृह्य III 2 and in अथर्ववेद
III 10 2 where we have या देवा etc Acc to प्रभाकर the topic of Jai I 3 1-2
is not such *smṛti* texts as those on *Astakā*, but the Vedic verse या जना itself
The न्यायसूत्रा p 126 adds 'अटकायै हुराधसे स्वाहेति तस्याष्टकादेवतारात्रिमकाश-
कत्वादेवा वै सवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदष्टकंति संवत्सरपत्नीत्वसस्तुष्टकाप्रकाशकत्वाच्चाष्टका-
लिङ्गत्व स्पष्टमेवेति' The word कर्तृसामान्यात् in the sūtra is explained in the
मयूखमालिका as 'अग्निहोत्रादीनां वैदिकपदार्थानां ये कर्तारस्त एव अटकादिस्मृतीनामिति
कर्तृसामान्यात्प्रमाणमुच्यते' (on जै I 3 4 p 27), while the न्यायसूत्रा (p 125)
proposes also another explanation 'यद्वा स्मृतिकर्तृणां मन्वादीनां वैदिकपदार्थकर्तृणां
तदानीन्तानां शिष्टानां वैवर्णिकत्वेन समानत्वात् इदानीन्तनवन्मन्वादीनामप्युपपन्नो वेद-
संयोग इत्यर्थः'.

¹⁶¹³ Vide Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 1 ff, Sān. Gr. III. 12-14, Pār. Gr. III. 3
for *Astakā śrāddhas*. Passages of the *smṛtis* about tanks and *prapās* are set
out in H of Dh vol II pp 889-890 For tufts of hair kept in *caula* vide
H of Dh. vol II pp. 261 and 264,

^{1614.} वैदिके स्मर्यमाणत्वात्परिग्रहदाढ्यतः । संभाष्यवेदमूलत्वात्स्मृतीनां वेदमूलता ॥
quoted in the शास्त्रदीपिका on जै. I 3 2; 'स्मर्तवैदिकयोर्नैव स्पष्टवद्भूतपरस्परम् ।
कर्तुः कर्मतो वापि विद्युज्येते न जातौ ॥ .. प्रामाण्यकारणं मुख्यं वेदावेदि. परिग्रहः । तदुक्तं
कर्तृसामान्यादनुमानं श्रुतिः । प्रति ॥ q. from स्थितिनिवेक by मेधा. on मनु. II. 6

of *aśṭakāś*, Rg. X. 4. 1 of *prapāś*, Rg. VI. 75. 17 of tufts of hair. The objection may be stated as follows :—The *smṛtis* are composed by human authors (i. e. they are *pauruseya*) and so have no independent authority in matters of *dharma*, as a man may say what is either false or mistaken. If it be said that the *smṛtis* really propound what is stated by the Veda, then they are practically superfluous and useless. and not being Veda they should be discarded (*anapekṣa*). To this the reply is that *smṛtis* are generally authoritative, as they must be held to be based on Veda because they are composed by men (like *Manu*) who were followers of the Veda, because what the *smṛtis* lay down has been consistently followed from generation to generation by the *śiṣyas* and because it is possible to regard the Veda as their source. To the question why the Vedic passages on which the *smṛti* rules are postulated to have been based are not seen or found by us several answers were proposed by different writers. One view was that just as Vedic indications about locks of hair lead to the inference of *śruti* texts enjoining the keeping of tufts on the head, so the fact of the existence of such rules leads to the inference that *śruti* must have contained injunctions corresponding to all *smṛti* prescriptions. *Kumārila* raises objections to this view. Inference is based on perception (*pratyakṣa*) and invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*). There is no *vyāpti* between the *smṛtis* and *śruti* texts that are never found pronounced by any one, so no inference is possible and it would be like one blind man following another.¹⁶¹⁵ *Manu* must have composed his *smṛti* on finding that *ācāryas* preceding him performed certain acts as based on Veda. These last must have believed that their predecessors also acted on the same belief. Hence there is what is called an 'andha-paramparā' on this hypothesis. And further this hypothesis of the inference of *Śruti* in all cases is opposed to perception, since as a matter of fact hundreds of *Śruti* passages are known that can be the basis of corresponding *smṛti* texts. Another view is (and *Kumārila* holds that it is somewhat better than the preceding view) that one should infer that the Vedic passages that were the basis of *smṛtis* are lost (*utsanna* or *pralīna*). Some support is lent to this by such Vedic texts as 'anantā vai vedāḥ' (*Tai. Br.* III 10.

1615. सत्यमुक्तमथ परम्परयायादेव । या हि चोदना न कदाचिदुत्पाद्यते तस्या सर्वदुश्चर्यादिसाराभावाद् दुर्लभत्वमस्ति त्वम् । ... लिङ्गादीनां तु निरयत्वाच्चित्तमनुचरितं यद्वर्तमानकारणत्वं निश्चयम् । तेन परं मलीनश्रुत्यनुमानमेव । तन्त्रिणां तर्क p 164 on अ. 1. 3. 2.

11) and by Āp. Dh. S I 4 12. 10. Even this view is not acceptable to the Tantravārtika and most of the Mīmāṃsakas. The objection against the 2nd view is raised as follows. Even Bauddhas and other heretical sects¹⁶¹⁶ would advance the argument that their works also are based on śruti texts that are now lost, and any one may regard anything as authoritative by pretending that the basic vedic texts are lost. Further the Mīmāṃsā view that the Veda is eternal (*ntya*) would be refuted if it were admitted that some portion of the Veda is lost. There is not much difference between the first view and the second view. Therefore Kumārila propounds the third view viz. that smrtis are to be inferred as based on Vedic texts that are already in existence¹⁶¹⁷. If an objection is raised against this hypothesis that it must be explained why such Vedic texts (the bases of smrtis) are not seen or found, the Tantravārtika replies in a famous *kūrikā* that as the Vedic *śākhās* (the several branches of the Veda) are scattered about (in various countries), as men (followers of the Veda) are negligent and unmindful (i.e. they do not visit all the countries and so are unable to have a complete knowledge of all Vedic texts) and as several rules are declared in different contexts even when occurring in the same *śākhā* (and not at one place) it is not always possible to point out the Vedic sources of smṛti texts. If an objector were to ask: 'why were not the Vedic passages themselves (that are the sources of smṛti rules) embodied bodily into the smrtis,' Kumārila replies that this was not done from the fear of the loss of the correct arrangement of the Vedic texts as traditionally handed down. The Veda is principally concerned

1616. यदि तु मलीनशास्त्रामूलता कल्पयेत ततः सर्वासा बुद्धादिस्मृतीनामपि तद्वहाराभाष्य मसज्यते । यस्मैव च यदाभिमतं स एव तत्पलीनशास्त्रामस्तके निक्षिप्य प्रमाणीकुपयति । तन्त्रवार्तिक p 163, निव्याहनेयपक्षो यो वाप्यागमपरम्परा । तयोरेवमवाहत्वं न भेदः कश्चिद्विद्यते । स्मृतिविवेक q by मेधा. on मनु II. 6

1617. यद्वा विद्यमानशास्त्रागतस्मृतिमूलत्वमेवास्तु । कथमनुपलब्धिरिति चेदुच्यते । शास्त्रानां विप्रकीर्णत्वाद्युपशान्तिं प्रमादत् । नानामकरणस्थत्वात्स्मृतेर्मूलं न हृदयते ॥ यदु किमर्थं वेदवाक्यान्वेव जीपसंयुहीतानीति । संप्रदायविनाशभीतिः । विक्षिप्तपूर्यां हि स्वाख्यायोऽप्येतद्व्यः श्रूयते । स्मार्ताश्चाचार्याः काचित् कश्चित्करणाग्न्याताः केनचिन्निमित्तेनाकृष्यमाणान् इव केचित्पुरुषमेवाधिकृत्याग्न्यायन्ते । येन क्रतुमकरणाग्न्याताः केनचिन्निमित्तेनाकृष्यमाणान् इत्येव पुरुषधर्मतो भजन्ते । यथा—मलवहारासता सह न संबद्धे—तस्मात्तत्र ब्राह्मणायाम्बरेत्—इत्येवमाद्यः । तत्र यदि तावदान्येव वाक्यान्मुद्रधृत्याख्यापयेत्ततः क्रमान्यत्वात्स्वाख्यायविधि-विरोधः स्यात् । अनेन च निर्दोशान्येप्यर्थवादीद्धारेण विधिमात्रमधीयीत्, कर्माधिकमात्र वा । तत्र वेदमूल्य मसज्येत । तन्त्रवा. on ऊ I. 3. 2. p. 164. For मलवद् &c vide तै. सं. II 5. 1 5 and for तस्मात् &c. तै. सं. II 6. 10 2 (q in H. of Dh. vol. II p. 803 n 1917 and p. 151 n. 346 respectively).

with sacrifices, though now and then there are rules addressed to men for regulating conduct only. People would only study the Vedic sentences contained in the smṛtis (that are concerned principally with conduct) where they would be arranged in a different order according to subjects and there would thus be loss of the arrangement of the Veda as originally delivered. Viśvarūpa¹⁶¹⁸ (on Yāj. I. 7) quotes the above verse of Kumārila and states that there are thousands of smṛti rules that have their source in the Veda; he and Kumārila instance the rules against talking with (or coming in contact with) a woman in her monthly illness or the rule against assaulting a brāhmaṇa, or the rule about the sin of killing an ātreya woman &c. Medhātithi on Manu II. 6 has an elaborate discussion on this very topic and quotes several verses from his own work called Smṛtīviveka¹⁶¹⁹. He does not approve of the first two views and follows Kumārila's view. Mimāṃsā writers and commentators like Medhātithi say that Manu and other authors of smṛtis brought together for easy comprehension matters that are scattered about in the various Vedic texts, that are either not known to the students of the several śākhās or that cannot be brought together by men of ordinary or weak intellect.^{1619a}

The general proposition that smṛtis are authoritative being established, a further question arises. What is to happen if a smṛti rule conflicts with the rule of the Veda? Jaimini deals

1618 स्मृतिमूला हि विधयः सन्ति वेदे सहस्रशः । संप्रदायविनाशाद्भूते साक्षाद-
संहतिः ॥ उत्कटव्यस्तु खयातीयं मलवद्वाससा सह । न सबसोदिति विधिः स्मृतिमूलत्वमतः ॥
आत्रेय्या योयितेनस्वी भवेद् घातयितेत्यपि । वृत्तं तस्मादभिन्यस्य नापक्रामेदिति च ॥ अना-
रम्य च सौवर्णं हिरण्यं भार्यनित्ययम् । रूपसप्तये चैवं भवितव्यं सुवाससा ॥ विश्वरूप on ya
I. 7. pp. 14-15

1619. शाखाः काश्चित्समुत्सङ्गाः पक्षो नैव मतो मम । पक्षेस्मिन्ममाणं हि ब्रह्मदं
मसज्यते । उपपन्नतरः पक्षो विक्षिप्तानां ततस्ततः । उत्पत्त्यादिसमाहारं प्रायशो दृश्यते ह्यद् । ॥
मेघा. on मनु. II. 6,

1619a. अथाद्यत्वे पठन्त एव सा. शाखाः किन्तु विप्रकीर्णास्ते धर्माः कर्याचिच्छा-
रवापानदकादीनां कर्मणामुत्पत्तिः कर्याचिच्छादस्य कश्चिद्देवता कश्चिन्मन्त्र इत्येव विप्रकीर्णानां
मन्त्राद्योद्गोपसंहारं सुखावबोधार्थं चक्रुः । मेघा. on मनु II. 6, उच्चार्यन्त एव स्मृतिमूलधृताः.
सुतयः संमत्यपि विप्रकीर्णाः काश्चित्कश्चित्कर्याचिच्छाखायां विप्रकीर्णत्वाच्च शाखास्तदाध्या-
यिभिः शाखान्तरगतानामनुपलम्भात् तादृश्येनार्थवत्किञ्चन तदनुपलम्भेयं वा मन्द्धीभि-
रुपसहस्रीयानामनुपसंहारकलं स्मृतिमणयनमिति न वैपश्यन्तः स्मृतयः प्रमाणमिति सिद्धम् ।
शास्त्रदीपिका.

with this question in I. 3. 3-4,¹⁶²⁰ which form a topic that states an exception to the general rule contained in Jai. I.3.1-2. Śābara gives three instances where there is apparently a conflict between the prescriptions of the śruti and those of smṛti. The Veda says, 'the priest should chant (the *stotra*) after touching the *audumbarī* post', while smṛti says 'the whole of the *audumbarī* post should be covered with cloth'. The Veda says 'one to whom a son has been born and whose hair is still dark (and has not turned grey) should consecrate the Vedic fires', while smṛti says 'a man should observe Vedic studenthood for 48 years'¹⁶²¹; the Veda says 'when the Agnisomya rite is finished then one may eat (the food prepared) in the house of the sacrificer', while smṛti says 'the food of one who has undergone *dikṣā* for a sacrifice may be eaten after he purchases the soma plant'. In these cases the proposition enunciated by Jaimini is that 'in case of conflict (between an express śruti rule and a smṛti rule) the smṛti rule should be discarded, for when there is no conflict (with an express śruti) inference may be made (that a smṛti rule is based upon some Vedic text).' The examples may be explained as follows: The 'audumbarī' is a post of *udumbara* planted in the *sadas* in the performance of the Agnistoma; the *stotras* (other than *Bahispavamāna*) are chanted near the *audumbarī* post in the *sadas*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1135 for the fixing of the *audumbara* post in the *sadas* and p. 1185 for the chanting of *stotras* near the *audumbarī*. If the whole of the post be covered with cloth, it would not be possible to touch the post, but only the cloth would be touched. So there is contradiction. If a man is to consecrate Vedic fires when he has a son and his hair is dark, he must be between about 20 and 40 (i. e. a young man), but if a man were to observe *brahmacarya* for

1620. विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम् । हेतुदर्शनाच्च । जै I 3 3-4, अथ यत्र श्रुतिविरोधस्तत्र कथम् । यथोदुम्बरीयाः सर्ववेदनं 'औदुम्बरीं स्पृष्ट्वाद्वायेत्' इति श्रुत्या निबद्धम् । अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यचरणं 'जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोऽग्नीनादधीत' इत्यनेन विबद्धम् । क्रीतराजकोऽभोज्यात् इति 'तस्मादग्नीषोमीये संस्थिते यजमानस्य गृहेऽक्षितव्यम्' इत्यनेन विबद्धम् । तत्प्रमाणं कर्तुं सामान्यात् । इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रह्मे । अक्षयत्वाद्वाग्द्वयोर्गृह्यवर्गमन्थे । ... तस्मादुक्तं श्रुतिविरुद्धा स्मृतिरप्रमाणमिति । अतश्च सर्ववेदनादि नादरणीयम् । शबरः ।

1621. For अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पौराणं वेदब्रह्मचर्यम् । चतुर्विंशतिं द्वादश वा प्रतिवेदम् .. । ग्रहणार्त्तं वा क्षितित्वादिस्थितत्वात् । कृष्णकेशोऽग्नीनादधीतेति श्रुतेः । 1. For क्रीतराजको &c. vide आप. घ. सू. I. 6 18 16 and 23 'सङ्काशमभोज्यम्' । दीक्षितोऽक्रीतराजकः. It may be noted that आप. mentions also several other views such as 'अग्नीषोमीयसंस्थायानेव । हुतायो वा यथायां दीक्षितस्य भोक्तव्यम्' (I. 6. 18. 24-25).

48 years, he would be about 52 to 56 years of age before he married (as the upanayana of a brāhmaṇa was to be performed generally in the 8th year or from the 5th year onwards at the most). Only a married man could consecrate Vedic fires. But a man's hair when he is fiftytwo years of age or more can hardly be all dark. Therefore there is contradiction between the rule derived from the Veda and that derived from smṛti. In the Jyotistoma (which generally occupied five days), the dikṣā (purification and initiation of the sacrificer) takes place on the first day in the afternoon (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 1134-1136). Soma is purchased on the 2nd day of the Jyotistoma (*ibid.* 1140-4) and the animal is sacrificed for Agni and Soma on the 4th day (*ibid.* pp. 1158-59). According to śruti therefore the food prepared in the house of a dikṣita may be eaten only after the 4th day, while smṛti says that it may be eaten after the purchase of soma on the 2nd day. In this way there is contradiction. Kumāṛila¹⁶²² does not agree with Śābara as regards these examples in particular and as regards the general attitude towards smṛtis that are accepted by Vedic followers. He makes great efforts to explain how there is no real conflict in the cases cited by Śābara. As regards the cloth covering the *audumbari* he says that it may cover the bottom and the upper portion of the post and leave a space of two or three finger-breadths in the middle uncovered (so that the audumbari post can be touched in that particular portion), that (p. 188) there is a passage in the Śātyāyani

1622. The sūtra (Jai. I. 3. 3) is read as अनपेक्ष or अनपेक्ष्य and with both readings it has been explained in different ways from ancient times. The तन्त्रवातिक says 'औतस्मार्तविज्ञानविरोधे यद्वनपेक्षमपेक्षावर्जितं यस्य बाधेक्षणीयमन्यथास्तीति एवं पाठद्वयेऽपि पूर्वसूत्रालयमाणज्ञानमुपपद्येण सम्बध्य यद्वनपेक्षं तत्तत्तत् प्रमाण स्यादिति' (p. 193). 'श्रुतिविरोधे यन्मानान्तरानपेक्ष श्रुतिबाधये तदेव प्रमाणं स्यात् न स्रुतिबाधये यस्मादस्येव विरोधे स्रुतेः श्रुत्यनुमापकत्वम्' मयूखमालिका On this interpretation the sūtra means 'in case of conflict between śruti and smṛti, the former which is independent is authoritative, for only when there is no conflict does an inference arise that smṛti is based on śruti'. The तन्त्रवातिक when it explains Jai. I. 3. 3-4 as referring to Bauddhas and the like takes 'anapeksya' to mean 'deserving to be discarded'; 'तस्मादपेक्षं न हि त्रयीबाह्यमेवजातीयकं प्रमाणयेनानपेक्षं स्यादिति सिद्धम्' p. 196. ऋङ्गुर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II 1. 1 appears to adopt Kumāṛila's 2nd interpretation of Jai. I. 3. 3. 'वियतिवसौ च स्रुतिनामवश्यकर्तव्येऽन्यतरपरिग्रहेऽन्यतरपरित्यागे च श्रुत्यनुसरण्यः स्रुतयः प्रमाणमनपेक्षया ह्यन्तराः । तदुक्तं प्रमाणलक्षणे विरोधे त्वन...तु मानमिति ।' कुल्लूक on मनु II. 14 quotes Jai. I. 3. 3 and explains 'श्रुतिविरोधे स्रुतिबाधकमनपेक्षमप्रमाणमनादरण्यम् । असति विरोधे मूलवेदान्तमानान्तरित्यर्थः ।'

Brāhmana which refers to the cloth covering the audumbari (and so there may at most be an option), that as regards the taking of food in the house of a dikṣita after the purchase of *soma* there is a śruti passage in the Atharvaveda (pp. 181 and 189) similar to the smṛti passage (and thus there is no conflict between śruti and smṛti, but between śruti and śruti, which would lead to an option) and further the smṛti rule may apply in the case of a man in distress (*āpad-dharma*), that smṛti does not prescribe an absolute period of 48 years for the study of Veda, but Baud. Dh. S. itself allows several alternative or optional periods and so no question of conflict with śruti arises. Kumārila's own position is this: In the case of apparent conflicts between śruti and smṛti, various methods of interpretation and reconciliation are possible. Each of the two may be given its proper scope as referring to different subject matters (which is called *viśaya-vyavasthā*); it is also possible to hold that smṛti is based on some śruti texts already existing but not found at the time of discussion, but which may ultimately be found, in which case there will be an option, though the latter is to be avoided as far as possible as it is liable to eight faults (vide *Tantravārtika* pp. 174-175); or the two may be reconciled even when referring to the same subject matter e. g. a man may have dark hair even when he is 52 or more and the smṛti may be taken as meant to refer to such a man, while the śruti states the general rule about the age when consecration of Vedic fires was to be made. Therefore Kumārila holds that all that is meant by Jainini and even by Śābara is that there is a great distinction between śruti and smṛti in that the former is *apauruṣeya* and an independent authority, while the latter has a human author (liable to err), is either actually based on the Veda or is inferred to be so based, that the two therefore can never be said to be quite alike each other as regards their authoritativeness and that lastly smṛti is not in itself to be regarded as unauthoritative¹⁶²³. Kumārila therefore suggests that the proper subject of discussion in Jai. I. 3 3-4 is the works of Bauddhas, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata and other heretical sects and the practices of *mlecchas*. These works contain some matters such as the emphasis on *ahimsā*, truthfulness, restraint of senses, charity and compassion, which are also emphasized in the Veda, but these works are not

1623. अतश्चैवं श्रुतिस्मृत्योर्विरोधानेन दूर्यते । नास्म्यन्तमेव चास्म्यन्तं न चास्म्यन्त-
दुल्लेखः । तन्त्रवार्तिका p. 194.

generally accepted by the followers of the Veda, are based on specious and false reasoning only (they are *hantukas* in the words of Manu), that they deny the authority of the Veda. Therefore Jaimini means that these works of heretic sects are not authoritative in matters of dharma as they are opposed to the Veda and should be discarded. For want of space it is not possible to set out in detail the interesting discussion in the *Tantravārtika*. The *Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālavistāra* also gives another explanation of *Jai. I. 3. 3*.

Śabara (on *Jai. I. 3. 4*) explains that the three *smṛti* passages stated above are not authoritative since it is possible to point out how they originated in a visible worldly motive such as greed. When a visible motive can be pointed out for any *smṛti* text, it is not proper to infer that it is based on the Veda and has an unseen spiritual motive. Śabara¹⁶²⁴ postulates the reasons in the way of a modern man finding fault with priests. Some priests covered the whole of the Audumbari post with cloth, because they coveted the cloth as part of the fee; others who desired a free meal when hungry took food at the house of a *dikṣita* even after he had purchased the Soma plant; certain others in order to conceal their absence of virility went in for Veda study for 48 years. The *Tantravārtika* tries to show that in all these cases there is really no visible motive such as covetousness (pp. 188-189)

Śabara gives an alternative explanation of this *sūtra* (*Jai. I. 3.4*) and makes a separate topic (*adhikaraṇa*) of it. The reasons¹⁶²⁵ for giving an alternative explanation of a *sūtra* or *adhikaraṇa* are two, viz. dissatisfaction with the explanation already given or the wide scope of the subject under discussion. In *I. 3. 3* passages from *smṛtis* were cited which were apparently in conflict with *śruti*. If they were really in conflict, that one reason alone is more than sufficient to render the *smṛtis* invalid. Therefore to say further that those *smṛti* passages originate in worldly motives like greed does not add any very substantial reason for the abandonment of *smṛtis* as authoritative. Therefore Śabara makes another *adhikaraṇa* of *sūtra 4* of *Jai. I. 3*.

1624. हेतुदर्शनाच्च । जै I. 3. 4: लोभाद्वाप्तं आदिस्त्वानां औदुम्बरीं कुर्यात् वेष्टितवन्तः केचित् । तत्समुत्तेर्वाजम् । ब्रह्मसमायाः केचित् कृतिराजकरय भोजनमाचरितवन्तः । अशुक्लं भष्टादप्यन्तश्चाष्टाक्षत्वारिंशद्वापि वेदब्रह्मचर्यं चरितवन्तः । तत एवा स्मृतिरवगम्यते । शबर.

1625. सर्वपापपापिकल्पानां ह्यपमेव अयोजनम् । पूर्वत्रापारितोषो वा विषयव्यातिरेकः वा । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 186.

He cites *smṛti* passages which are not opposed to Veda at all and says that such passages have seen a worldly motive such as covetousness and it is not proper to suppose that they are based on Veda and are therefore authoritative, when a visible purpose or motive can be ascribed to them. The result of the explanations of I. 3. 3-4 given by Śabara would be that *smṛti* rules that are opposed to *śruti* rules and *smṛti* prescriptions that can be shown to have a clear worldly motive are not authoritative or absolutely binding, while the rest of *smṛti* texts are authoritative.¹⁶²⁶

Śabara cites on Jai. I. 3. 4 (when taken as a separate topic)^{1626a} two examples; (1) the *adhvaryu* priest takes (as his fee) the cloth used in the *Vaisarjana homa*; (2) they perform the gift of the elephant (i. e. the cloth covering) of the sacrificial post. Śabara says that these passages are not opposed to any *śruti* text but instead of inferring a Vedic text as their basis it is far better to hold that there is a manifest worldly motive for these rules (viz. covetousness of the *adhvaryu*) and so these *smṛti* passages need not be looked upon as authoritative.¹⁶²⁷

This discussion raises an important doctrine which frequently figures in *dharmaśāstra* works. The doctrine is expressed

1626. न हृष्टे हेतौ हेत्वन्तराह्वयानं क्रमते । हृष्टश्चात्र लोभ एव हेतुरिति । अतः
श्रुतिविषयं हृष्टकारणं न स्मरणमममाणं ततोऽन्यत्प्रमाणमिति । शास्त्रदीपिका on जै I 3. 4

1626a. अधिकरणान्तरं वा । वैसर्जनहोमीयं वासोऽध्वर्युर्गृह्णाति-इति, यूपहस्तिनो दान-
माचरन्ति-इति । तत्कर्तृसामान्यात्प्रमाणमिति प्राप्ते । अममाणं स्मृति । अत्रान्यन्मूलम् । लोभा-
दाचरितवन्तः कोचित्त एषा स्मृति । उपपन्नतरं चेत्तद् वैदिकवचनकल्पनात् । शबर on जै
I. 3. 4 प्रभाकर in his *Bṛhatī* refers to this example (on Jai. I 1 13 p. 285)
'हृष्टश्चायमर्थो यत्प्राज्ञैः कृजव उपजीव्यन्त इति । यथा च सिद्धमागमवादिनामपि हेतुदर्शनाद्-
यामागम्यं यूपहस्तिनो दानमाचरन्तीत्येवमादिषु'.

1627. For the *Vaisarjana homa*, vide H of Dh II p 1158 In this
a piece of fresh cloth is spread over the sacrificer (who touches the *adh-
varyu*), the sacrificer's wife (who touches the *yajamāna*), the brother and
sons of the sacrificer (who touch the wife) In the *Vājapeya*, the sacrificial
post was 17 *aratnis* in height and 17 pieces of cloth were employed to pre-
pare the appearance of a turban on the tip when enveloping the *yūpa*
with a girdle. The figure presented by the cloth covering the *yūpa* was
called *yūpahastin* (probably because it looked like the head and trunk of an
elephant). 'वाजपेयादौ यूपपरिष्कारादकं यूपहस्तिशब्दार्थः' मयूखमालिका. 'यूप-
वेष्टनं सप्तदशभिर्वस्त्रैर्गुह्ययनं वा परित्यज्यकाले' कात्या. श्रौ. 14. 1. 20 and the com.
on Kāt. Sr. says 'रक्षणापरिष्कारकाले सप्तदशभिर्वस्त्रैर्गुह्ययनं वेष्टनं कर्तव्यम् । अथवा
गुह्ययनं विविधमूर्ध्नि ययनं कर्तव्यं न तु वेष्टनमात्रम्'.

in this form viz. when a visible motive or purpose is obvious in the case of a rule or prescription it is not proper to ascribe an unseen or spiritual purpose or reason for it. This doctrine is older than even Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12 11 which says, 'where men act because they find pleasure in so doing, there śāstra has no scope'. Śābara also says,¹⁶²⁸ 'those rules (in the smṛti) that have a seen purpose derive their authority from that fact, while those that have no visible purpose may be inferred to be based upon the Veda (and derive their authority from that)'. These words of Śābara are quoted by Kullūka on Manu III. 7 where Manu states that a girl should not be selected as a bride from a family that neglects the *samskāras*, in which no male children are born, in which there is no Veda study, the members of which have on their bodies long and thick hair, that suffers from such diseases as piles, dyspepsia, epilepsy, black and white leprosy. Kullūka remarks that the works on medicine hold that such diseases are inherited and so if such a girl be married the progeny might suffer from these diseases, and thus this prohibition is based on a visible motive. From this a very important conclusion is drawn by dharmaśāstra writers viz. if one while performing a rite or when engaged in any matter acts contrary to a rule that has a seen purpose, the rite or matter does not become invalid or void, while where a rule is based on an unseen or spiritual purpose and it is infringed, the act itself becomes void or invalid. Yāj I. 52 and 53¹⁶²⁹ prescribe among other things that the bride to be chosen by a man must be free from (incurable) diseases, must have a brother living, must not be a *sapinda* of the bridegroom or must not have the same *gotra* or *pravara* as that of the bridegroom. On this the Mit. remarks that if a man marries a girl who is suffering from an incurable disease, the marriage is valid, only he does an act which runs counter to seen results (i. e. he may suffer the consequence that

1628. तथा प्रत्युपस्थितनियमानामाचारानां दृष्टार्थत्वादेव प्रमाणम् ।
तेन ये दृष्टार्थास्ते तत एव प्रमाणम् । ये त्वदृष्टार्थास्तेषु वैदिकशब्दादुक्तानामिति । शबर on
जै. I 3 2, quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु III. 7, अहं हि तत्र कल्पनीयं स्यात् तत्त्वा-
शङ्कं दृष्टे सम्भवति । शबर on जै. IX. 3. 3, तत्र दृष्टं प्रयोजनमुत्पद्य न शक्यमदृष्टं
कल्पयितुम् । शबर on जै. X 2. 23. The न्यायसुधा on जै. I. 3. 4 p 158 says, 'दृष्टे
सम्भवत्यदृष्टकल्पनमनुकमिति न्यायस्य', यत्र तु प्रत्युपलब्धतः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति ।
आप घ द्. I. 4. 12 11.

1629. अविप्रतुतत्राद्यैर्लो लक्षण्यां स्त्रियसुदृष्टेत् । अनन्यपूर्विकां कान्तामसपिण्डां
पत्नीयसीम् । अरोमिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानाङ्गोत्रजाम् ॥ या. I. 52-53, सपिण्डासमान-
गोत्रासमानमवराण्य भार्याभिमेव नोत्पद्यते । रोमिण्यादिषु तु भार्याष्वे उत्पद्येपि दृष्टविरोध
एव । नितिशरा

his children may be diseased), but if he goes through a ceremony of marriage with a girl who is a sapinda or of the same gotra or pravara there is no valid marriage and the girl is not his legal wife. No clear visible purpose can be associated with the prohibition against marrying a sapinda or sagotra girl; hence there must be a spiritual purpose in that prohibition and so if one infringes it the act itself (viz. marriage) becomes void.¹⁶³⁰

The Tantravārtika of Kumārila has as usual a very long note on this discussion. He does not see eye to eye with Śābara. He says¹⁶³¹ that the Mīmāṃsā is concerned with the investigation of dharma, that śruti is the prime authority in matters of dharma, that Mīmāṃsā has concern with smṛtis only so far as their authoritativeness in matters of dharma goes, that just as agriculture and the like are not disowned in Mīmāṃsā works because they have a purely secular purpose, so all acts that men do for a visible worldly purpose have no bearing on the investigation of dharma and that therefore the bhāṣyakāra (Śābara) was not quite right in saying that such practices as rising to receive an old man or a teacher have a visible purpose and are authoritative on that ground. He further remarks that visible and invisible or spiritual purposes are often inextricably mixed up. When the Veda prescribes 'he pounds the grains of paddy' or enjoins a sacrifice like the Kāriri for bringing down rain, there is a visible purpose therein (e.g. the rice grains have to be freed from husk before boiled rice for oblations can be prepared). So even when an act has a seen purpose it may still have Veda as the basis; so also an act such as rising to show respect to a teacher may have a seen result (such as the teacher being pleased teaches the pupils with enthusiasm) as well as an unseen result (viz. completion of Veda study without obstacles). Therefore he argues that all

1630. In a very recent case (*Madhavrao v. Raghavendrarao* 48 Bom L. R. 196) the Bombay High Court has expressed doubts about the logic or reasonableness of this doctrine of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā in relation to marriages of sagotra parties

1631. दृष्टार्थत्वादेव प्रामाण्यमिति । एतदुक्तम् । धर्मं प्रति यतोन्नेदं प्रामाण्यं प्रसूतं स्मृतैः । तस्मात्कृष्यादिवत्सेवासुपन्यासो न युज्यते ॥ न हि यावत्किञ्चिद्व्यवर्णं तस्य सर्वस्य बलमिह प्रमाणीक्रियते । धर्मजिज्ञासाधिकारात् । यदि च पूर्ववृत्तमनादीनां केवलं दृष्टार्थत्वेनैव स्यात्ततः कृष्यादिवज्जर्मं प्रत्यप्रामाण्यमेवेति नोपन्यासितव्याः । .. न चावगातादीनां नृदिकाम-
वागादीनां च दृष्टार्थानामवैदिकत्वम् । तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 165-166.

smṛtis¹⁶³² are authoritative according to the purpose they serve, that whatever portion of the smṛtis is concerned with *dharma* and *mokṣa* (final release from *samsāra*) has its origin in the Veda and whatever is concerned with wealth and the satisfaction of desires (*artha* and *kāma*) is based on worldly practices. In this way are to be explained the didactic portions of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, the episodes in these being useful as *arthavādas* (eulogies of what are prescribed as religious duties), the description of the several divisions of the earth being useful for indicating what countries are suitable for the performance of *dharma* and the enjoyment of its rewards and being based partly on Veda and partly on direct experience. Similarly the auxiliary lores (*angas*) of the Veda (such as phonetics, grammar, metrics &c.) are partly based on the Veda and partly on worldly experience. *Mīmāṃsā* and *Nyāya* (logic) are necessary for the correct interpretation and understanding of the Veda (as stated by Manu in XII. 105-106). He is even prepared to concede that systems¹⁶³³ like the *Sāṅkhya* (which postulates a prime cause of the world called *Pradhāna*) or *Vedānta* (which postulates *Purusa* as the cause of the world), the theory of atoms (propounded by *Kaṇāda*) serve the purpose of explaining the creation and dissolution of the world, lead one to understand how the performance of sacrifices gives rise to the subtle *apūrva* which leads on to heaven and also exemplify how human effort and fate have their own spheres of operation (i.e. without human effort the world is produced and in spite of human effort it may be dissolved). *Kumārila* goes a step further and states that even the Buddhist philosophies of *vijñāna* (cognitions being the only reality), of the non-existence of the soul or of eternal flux arise from the *arthavāda*

1632. तेन सर्वस्मृतीनां प्रयोजनवती प्रामाण्यसिद्धिः । तत्र यावद्धर्ममोक्षसम्बन्धि तद्देशप्रभवम् । यत्तर्थासुखविषयं तल्लोकस्यवहारपूर्वकमिति विवेकस्यम् । एवेतिहाससुराणयो-
रप्युपदेशवाक्यानां गतिः । उपाख्यानानि त्वर्थादेषु व्याख्यातानि । . मीमांसा तु लोकादेव
प्रत्यक्षानुमानादिभिरविच्छिन्नसमवायपण्डितस्यवहारैः प्रवृत्ता । न हि कश्चिदपि प्रथममेतावन्तं
युक्तिकलापस्यसंयुक्तं क्षमः । एतेन व्यापविस्तरं व्याचक्षीत । तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 166-167.

1633 यावैता. प्रधानपुरुषेश्वरपरमाणुकारणादिप्रक्रियाः सृष्टिमलयादिरूपेण प्रतीतास्ताः
सर्वा मन्त्रार्थावाङ्मनानादेव दृश्यमानसूक्ष्मरूपलक्ष्मणकृतविकारभावदर्शनेन च द्रष्टव्याः ।
प्रयोजनं च स्वर्गयाचाख्याद्योत्पादकविभागज्ञानम् । स्वर्गमलोपवर्णनमिति दैवपुरुषकारमभाव-
प्रविभागदर्शनार्थम् । . विज्ञानमात्रक्षणभङ्गनैराख्यादिवाङ्मनानामप्युपनिषदर्थवादप्रभवत्वं विष-
येन्द्राद्यन्तिकं रामं निवर्तयितुमित्युपपन्न सर्वदा प्रामाण्यम् । सर्वत्र च यत्र कालान्तरफलत्वा-
दिदानीमनुभववासम्भवरश्च क्षतिमूलता । साहचरिकफलं तु वृश्चिकन्यादौ पुरुषान्तरं स्पष्टा-
दर्शनादेव प्रामाण्यमिति विवेकसिद्धिः । तन्त्रवार्तिक p 168.

passages of the Upanisads and serve the purpose of inducing men to give up extreme attachment to sensual pleasures and therefore may be useful in their own way. He winds up by saying that in the case of all knowledge or works wherever the result (or reward) of the course laid down in them is to take place in the future and there is no possibility of experiencing its happening in the present such work may be deemed to be based on the Veda; but where, as in the science of medicine, the result can be seen taking place in other people, that knowledge is authoritative only because of the visible result.

This discussion about smrtis based on the Veda or on perceptible purposes or motives is taken up in the digests on dharmaśāstra. For example, Apararka¹⁶³⁴ (pp. 626-627) quotes long passages from the Bhavisiyapurāna dividing the contents of smrtis into five categories and exemplifying that division, viz. (1) those based on a visible purpose or motive, (2) those based on unseen or spiritual motives or purposes, (3) those based on both visible purposes and unseen or spiritual purposes, (4) those based on reasoning, (5) those that merely re-iterate what is already well-known or determined. All these except the first variety are based according to the Bhavisiyapurāna on the Veda. The examples of the five kinds given by the same Purāna are respectively as follows: (1) the smṛti (viz. Arthaśāstra or Dandanṭi) in which there is a discussion about six guṇas (*sandhu* &c), the four upāyas (*sāma, dāna* &c), the various superintendents of state departments (*adhyakṣa*) and of *kantakas*, (2) the prescription that one should perform the *sandhyā* worship or that one should not partake of dog's flesh; (3) a *brahmacārin*

1634. तथा च भविष्यस्युराण्यम् । दृष्टार्थं च स्मृतिः काचिद्दृष्टार्थं तथा परा । दृष्टादृष्टार्थरूपान्या न्यायमूला तथापरा । अनुवादस्मृतिस्त्वस्या शिष्टेर्दृष्टा तु पञ्चमी । सर्वा एता वेदमूला दृष्टार्थं (याः ?) परिहृत्य तु ॥ बाङ्गुण्यस्य यथायोगं प्रयोगात्कार्यमीत्वाद । (प्रयोगः कार्य-?) । सामाद्वीनामुपायानां योगो व्याससमाप्तः ॥ अध्यक्षाणां च निक्षेपः कण्ठकारां निरूपणम् । दृष्टार्थं स्मृतिः शोका कविभिर्गण्डाग्रजः ॥ सन्ध्यापारित्तं सदा कार्यं शून्यो मांस न भक्षयेत् । अदृष्टार्थं स्मृतिः शोका कविभिर्ज्ञानकोविदैः । पालाशं धारयेदण्ड-हस्तयार्थं विद्वद्भ्याः । विरोधे तु विकल्पः स्याज्जपहोमश्रुतौ यथा ॥ श्रुतौ दृष्टं यथा कार्यं स्मृती न सदृशं यदि । अनुक्तवादिनी सा तु पारिव्राज्यं यथा युदात् ॥ अपरार्क pp 626-627. मित्रमिश्र in his comment on या I. 3 quotes the first two verses and in his परिभाषाप्रकाश p 19 quotes all कुल्लूक on मनु III. 7 quotes from the भविष्य the half verse 'सर्वा ... दृष्टार्थाः परिहृत्य तु'. The स्मृतिच II. p 24 quotes from भविष्य the two verses बाङ्गुण्यस्य ... गण्डाग्रज and remarks 'दृष्टार्थाया स्मृतेरुदाहरणमेतत् । एवं च सन्धिविग्रहादि दृष्टार्थविषया स्मृतिर्यथास्तस्मिन्निर्णयः ।' ; should we not read 'स्मृती च सदृशं' ?

should carry a staff of *palāśa* (the staff serves for one's protection, which is a seen purpose, but that it should be of *palāśa* and of no other tree is based on an unseen motive); (4) when one text declares that *homa* should be performed after sunrise and another declares that it should be performed before sunrise, reasoning requires that there should be an option (vide *Manu* II 15), (5) when *Manu* declares (in VI 38) that a *brāhmaṇa* should leave home to become a wandering ascetic he simply re-iterates what is laid down in such Vedic passages as *Br Up.* III 5 1 (*vyutthāyātha bhiksācāryam caranti*) or *Jābāla Up* 4.

In I. 3. 5-7 *Jaimini* as interpreted by *Śābara*¹⁶³⁵ deals with the topic of the authoritativeness of certain usages laid down in the *smṛtis* in relation to Vedic rites. *Śābara* states: *śistu*^s say that religious rites should be performed after sipping water (i. e. after *ūcamana*), one should wear the sacred thread in the *upavīta* way in the worship of gods, one should do with the right hand all religious acts. The question is whether these acts should be done if not opposed to the *śruti* or should not be performed if opposed to what is taught in the *Veda*. The *pūrvapakṣa* view is that these acts should not be done because they run counter to the sequence of the acts laid down in the *Veda*. For example, the *Veda* says, 'after getting ready a bundle (or handful) of *kusa* grass called *veda* one should prepare the *vedi*' (altar)'. Here the preparation of the *vedi* is declared to follow immediately after the getting ready of a handful of *kūśas*. If after the handful is got ready a man has a sneeze he has according to *Manu* V 145 and *Vas* III 38 to sip water before going on with the preparation of the *vedi*. This would be against the sequence (*krama*) of acts laid down in the *Veda*. Strangely enough *Mr. K L Sarkar* in *T.L.L.* (on *Mīmāṃsā* rules) translates the words '*vedam kṛtvā vedim karoti*' as 'make the *vedi* and

1635 शिष्टाकोपेऽविरुद्धमिति चेत् । न शास्त्रपरिमाणत्वात् । अपि वा कारणाग्रहणे प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् । जे I. 3 5-7. आचान्तेन कर्तव्यं यज्ञोपवीतिना कर्तव्यं दक्षिणाचारेण कर्तव्यमित्येवंलक्षणानि उदाहरणानि । किमेतानि श्रुतिविरुद्धानि न कर्तव्यानि उक्ताविरुद्धानि कार्येणैव चेत्प्रयोजनं तेरप्यनुष्ठायमानैर्बौद्धिक किञ्चिन्न कुप्यति तस्मादविरुद्धानीति । नैतदेवम् । शास्त्रपरिच्छिन्नं हि क्रमं बाधेरन् । कथम् वेदं कृत्वा वेदिं कुर्वीतितीमा श्रुतिमुपगम्यादन्तरा वेदं वेदिं चानुष्ठायमानमाचमनादि । शम्भर ; तेऽप्यदर्शनाद्विरोधस्येति वा समातिः । . अपि वा कारणं ह्ये यस्मादेतु न युज्यते । तस्मान्नाचमनादीनां कर्तव्यनिविरुद्धता ॥ तत्र p. 198 कुमारिल says that the 7th sūtra should end with the words 'तेऽप्यदर्शनाद्विरोधस्य,' which may also be taken as part of the 8th sūtra and relies on the maxim of the crow's eye. The words प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् mean 'शिष्टै-रनुष्ठानाणाचमनादीनाद्विरोधः'.

then recite the vedas' (p. 241), thereby committing two mistakes. He misunderstands the word 'veda' which in this passage only means a 'handful of kuśas' and inverts the sequence of the acts denoted by the gerundial termination 'tvā'. On account of these two mistakes the discussion on pp 240-242 is misleading and obscure. If a man were to do the things required in a vedic rite with both hands, he would be able to do them quickly. The smṛti rule that every religious act should be done with the right hand alone interferes with the quick performance of religious acts. The established conclusion is that these religious acts (such as ācamana) are performed by the śiṣtas, are prompted by no visible motive (such as covetousness) and are therefore to be looked upon as authoritative, being not opposed to śruti. Kumārila does not like this way of explaining the sūtras, since the instances given by Śābara really do not deserve to be put forth as even *prima facie* opposed to Śruti. The Tantravārtika (p. 201) sets out śruti passages wherein the wearing of the sacred thread in the *upavīta* form¹⁶³⁶ (Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 and Tai. Ār. II. 1), ācamana (Tai. Ā. II. 11), are enjoined. Therefore it explains the sūtras in a different way. It splits up Jai I 3. 5-7 into two adhikaranas. The first two constitute one topic. The *pūrvapakṣa*¹⁶³⁷ is those precepts of Buddha and other founders of sects, such as the construction of monasteries and parks, the insistence on desirelessness, the practice of meditation, *ahimsā*, truthfulness, restraint of senses, charity and kindness, are such that they are also laid down by the Veda, are not opposed to the ideas of śiṣtas or do not run counter to nor rouse those who know the Veda to anger and therefore they must be held to be authoritative. This is denied by saying that the Bauddha doctrines even on the abovesaid matters are not to

1636 Vide H. of Dh. vol II pp 287, 288, notes 671, 677 for the passages of Tai S and Tai Ā

1637. सूत्राणि तु पूर्वाधिकरणाक्षेपपरिहारेष्वत्र त्वेनैव व्याख्यातव्यानि । यत्तर्हि वेद-विहितं न जायते शिष्टान् वा वेदविदो न कोपयति विहाराराममण्डलकरणवैराग्य-व्याग-भ्यासाहिंसा-सत्यवचन-दम-दान-दयादि तद्वृद्धादिभावितं प्रमाणेनाविरुद्धमिति चेत् । न । शास्त्रपरिमाणत्वात् । परिमितान्येव हि चतुर्दशाष्टादश वा विद्यास्थानानि धर्मप्रमाण-त्वेन शिष्टे परिगृहीतानि वेदोपवेदाङ्गोपाङ्गाष्टादशधर्मसंहितापुराणशास्त्रशिक्षादण्डनीति-संज्ञकानि, न च तेषां मध्ये बौद्धार्हवादिग्रन्थाः स्मृता गृहीता वा । . . तेन ... सम्मूलमप्य-हिंसादि श्रद्धातिनिमित्तक्षीरवद्वृत्त्यपयोग्यविश्रम्भणीय च तन्मात्रोपलब्ध भवतीत्यपश्य वावपरि-गणितधर्मशास्त्रेभ्यो नोपलभ्यते तावद्व्याहं भवति । तन्त्रः pp. 201-203, vide n. 1620 above.

be accepted as authoritative since only a limited¹⁶³⁸ number (14 or 18) of vidyās (the four vedas, the upavedas, the angas of the veda, the 18 smrtis, purāṇas, Dandanīti) have been accepted by the vedic śistas as authoritative on matters of dharma and the works of the Bauddhas and Jaiṇas are not included therein. Just as milk though originally pure becomes useless and unreliable when put into a bag of dog-skin, so the doctrines of Bauddhas such as ahimsā, though based on truth, are useless and are not authoritative in themselves for the followers of the Veda.

The Tantravārtika holds that Jai. I. 3. 7 is an adhikarāṇa by itself and is concerned with the authoritativeness of *sadācāra* (the customs and usages of śistas). Its position is that those usages are authoritative that are not opposed to express Vedic texts, that are practised by Vedic śistas under the belief that they are right conduct (dharma) and for which no visible motive (such as pleasure or the satisfaction of desires or the acquisition of wealth) can be predicated. Śistas are those who perform the religious acts expressly enjoined by the Veda. They are not so called because they practise what is said to be *sadācāra*; otherwise there will be an argument in a circle (in the form 'sadācāra means what is practised by śistas and śistas are those who practise sadācāra'). The practices traditionally handed down from generation to generation which are observed by śistas (as stated above) with the idea that they constitute a part of dharma must be regarded as dharma and as leading to heaven¹⁶³⁹. Practices do not become authoritative by the mere fact that no such motive or purpose can be postulated for them, but they become so only when they are observed by śistas as

1638. Vide Yāj I 3 for the 14 Vidyāsthānas. For the four upavedas which raise the number to 18 vide n 17 p 10 above. Acc. to the Nyāyasūdhā (p 183) Āyurveda, Dharmurveda, Gāndhārvaveda and Arthasāstra are four Upavedas, Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya (logic) are two upāṅgas, śikṣā (not the Vedāṅga on phonetics) is separately mentioned because there are works on phonetics like that of Kātyāyana laying down special rules for distinct śākhās. Dandanīti is the same as Arthasāstra.

1639. दृष्टकारणहीनानि यानि कर्माणि साधुभिः । प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् धर्मत्वेनेह तान्यपि ॥ शरीरस्थिते यानि सुखार्थं वा प्रयुज्यते । अर्थार्थं वा न तेष्वसि शिष्टानामेव धर्मधीः ॥ धर्मत्वेन प्रयुक्तानि शिष्टेयानि तु कानिचिन् । वैदिके कर्तव्यतान्यात्तेषां धर्मत्वमिष्यते ॥ ... नैव तेषां मद्वाच्यमिति शिष्टता मता । साक्षाद्विहितकारित्वाच्छिष्टत्वे सति तद्वच्च ॥ न पश्येद्विहितधर्मक्रियया हि लब्धशिष्टत्वमप्यदृशा यत्परम्पराप्राप्तमन्यदापि धर्मवृद्ध्या कुर्वन्ति तदपि राग्यत्वाद्धर्ममपनेर । तन्त्रवार्तिक pp 205-6

part of dharma. The *Tantravārtika* (p. 205) gives certain illustrations of such practices viz gifts, *japa*, *mātrayaṇa* (offerings to the mother Goddesses), the festival of Indra's banner, fairs held at temples, fasts by maidens on the 4th day of a month, gifts of lamps on the first day of Kārtika, the spring¹⁶¹⁰ festival on the first day of the dark half of Phālguna &c. The *Tantravārtika* is careful to point out that many activities such as agriculture, menial service or trade that are the means of securing wealth and pleasures and that give rise to several fixed and varying acts and also such actions as eating sumptuous food, drinking, sleeping on soft beds, possessing a charming house and garden, engaging in painting, singing and dancing, enjoying the fragrance of sandalwood and flowers, all of which are common to *mlecchas* and *Āryas*, are not deemed by any one to be part of dharma and that it does not follow that, because a few actions (of *śīstas*) are accepted as dharma, all their actions are to be looked upon as dharma.¹⁶⁴¹ In ordinary life certain practices only are deemed to be *śīstācāra*, while there are certain other acts that are common to all human beings (including *śīstas*), but are not so regarded. Certain practices such as worship of gods and honouring brāhmanas are seen to be common among all people and yet do constitute dharma, because that is deemed to be so by the *śīstas*. Those practices alone are dharma that are observed by *śīstas* only as obligatory on them and not other practices that are common to all beings. The *Tantravārtika* then refers to the Dharma-

1640, For the festival called Indramaha, vide H of Dh. vol II pp 825-826. The spring festival was one in which on the first day of the dark half of Phālguna people went about drenching each other in ordinary or coloured water discharged from syringes and the like 'कास्तुनकृष्णपतिपादि क्रियमाणः परस्परजलसेकः वसन्तोत्सवः' मयूखमालिका on शास्त्रदीपिका on जे. I. 3. 7. Modern practice combines this with the lighting of bonfires on the Full moon of Phālguna. The mythical origin of होलिका of modern days on the Full moon day of Phālguna is described in अविश्यदुराण (उत्तरपर्व chap 132)

1641 यानि तु म्लेच्छादिसमानानि नियतानियतक्रियान्तराण्यर्थद्वयसाधनकृतिसेवा-वाणिज्यादीनि सुखास्वापानमृदुशयनासनरमणीययुहोद्यानालेख्यगीतदृश्यगन्धगुष्पादिकर्माणि प्रसिद्धानि तेषु नैव कस्यचिद्धर्मत्वाशङ्कास्तीति न तत्सामान्यतो दृष्टेनेतरनिराक्रियोपपत्तिः केषांचिद्वा धर्मत्वाभ्युपगमात् सर्वेषामिव तत्प्रसङ्गः । किं तु-देवब्राह्मणपूजादि यत्तेषामपि किञ्चन । तत्रैतेनैव धर्मत्वं शिष्टाचारमतं हि तत् ॥ लोके हि कश्चिदाचार शिष्टत्वेन निश्चिष्यते । कश्चिन्नु प्राणिसामान्यमासस्तेरपि सङ्गतः ॥ तत्र यः कार्यरूपेण शिष्टोपेयावृत्तते । स एव केवलो धर्मो नेतरः प्राणिमात्रम् ॥ तत्र p 206, यो हि सदाचार इत्यवृत्त्या क्रियते स धर्मावृत्तत्वं प्रतिपद्यते । यस्तु कामक्रोधलोभमोहशोकादिहेतुत्वानोपलभ्यते स यथाविधिधर्मि-त्वेन वर्तियते । तन्त्रवार्तिक p 208

sūtra¹⁶⁴² of Gaut. (I 3) and Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 7-8) which say that ancient (or great) men in several instances were guilty of transgressions of dharma and of committing desperate acts, that on account of their spiritual merit they did not incur sin, but if a man of later days were to follow them in the same acts he would sink into hell. It then gives twelve instances of lapses from good conduct (attributed even to *avalārs*) that were transgressions and either explains them away or says that they were due to wrath, hatred or other passions, were not intended by the authors (of those acts) themselves to be dharma and are not to be looked upon as śistācāra by modern men. The instances are: (1) Prajāpati who is said to have approached Usas, his daughter (Śat. Br. I. 7. 4. 1 or Ait. Br. 13. 9); (2) Indra, who is described as the paramour of Ahalyā (in the Subrahmanyā litany); (3) Nahusa, who occupied the position of Indra, made approaches to Śaci, the wife of Indra (Udyoga, chap. 13 ff) and was transformed into an *ajagara* (Boa Constrictor); (4) Vasistha, who when his 100 sons were devoured by a demon, was so struck with grief that he threw himself bound into the Vipāsā river (Nirukta IX. 26, Ādiparva chap. 177. 1-6 = cr. ed. 167. 1-6, Vanaparva 130. 8-9, Anusāsana 3. 12-13); (5) Purūravas who thought of dying by hanging or by being devoured by wolves (Rg. X. 95. 14, Śat. Br. XI. 5. 1-8) when separated from Urvaśi; (6) Viśvāmitra, who officiated as priest at the sacrifice of Trisanku that had become a cāndāla through a curse (Ādiparva 71. 31-33); (7) Yudhisthira who took Draupadī as wife although she had been won by his younger brother Arjuna by his skill in archery and who prevaricated in order to bring about the death of his brāhmana teacher Drona (Dronaparva 190. 55); (8) Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa), who thought himself a perpetual student, procreated by *myoga* at the request of his mother Satyawatī two sons on the widows of his brother Vicitravīrya; (9) Bhīṣma who lived on without belonging to any (of the four) āśramas and who is said to have performed several Asvamedhas though he had no wife; (10)

1642 दृष्टो धर्मोपतिक्रम सादस च नदत्ताम् । अवरदैर्बलयाद् । गौ. I 3-4; दृष्टो . सादसं च पूर्वोत्तमम् । तेषां तेजोविशिष्टेण प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते । तद्वन्वीर्यं मनुजानः सीद्ध-
त्यर । आप. प. दृ. II 6. 13. 7-9. भागवतपुराण X (पूर्वार्ध 33. 30) has a verse
to the same effect.

Rāma who performed *Āsvamedha* accompanied by a golden image of *Sitā*; (11) *Dhrtarāstra*, though blind, performed sacrifices; (12) *Vāsudeva* and *Arjuna* are described as being drunk and as having married *Rukminī* and *Subhadrā* respectively who were their maternal uncle's daughters (such marriages being forbidden). *Kumārila*, like a modern comparative mythologist, explains (*Tantravārtika* p. 208) that *Frajāpati* means 'the Sun' who approaches (i.e. rises after) the Dawn. This explanation is as old as the *Ait Br.* 13. 9 where it is said that there are two views viz. it is either 'Heaven' or 'Usas' that is meant by the word 'daughter.' Similarly *Indra* and *Ahalyā* respectively mean the Sun and the Night and *jāra* means literally 'one who makes to disappear or wither away' (and not paramour) in that passage. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1145 note 2550 for the epithet '*Ahalyāyai jāra*' in the *Veda* and quotation from *Tantravārtika*. The story of *Ahalyā* and *Indra* varies in its details in the epics. Vide *Rāmāyana* I. 48, *Udyoga* 12. 6. These two are instances of transgression of *dharma* (*dharma-vyatikrama*) and the next case of *Vasistha* is an example of *sāhasa* (through sorrow). *Kumārila* says that *Viśvāmitra* was prompted by his hatred of *Vasistha* and his pride, that the sin accruing from his act would be neutralized by his great austerities. So his actions cannot serve as a model for imitation by others. *Vyāsa*, who was a son of *Satyavatī* from *Parāśara* when she was a maiden, had *Vicitravīrya* as (his uterine) brother after *Satyavatī* married *Śantanu*. In the case of a *brahmachārīn*, sexual intercourse is most reprehensible (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 374)^r But *Vyāsa* agreed to *nyoga* because of his regard for his mother, as allowed by *Gaut* 18 4-5. *Kumārila* adds that *Vyāsa* could do so on account of his great past and future austerities, that another person with similar qualifications may do so even in spite of all prohibitions, since the *Mahābhārata* (*Āśramavāśika* 30. 24) says '*sarvam balavatām pathyam*' (to the strong everything is wholesome or allowable). He gives an apt illustration. An elephant can devour branches of trees without harm, but others doing so would meet death. *Dakṣa* V.10 prescribes '*anāśramī na tistheta kṣanamekamapi dvijah*' (a twice-born person should not stay even for a moment unattached to some *āśrama*). *Bhīṣma* remained unmarried out of filial devotion to his father and *Rāma* could not think of another wife as he was so much attached to *Sitā*. *Kumārila* boldly asserts that *Bhīṣma* had a wife only for the purpose of the sacrifices he performed (though this is mentioned in no *Itihāsa* or *Purāṇa*) and relies upon the

mode of proof called *arthāpath* for this¹⁶⁴³. His words are given below. This and some other explanations offered by Kumārila shed a very interesting light on the theological apologetics of Mīmāṃsakas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 558 and 684 for Rāma and the golden image of Sītā. As to Yudhisthira's bringing about the death of his brāhmana teacher the explanation is that the former performed Aśvamedha after the end of the war by way of *prāyaścitta* (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 147 n 333 and pp. 1236-37 notes 2674-75 for Aśvamedha as the remover of all sins). As to Draupadī being the wife of five brothers Kumārila quotes Ādiparva 198. 14 (= or ed. 190 14) and offers several explanations (p 209), the most astounding being that there were five wives of the five brothers who were so similar that they were all referred to as one. As the Nyāyasudhā (p. 194) remarks, these various explanations were offered to show off great resourcefulness of interpretation (*parihāra-vaibhavārtham*), the proper one being that the practice of the Pāṇḍavas was an evil one and was not to be imitated. A blind man could not perform sacrifices and was excluded from inheritance. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 157 n. 369 and vol. III p 609 n 1154. But Kumārila says that as Dhṛtarāstra was blessed with sight for a while and saw his deceased sons through the miraculous power of Vyāsa (Āsramavāsi-parva chap. 32-37) he might have been endowed with sight at the time of the sacrifices or what is meant is that he made gifts which are spoken of as sacrifices. As regards Subhadrā, Kumārila asserts that in spite of the fact that Subhadrā was said in the Ādiparva (219. 18 = cr. ed 211. 18) to have been the *daughter* of Vasudeva and *sister* of Kṛṣṇa, she was really the daughter of Kṛṣṇa's step-mother's sister or the daughter's daughter of the sister of his step-mother's father (a female cousin being often called a sister among the Lātas). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 459-460 and notes to my edition of the text of V. Mayūkha (pp. 200-202). Kṛṣṇa's marriage with Rukmiṇī is to be similarly explained. It is somewhat surpris-

1643 लोभाद्यभिप्रायसन्निहितानर्थादग्निनाधर्माच्चरण धर्मव्यतिक्रमः । इदमप्यनर्थस्य बलवत्प्रेषणानुदारादधर्माच्चरणं साहसम् । न्यायसुधा p 185, भ्रातृणामेक .. मनुजवतीत् (मनु १, १८२) — इत्येव विचित्रवीर्येक्षेत्रजपुत्रलक्ष्यपित्रवृणत्वं केवलपदार्थपत्नीसम्बन्ध आसीदित्यर्थोपर्यायानुक्रमेण गम्यते । यो वा सिद्धं पितुः पत्नीं विज्ञातेति न वृत्तवान् । शास्त्रार्थातिक्रमाद्विज्ञाते पतेरैकाग्र्यसौ कथम् ॥ तत्र p 208, अथवा बहुस्य एव तां सद्रूपं द्रौपद्य एकरणेनोपचरिता इति स्ववद्वाराधोपपत्त्या गम्यते । तत्र p 209, एवमर्जुनस्य मातुलकस्याणाः सुभद्रायाः परिणयेति सुभद्राया वसुदेवकन्यात्वस्य साक्षात् कञ्चिदप्यश्रयणात् । मीमांसको. p 48; but in the Ādiparva 219 18 Subhadrā is expressly stated to be the *daughter* of Vasudeva 'दुहिता वसुदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य च स्वसा'.

ing that Khandadeva states that it is nowhere found that Subhadra was the daughter of Vasudeva. Probably he had a corrupt reading of the Mahābhārata passage before him. As to the charge of drinking spirituous liquor (*ubhau madhuśa-vaksibau* in Udyogaparva 59. 5) against both Vasudeva and Arjuna, they were both ksatriyas and only brāhmanas were prohibited from drinking any kind of intoxicating drink (Gaut II. 25), while to ksatriyas and vaiśyas two kinds of wine called madhu (liquor from honey or madhuka flowers) and sidhu (rum) were allowed and only paisti (spirituous liquor distilled from flour) was forbidden (by Gaut. II. 25, Manu XI. 93-94).

Kumārila offers some other explanations of Jai¹⁶⁴⁴ I 3 5-7 which need not be set out here.

Kumārila mentions certain practices of his times and concludes that they are to be condemned and not to be followed or regarded as authoritative. He says:¹⁶⁴⁵ even in these days brāhmana women of Ahicchatra and Mathurā drink wine; northerners (northern brāhmanas) engage in such transactions as the gift and sale of horses and mules that have a mane, asses,

1644. जै I. 3. 7. will have to be read as 'अपि वा कारणाग्रहणे प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् तेष्वदर्शनाद्विरोधस्य' acc. to Kumārila, Khandadeva and others if Sabara's interpretation of the sūtra is to be accepted. 'तेषु आचमनादिषु क्रमादिविरोधस्यादर्शनाद्वैदिकमणीतत्वरूपामामाण्यकारणस्याग्रहणे शिष्टे प्रयुक्तानि आचमनादीनि प्रमाणत्वेन प्रतीयेरजिति सूत्रार्थः । एवं भाष्यकारेणाधिकरणार्थं उपपन्नं ।' मीमांसाकौस्तुभ on I. 3 7 p. 36 Kumārila implies a pūrvapakṣa and holds that I. 3. 7 is the sūtra giving the final conclusion only and as an independent adhikarana by itself.

1645. अद्यत्वेऽप्यदिच्छन्नमधुरानिवासाब्राह्मणीनां सुरापानम् । केसर्यश्वाभतरत्तरौ-
होभयद्वन्द्वानप्रतिग्रहविक्रयव्यवहारभार्यापत्यमित्रसहभोजनान्युदीच्यानाम् । मातुलदुष्टिदुष्टाना-
सन्दृश्यभोजनादीनि दाक्षिणात्यानाम् । मित्रस्वजनोच्छिष्टस्पृष्टभोजनं सर्ववर्णपरस्परस्पृष्टता
भ्रूलोदन्तद्वन्द्वसानानाचमन—निर्णेजकधौतगर्दभास्त्ववप्रपरिधान—ब्रह्मण्यप्यातिरेकनृपापानक-
कार्यपरिहरणादीन्प्रभवेयाम् । अतिस्पृष्टानि प्रतिपुरुषजानिकुलावस्थितघृष्टमत्स्यमंति-
क्रमणानि त्वनन्तभेदानि सर्वविगानद्विदृशानि च प्रायेणैव संभवन्तीति नवजाययज्ञ-
मित्रसदाचारधर्मत्वाद्यवसानसम्भवः । तन्त्र. p. 204. अदिच्छन्न is modern Ramayāgar
in Rohukhand Vide JRAS for 1903 p. 292. The form अतिस्पृष्टा
occurs in a Pabhosa Inscription (E. I. vol. II. at p. 243) For the
different views about मातुलसुनापारेणयन vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp
458-463 Kullūka on Manu XI 95 notes that certain commentators
held that the prohibition against drinking in the case of brāhmanas did
not apply to brāhmana women. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 765 for सम्भोजन
with wife and children and pp. 181 and 839 about gift and sale of horses
and animals with two rows of teeth, where Tai S. II. 2. 6. 3 and II.
3. 12. 1. and Jai. III 4. 28-31 are cited.

camels and animals with two rows of teeth and eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends; brāhmanas of the south enter into matrimony with the maternal uncle's daughter and take their meals while seated on a couch (of wicker work); both (brāhmanas of the north and south) take cooked food (kept in pots) that remains after their friends or relatives have partaken of it or that has been touched by them (at the time of eating); they chew betelnut leaves that have been touched by persons of all varnas, do not perform sipping of water (*ācamana*) at the end of the chewing of betelnut, wear clothes washed by washermen and brought on the back of asses; they do not avoid contact even with persons guilty of grave sins (except of brāhmana murder). There are everywhere an infinite number of very obvious transgressions of the subtle dictates of dharma laid down for each man, caste or family, that (transgressions) are contrary to śruti, smṛti and each other and that have a visible purpose behind them. It is not possible to regard such practices as authoritative. Similarly Varadarāja, (1600-1660 A. D.) a pupil of Bhattoji Dikṣita, in his work styled the *Gīrvānapadamāñjarī* in a dialogue between a Kānyakubja brāhmana and a *saṃnyāsin* hailing from Vijayanagara makes the brāhmana host say that each country has certain practices which are *durācāras* such as marrying a maternal uncle's daughter in the south, marriage of girls among southerners even before they are four years old, sitting down to a meal without bathing in Karnātaka, in Mahārāstra the marriage of a younger brother before an elder one, in the hilly country the practice of *nyoga* (vide Mr. P. K. Gode's interesting paper in 'Bhāratīyā-vidyā' vol VI pp 27-30).

According to Śābara, Jaimini in I. 3. 8-9 deals with certain words like *yava*, *varāha* and *velasa*, that have different significances among Āryas and Mlecchas (and therefore these sūtras constitute what is called *yavavarāhādīkarana*). But Kumārila does not like this view of Śābara and proposes another topic for these two sūtras, viz. the relative strength of smṛti and *sadācāra* where they are in conflict. Here there are three¹⁶⁴⁶ possible

1646. तेनाचारपलीयस्त्व समत्वं वेदं युज्यते । स्मृतीनां वा पलीयस्त्वं शास्त्रस्या वेति वन्दते ॥ उभयोऽपि स्मृतिमूलत्वं न स्मृत्याचारयोः समम् । समत्वं यमणीता हि स्मृतिः सोपनिषन्धना ॥ तथा सुखयुक्तानि हि निर्विघ्नमुपजायते । आचारास्तु स्मृतिं ज्ञात्वा श्रुतिविज्ञायते ततः ॥ तेन ह्यन्तरिते तस्य मामात्यं विमृश्यते । ... तेनाचारः स्मृतिं यावदनुमार्तं मन्वते । स्मृतिर्लक्ष्यद्वयनिर्वायद्वयेनेवाधारयेत् ॥ तस्मादाचारेभ्यः स्मृतिर्बलीयसी सन्निबन्धनेति । तत्र pp 220-221.

views, viz. that both are equally strong and so there is an option in case of conflict, that *ācāra* is stronger, that *smṛti* is the stronger of the two. The *prima facie* view is that both are equally strong, since *smṛti* and *sadācāra* are both inferred to be based upon *Veda*. Kumārila's own final conclusion is that *smṛti* is of greater force than *ācāra*, that is, where they come in direct conflict *smṛti* should prevail. His position is that, though both *smṛti* and *ācāra* are to be deemed to be based on *Veda*, there is a difference between the two. People have full faith in such *smṛtis* as that of *Manu* and *Manu* and others are believed to have been inspired sages and are the propounders of the rules of *dharma* scattered about in various Vedic *śākhās*, while the same cannot be said about modern men and their practices cannot claim or possess the same weight and allegiance that the practices laid down by *Manu* and other sages can. From the practice of *śīstas* one may infer a *smṛti* as the root thereof and then further one may infer a *śruti* as the root of the *smṛti*. Therefore *ācāra* is removed by two stages from the *Veda*, while *smṛti* is removed only by one stage from the *Veda*. Hence Kumārila says that in case of conflict *smṛti* should prevail over *ācāra*. The practices that are discussed here (acc. to Kumārila, Pārthasārathi and others) are such as the marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter or with a paternal aunt's daughter and the like that are in vogue among certain people and that are yet opposed to *smṛtis* (such as *Manu* XI. 171-72) and for which a visible motive can easily be found (*kāmādihetvantaram spastameva drśyate*, as the *Śāstradīpikā* says).

Kumārila gives another (and so a third) explanation of *Jai*, I 3. 8-9¹⁶⁴⁷ which need not detain us here.

1647. समा विप्रतिपत्तिः स्यात् । शास्त्रस्था वा तस्मिन्निच्छत्वात् । जै I. 3. 8-9 Acc to कुमारिल here शास्त्र means स्मृति, while acc. to Sabara's gloss शास्त्रस्था means शिष्टाः. Sir G. Jha in 'Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its sources' p. 226 translates 'giving and accepting in gift and buying and selling lions, horses'. केसरिन् means 'a lion' also, but it is hardly possible to believe that gifts of lions were made to brāhmanas or that they accepted them. केसरि must be taken as an adjective of 'asva' here. The शास्त्रदीपिका on III 4 34 remarks, तेन यत्र घोषस्त-त्रोद्विः । लौकिके चाश्वदाने न केसरिणो दद्यातीति प्रतिषेधाद् घोषोरित् वैदिके तु कर्मोद्गदाने विशेषविधानात्प्रतिषेधात्तस्मात्तस्मिन् घोषः. This shows that the prohibition against the gift of 'kesarin' refers to the gift of horses. Sabara on *Jai* VI. 7 4 makes this quite clear when he says तत्रात्तः in the *Viśvajit* where the sacrificer had to make a gift of all his wealth, horses

(Continued on the next page)

Jai I. 3. 15-23 constitute what is called Holākādhikarana, or Sāmānyaśrutikalpanādhikarana. The first two and the last two sūtras are the most important. Certain practices¹⁶⁴⁸ like the Holākā (spring) festival are observed by the easterners, certain others like Āhinaibuka (worship of growing Karañja or Arka or other trees as handed down in one's family) by the southerners, and the Udvrsabhayañña (honouring oxen on the Full Moon of Jyestha and making them run a race) by the northerners. The question is whether, in making an inference about these practices being based on Veda, one was to suppose that the inferred Vedic text also should be restricted to the easterners and the like¹⁶⁴⁹. The pūrvapakṣa view is that the śruti to be inferred as the basis of the respective practices must be deemed to be restricted to certain persons only (such as the easterners i. e. *prācya*s &c.). The established conclusion is that

(Continued from the last page)

should not be gifted on account of the prohibition contained in 'he does not give *kesarin*'. एष हि विशेषोऽथानामन्येभ्यो द्रव्येभ्यो यदेषां दानं प्रतिषिध्यते न केसरिणो ददाति नोभयतोदत्तं प्रतिशुद्धातीति विश्वर्जित्येव समान्नायते. The *mīmāṃsā*ka. (pp 60-61) explains the सूत्रः 'अथवाचार एव चलवान् ... तद्वनङ्गीकरणे तु परं समा विप्रतिपत्तिः भवेत् न तु स्मृतिमात्रमिति सूत्रार्थः । सिद्धान्तस्तु स्मृतिशास्त्रस्यैव प्रतिपत्तिर्बलीयसी ।'; on तस्मिन्निश्चितात् the *n्याय*मुद्रा observes 'तस्मिन्निश्चितादिति शास्त्रत्वसामान्येन प्रकृतत्वाद् वेदाख्यं शास्त्रं तच्छब्देन परामुद्रयं श्रुतिमूलत्वं हेतुरुच्यते तच्चोभयोः स्मृत्याधिकरणे प्राप्तं विरोधे पुनरुच्यमानमाचाराणां श्रुतिमूलत्वपरिस्तरार्थम्' (p 212)

1648 अनुमानव्यवस्थानात्तत्संयुक्तं प्रमाणं स्यात् । अपि वा सर्वधर्मः स्यात्तन्मयायत्वाविधानस्य । .. कर्मधर्मो वा प्रवणवत् । तुल्यं तु कर्तुधर्मेण । जै. I. 3. 15-23 ; अनुमानात् स्मृतेराचाराणां च प्रामाण्यमिष्यते । येनैव हेतुना ते प्रमाण तेनैव व्यवस्थिताः प्रामाण्यमर्हन्ति । तस्माद् होलाकादयः प्राच्यैरेव कर्तव्याः, आह्नीनैज्जकादयो दाक्षिणात्यैरेव, उद्ग्रहभयज्ञादय उदीच्यैरेव । ... अपि वेति पक्षन्यायुक्तिः । एवजातीयकः सर्वधर्मः स्यात् । कुतः तन्मयायत्वात् विधानस्य । विधीयतेनेनेति विधानं शब्दः । सोऽहमीयते स्मृत्या । - तस्मात्सर्वधर्मता विधेर्न्याय्या । शबरः, the word अनुमान means लिङ्ग or अनुमापक or कल्पक. The first two सूत्रs may be briefly but closely paraphrased as 'अनुमानस्य कल्पकस्य व्यवस्थितत्वात्प्रामाण्यमूलभूता श्रुतिः व्यवस्थाकोपपदसंयुक्ता स्यात् । न व्यवस्थितमूलत्वं भवितुमर्हति, अपि तु सर्वधर्मः स्यात् । मूलभूते विधायके वाक्ये सर्वधर्मकोपपादकस्य न्यायस्य सत्त्वात्' । *mīmāṃsā*ka pp 100-101. This अधिकरण is called होलाका because the first example 10 शबरभास्व refers to the practice of होलाका नेध. on मनु VIII. 46 refers to उद्ग्रहभयज्ञा as a practice of the northerners The जै. न्या म् explains, 'वसन्तोत्सवो होलाका । स्वस्तकुलगतं करआर्कादिस्थावरदेवतापूजादिकमाह्नीनैज्जकाशब्देनोच्यते । ज्येष्ठमासस्य पौर्णमास्यां बलीवर्दान्त्यर्च्यं धावयन्ति सोयमुद्ग्रहभयज्ञः ।'

1649. Vide the following remark about the demand for the divine origin of laws and usages from Berolzheimer. "historically political power, legal regulation and customs were popularly conceived as expressions of the Divine Will" (Author's Preface, p. XLIV, in 'the World's Legal Philosophies').

such practices must be deemed to be meant for all, since the general rule about Vedic injunctions is that they are applicable to all. The performer specially meant by each Vedic injunction is known in either of three ways,¹⁶⁵⁰ viz. by capability, by non-prohibition and by the employment of a special epithet or attribute. When it is said '*svargakāmo yajeta*' then only the three twice-born classes are meant, for, they alone are capable of tending the sacred fires and of possessing Vedic learning and a śūdra is not a fit person to whom that injunction can apply. Those who are guilty of grave sins (*patita*) and the impotent are prohibited from performing Vedic rites. When the Veda says '*ājā rājasūyena yajeta*' there is a special attribute of the performer (viz. being a ksatriya) prescribed by the śruti and so no one else can perform Rājasūya. When none of these three exists a Vedic *udhi* is in general meant for all (*sarvadharma*). The practices of Holāka, Vrsabhayajña and the like should not be held to be restricted to certain countries or people only, but should be inferred to be applicable to all. When a man leaves the east and goes to the south, he may still perform the Holāka festival; while a man from the eastern country itself may not perform it at all. Further the words 'southern, eastern and northern' are relative. A country that is called southern may be to the north of another. Therefore Holāka and other practices are not invariably concomitant with particular countries or peoples. Nor can it be said that those practices require those particular countries for their performance in the way in which śruti expressly requires the Vaiśvadeva rite (one of the four cāturmāsya) to be performed on a spot that slopes towards the east. The Tantravārtika¹⁶⁵¹ points out that persons receive appellations from names of countries on various grounds as being born in a country or as residing therein or as coming from that country or as going to that country. Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 46 says the same.

1650. त्रिधैव ज्ञायते कर्ता विशेषेण प्रतिक्रियम् । योग्यत्वाप्रतिषिद्धत्वविशेषोपपदात्तम्. ॥ तन्त्र. p. 245, यस्माच्छक्तमात्रं पुरुषं विधायकवाच्यमधिकरोति नातिरिक्तं विशेषणमपेक्षते तस्मात्तस्य सर्वविषयविधित्वं न्यायमित्यर्थः । न्यायसूत्रा p 246 (explaining तन्त्रायणस्य विधानस्य) .

1651. सम्बन्धैर्बहुभिर्द्वैशसमाख्या हि प्रवर्तते । निवास-भव-जातत्व-तद्वामनहेतुभिः ॥ तन्त्र. p. 251. The last half refers to Pāṇini IV, 3 89, IV, 3 53, IV, 3, 25, IV, 3, 74 respectively; प्राच्यादिस्माख्यापि व्यभिचारिणी तद्देशगतानामपि केषांचिदनाचरणत्वात् । चिरविनिर्गतपुत्रपौत्रादीनां चासत्यामपि समाख्यायामाचरणत्वात् । तस्मादसति विशेषणे सर्वधर्मत्वमाचाराणां स्मृतीनां चेति सिद्धम् । शाङ्खदीपिका (at end of Jan. I, 3, 23) .

The Tantravārtika explains that the first two sūtras are meant to refer to another question also, viz. whether the rules of the grhyasūtras¹⁶⁵² and of such dharmasūtra works as the sūtra of Gautama are authoritative only as to certain groups or are meant to be authoritative for all. He begins by saying that the Purāṇas, the Manusmṛti and Itihāsa (i. e. the Mahābhārata) are equally authoritative for all people and then points out that the Gobhila-grhya and Gautama-dharmasūtra are traditionally accepted by the students of the Sāmaveda, that the dharmasūtra of Vasistha is accepted by the students of the R̥gveda, the sūtra of Śāṅkha-Likhita by the followers of the white Yajurveda and the sūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana by the followers of the Taittirīya Śākhā. The Śāstradīpikā explains that an author who was a student of the Sāmaveda taught his own work to his pupils who also learned the Sāmaveda under him, that these pupils in their turn taught that work to others and in that way there arose a tradition among the students of the Sāmaveda to study the sūtra of Gautama. Therefore, to say even as to grhya works that they are restricted to particular groups of persons is not correct. Similarly in the case of practices there is no epithet or attribute that is common to all those who practise them or which distinguishes those who do not observe them from those that observe them and therefore it is not possible to restrict such practices as Holākā to particular countries or groups of people.

The requisites of valid customs as laid down by the eminent writers of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā school may now be summarised. Such customs must be ancient, must not be opposed to the express texts of the Veda or of smṛti, must be such as to be regarded as obligatory by the sistas and must be observed

1652. देशधर्मावुदाहर्य संप्रत्येतद्विचार्यते । किं व्यवहितमूलारते किं वैवा सर्वधर्मता ॥
 . . आद्यं सूत्रद्वयं यावद्विदुर्मध्यत्र चिन्त्यताम् । शुद्धगौतमसूत्राद्व्यवस्थासर्वगामिति ॥ पुराणमा-
 नवेतिहासस्मृतिरिक्तगौतमसिद्धराक्षुलिखितहारीतापस्तम्बबौधायनादिप्रणीतधर्मशास्त्राणां शुद्ध-
 ग्रन्थानां च मतिशाल्यलक्षणवदतिशरणं पाठव्यवस्थोपलभ्यते । तद्यथा । गौतमगौतिलीये
 छन्दोगीरेव च परिशुद्धीति । वासिष्ठं बहुशुचैरेव शङ्खलिखितोक्तं च वाजसनेयिभिः । आपस्तम्बीय-
 बौधायनीये तैत्तिरीयैरेव प्रतिपक्षे । इत्येवं तत्र तत्र शुद्धव्यवस्थागुपगमादि दुर्गम्यित्वा विचार-
 यितव्यम् । किं तानि तेषामेव प्रमाणानि, उत सर्वाणि सर्वेधानि । तत्र pp 243-244 ,
 कर्ता हि छन्दोगः स्वशिष्याश्छन्दोगान् स्वग्रन्थमध्यापयामास तेष्वप्याश्छन्दोगानित्येव
 गौतमीयस्य छन्दोगं पाठः । तथापस्तम्बग्रन्थस्य तैत्तिरीयैरेव शुद्धग्रन्थानामपीति व्यवहित-
 धर्मविषयत्वमप्युक्तम् । आचाराणां तु सर्वाच्चरित्रमुगतमनाचारितृष्यश्च ध्यावृत्तमाकृति-
 ष्यन्निमुनसंस्थानादिकं न किञ्चिद्विशेषण सम्भवति यदुपादाय होलाकाद्यधिकारं विहिंस्यात् ।
 शास्त्रदीपिका p 42

by them with the consciousness that they are so, they must not have a seen or visible purpose, and they must not be immoral¹⁶⁵³. It has to be remembered that the *pūrvamīmāṃsā* writers did not lay down anything about the binding character of usages that were peculiarly secular but restricted their remarks to customs and usages that had more or less an unseen or spiritual purpose. Khandadeva emphasizes this by stating 'only those customs can be deemed to be based on the Veda that are not opposed to the Veda and *smṛtis* and that are observed by respectable people under the belief that thereby they are carrying what *dharma* dictates'¹⁶⁵⁴. Medhātithi on *Manu*¹⁶⁵⁵ II 18 makes this position quite clear after quoting a verse of Kumārila 'a *smṛti* that is opposed to the Veda or is self-contradictory, or has a visible secular purpose or expressly states a motive (for observing its precepts) cannot be deemed to be based on the Veda'. The *Mīmāṃsā-kaustubha* (p. 51 on *Jai. I 3. 7*) quotes a verse to the effect that 'only those whose ancestors also observed certain usages handed down from generation to generation would not incur blame by observing them (if they are opposed to *śruti* or *smṛti*), but not others (who

1653. यन्तु अदिच्छन्नब्राह्मणीनां सुरापानं दाक्षिणात्यानां च मातुलकन्यापरिणयादि तत्र केचिदेव परिहरन्ति 'येषां परम्परामासा पूर्वजैरप्युद्धृताः । त एव तेन दुष्येयुराचारैर्नैतरे जनाः' इत्यापस्तम्बवचनात्, 'येनास्य पितरो .. दुष्यन्ति' इति मनुवचनान्न देशव्यवस्थया स्मृत्याचारयोः प्रामाण्यम् । अतश्च यस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारम्पर्यक्रमागतः अतस्तद्व्यवस्थेः विषयैव तन्निषेधस्मृतिरिति न विरोध इति । तच्च . आपस्तम्बवचनं तु गृहानिराकरणपरतया व्याख्येयं मनुवचनं तु सतां मार्गमिति विशेषणाद्विरुद्धाचारपरं व्याख्येयमिति न विरोधः । अतश्चादिच्छन्नब्राह्मणीसुरापानादेरनाचारत्वमेव । मी. कौ. p. 51 (on *जै. I 3. 7*).

1654. श्रुतिस्मृत्यविरुद्धानां शिष्टैर्धर्मबुद्ध्याल्लङ्घ्यमानानामाचाराणां वेदमूलकत्वम् । अत एव स्मृतौ 'श्रुतिस्मृत्यविरुद्धो यः स सदाचार उच्यते' इत्युक्तम् । वातिके तु आर्यावर्तनिषासिंशिष्टप्रयोज्यत्वमेव सदाचारत्वोपलक्षणम् । अतश्च तत्रैव श्रुतिकल्पनमिच्छुकम् । वस्तुतस्तु आर्यावर्तगतानामप्याचाराणां श्रुतिस्मृतिविरोधेऽप्राप्तत्वात्तस्यैव सदाचारोपलक्षणत्वं न युक्तम् । अतश्चाचाराणामपि श्रुतिमूलकत्वात्प्रामाण्योपपत्तिः । मीमांसाकोस्तु pp. 43-44 (on *जै. I 3. 7*).

1655. न च दृष्टकारणयोः स्मृत्याचारयोः प्रामाण्यम् । उक्तं च महर्षादैः । विरुद्धा च विगीता च दृष्टार्थाद्विद्वत्कारणे । स्मृतिर्न श्रुतिमूला स्याद्या चैवा सम्भवश्रुतिः ॥ मेधा. on *मनु. II. 18* This verse refers to five classes of *smṛti* texts that cannot be based on *श्रुति* दृष्टार्था च आद्विद्वत्कारणा च दृष्टार्थाद्विद्वत्कारणे (स्मृती) ; या च एषा सम्भवश्रुतिः is the fifth class, but the meaning is not clear. Sir Ganganath Jha in his translation of Medhātithi does not say whence this verse is taken, nor does he correctly render the words विगीता and दृष्टार्थाद्विद्वत्कारणे and he omits altogether the fourth pāda. The words या चैवा सम्भवश्रुतिः appear to mean 'that *smṛti* which declares its promulgation (by a sage) is not to be deemed to be based on Veda (since otherwise Veda will be held to be not *mīya*).

cannot rely on such a state of things)'. In a learned discussion on *bādha* Kumārila in his *Tantravārtika* (on Jai. III. 3. 14 pp. 859-860) brings together many *bādhas* out of which those that are relevant to this discussion are given in the note below¹⁶⁵⁶. It says that inference is set aside by direct perception, *smṛti* by *śruti*, a *smṛti* not composed by an authoritative person and that is self-contradictory is set aside by a *smṛti* that is authoritative and not self-contradictory, a *smṛti* that has a visible worldly purpose by one that has an unseen spiritual purpose, a *smṛti* based on inference drawn from a *śruti* or based upon a commendatory vedic passage is set aside by a *smṛti* based upon (a direct) *śruti* text, a usage is set aside by a *smṛti* and one usage is set aside by another usage that is accepted by more respectable people &c.

1656 अथ यत्तत्र तत्रोच्यते इदमेनेन बाध्यते (शबर)—मत्पक्षेणाशुमान ... श्रुत्या स्मृति, आत्मविगीनस्मृत्या अनात्मविगीतास्मृति, अष्टद्वार्या वृष्टार्था, श्रुतिममवया लिङ्गादिमम-
वार्थ्यावयवया च, स्मृत्याप्याचार, सोप्यभिपुक्तवराचारेण सन्दिग्धमसंदिग्धेन, &c. तन्त्र-
वार्तिका pp 859-860.

CHAPTER XXXIII

CUSTOMS AND DHARMAŚĀSTRA WORKS

It is now necessary to see how Dharmaśāstra works have dealt with the authority and binding force of customs and usages. *Sadācāra* is defined by Hārta as follows¹⁶⁵⁷ :— the word 'sat' means 'good' and the good are those who are free from (moral) taint; the practices of such people are called *sadācāra*. Vide Manu II. 18, which also defines *sadācāra*. Even the most ancient sūtras testify to the fact that numerous customs and usages had arisen in different countries and villages. The Āśv. gr. (I. 7. 1-2) says,¹⁶⁵⁸ 'various indeed are the observances of (different) countries and villages; one should follow those in marriages; what, however, is common (to all or most) shall be declared by us'. The Āp. gr. (II. 15) declares, 'people should understand from women what procedure is to be observed (according to custom)' and the Āp Dh S. provides (I. 7. 20. 8 = II. 11. 29. 14) that one¹⁶⁵⁹ should regulate one's course of action (in difficult or doubtful matters) according to the conduct which is unanimously approved of in all countries by the Āryas (men of the three higher castes), who have been properly disciplined, who are aged, who have restrained their senses and who are neither covetous nor hypocritical and concludes with the aphorism (II. 11. 29. 15) 'some teachers hold that the rest of the dharmas (not set out in this work) may be understood from women and from men of all castes'. Baud. Dh. S.¹⁶⁶⁰ (I. 5. 13) states (on the subject of *śrāddha*) 'the usages of people should be followed as to other rites to be performed'. Several *grhyasūtras* (like *Pāraskara* II. 17, *Mānava*

1657. साधवः क्षीणदोषाः स्युः सच्छब्दः साधुवाचकाः । तेषामाचरणं यत् स सदाचार उच्यते ॥ हारीत p by परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 144. This is विष्णुपुराण III. 11, 3 quoted by the दीपकालिका on या. I. 7 as from that पुराण.

1658. अथ खलुज्ञावच्चा जनपदधर्मा ग्रामधर्माश्च तान् विवाहे प्रतीयाम् । यत् समानं तद्वक्ष्यामः । आश्व गृ. I. 7. 1-2, vide H of Dh. vol. II, p. 441 n. 1049 for remarks of हरद्वत्त and नारायण on these sūtras.

1659. सर्वजनपदेष्वेकान्तसमाहितनार्याणां वृत्ते सस्यन्विनीतानां बुद्धानामामशता-मलोल्लापानामदाभिभक्तानां वृत्तसादृश्यं भजेत् । एवमुक्तौ लोकावभिजयति । कीदृशः सर्वजन-भ्यश्च धर्मज्ञेष्वान्यतीयादित्येके । आप. घ. सू. II. 11. 29. 14-15 The first sūtra is the same as आप. घ. सू. I. 7. 20. 8.

1660. शेषक्रियायां लोकोत्तरीद्धम्यः । शौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 13.

gr.I. 4. 6) refer to the practices of people that should be followed in such matters as commencing agricultural operations, holidays &c. It is needless to set out these in detail here. Manu¹⁶⁶¹ IV. 178 pronounces the general prescription for all men, 'one should walk in the path of good men which their fathers and grandfathers trod; by so doing one will come to no harm' For ordinary men this procedure is easy to understand and to follow This dictum sets a premium on the attitude of no change in any matter for fear that change may lead to some unexpected harm and has been throughout the ages up to the present the motto of most people in India. As *ācāra* or *sadācāra* is tangible and requires no effort to decide between conflicting views, we find eulogies of it in the earliest *smṛtis* and *purāṇas*. Vide Manu IV. 155-158, Vas. VI. 6-8 (the first and last of which are the same as Manu IV. 157-158), *Anuśāsanaparva* 104. 6-9, *Viṣṇu Dh. S* 71. 90-92 (which are almost the same as Manu IV. 155, 156, 158), *Mārkaṇḍeya chap* 34, *Brahmapurāṇa* 121. 6-9, *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* III chapters 11-12, *Kūrmapurāṇa* (*uttarārdha*, chap 15).

The general rule about the binding character of customs is set out as follows Gaut (XI. 20) observes,¹⁶⁶² 'the *dharma*s (customs) of countries, castes and families, which are not opposed to the Vedic scriptures, are authoritative and binding' Gaut provides in the next two *sūtras* that cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artisans can lay down conventions or usages that would be binding on the respective classes, that when a dispute arises as to these usages the king should learn affairs from those who wield authority over those classes and decide the dispute accordingly Vas 1.17 states, 'Manu has declared that the (peculiar) customs of countries, castes and families may be followed in the absence of rules propounded by the Veda', and in XIX. 7 prescribes that the king should

1661 येन त्वय पितरो याता येन याता पितामहाः । तेन यायात्सर्ता मार्गं तेन गच्छन् रित्यति ॥ मनु IV. 178 The *तत्त्ववार्तिक* p 211 (on *Jai* I 3. 7) quotes this reads दुष्यति for रित्यति and remarks 'येषां तु य विज्ञादिभिरेवायं नाचरितं स्मृत्यन्तर्यातिदिदं ते तं परिहरन्त्येव.' मेधा very appositely explains, अविदुषां भूलभ-जानानामुपदेशोयमिति । . . यदि पितृपितामहादिभिः कैश्चित्कथञ्चिद्धम आचरितं स न आश्रयणीय इति सता मार्गमित्याह । Vide also *मिता* on या I 254 where मनु IV. 178 is quoted and H of Dh vol II p 460 n 1086 where मेधा. on मनु II. 18 is quoted

1662 देशजातिकुलधर्मश्चात्मन्यैवैकज्ञः प्रमाणम् । कर्षकवाणिज्यपशुपालकुसीदि-कारश्च हरे हरे वने । तेऽप्यथ यथाधिकारमर्थमित्यथहृत्प धर्मस्त्ववस्था । गी ३I 20-22, देशधर्मजातिधर्मकुलधर्मश्च स्मृत्यभावाद्वर्गीकृतः । तसिद्ध I 17

enforce these among the four varnas Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 1 appears to lay down that the customs of countries and families (if not opposed to Veda) are authoritative and are to be followed in the respective countries or families. But this view seems to be unacceptable to Baudh Dh. S (I. 1. 19-26) which says, ¹⁶⁶³ 'there is difference of opinion regarding five (practices) in the South as well as in the North We shall explain those peculiar to the south. They are: to eat in the company of (in the same plate with) one whose upanayana is not performed, to eat in the company of one's wife, to partake of stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt. Now (the customs peculiar) to the north are: to sell wool, to drink rum, to deal in the sale of animals with an upper and a lower row of teeth, to follow the profession of arms and to travel by sea He who follows (these practices) in any other country than where they are generally in vogue commits sin. For, in respect of these customs the authoritativeness must be restricted to the respective countries Gantama declares that this is false. And one should not approve of (accept) either (of the two sets of practices), because they are opposed to the tradition of śiṣṭas (or opposed to the smṛtis and the views of śiṣṭas)'. The Tantravārtika ¹⁶⁶⁴ (p 211) mentions the argument of some concerning these passages of Āp and Baud viz. that Āpastamba's very general statement that practices of countries and families are authoritative in the respective countries cannot be accepted

1663. पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्तथोत्तरतः । यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः यथैतदुत्प्रेतेन सह भोजनं क्रिया सह भोजनं पशुष्वितभोजनं मातुलपितृष्वसुदुहितृगमनमिति अथोत्तरतः ऊर्णाविक्रयः सीधुपानमुभयतोदग्निर्व्यवहार आशुधीयक समुद्रसयानमिति । इतर-दितरस्मिन् कुर्वन् दुष्यतीतरदितरस्मिन् । तत्र तत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात् । मिथ्यैतदिति गौतमः । इभय चैव नाद्रियेत सिद्धस्मृतिविरोधदर्शनात् । जी. ध. सू. I. 1 19-26. The स्मृतिच I. p 10 explains. इतरौ दक्षिणतयः इतरस्मिन् देशे उदीच्यदेशे अश्वपनीतभोजनं कुर्वन् दुष्यतीति न स्वदेशे । कुतः देशप्रामाण्यत् तद्देशनिबन्धनत्वात्प्रामाण्यस्येत्यर्थः । Compare स्मृतिरनं by स्मृतिशु (वर्णाश्रम p 130) 'अब्रह्मचारिद्वाराद्यै सार्धं भोजनकर्म च । मातुलादिमुताया च विवाहः सिद्धसमतः । इत्येते दक्षिणतया नामापि गीता (मणिगीता) । उवाहता । समुद्रयानं सासत्य भक्षणं शस्त्रजीविका । सीधुपानमुदीच्यारामासविगीतानि धर्मतः । Taking food in the same plate with one's wife is forbidden by Manu IV 43 and Yāj I 131. Vide II, of Dh vol. II p 765 ff 1833

1664 सर्वेषामेवमादीनां प्रतिदेशं व्यवस्थया । आपस्तम्बेन संहृत्य बुधबुधत्वमाश्रितम् ॥ येनां परम्परामाताः पूर्वजैरप्यनुष्ठिताः । त एव तेन दुष्प्रेतुचारैर्नैतरे जनाः । ततश्च मन्वादि-पाक्ष्यप्रतिपिद्धाचाराणां प्रामाण्यमशङ्क्यमभ्युपगन्तुम् । आपस्तम्बवचनं तु बौधायनेन स्मृति-विरुद्धदुष्टाचारोदाहरणान्येव प्रयच्छता निराकृतम् । स्पष्टकामादिदिव्यस्वरदर्शनाच्च विरुद्धा-चाराणामापस्तम्बवचनस्य वा श्रुतिभूलत्वात्पपत्तिः । तत्र p 211. The vy. p. 22 quotes the verse येनां परम्पराः and remarks 'न दुष्प्रेतु. अथवाचार्या राजदण्डाश्च न भवेदुरित्यर्थः'.

as valid, as it is opposed to the views of Gaut. (XI. 20), as Baud. expressly states that certain practices though prevalent in certain localities cannot be accepted as valid and binding even in those localities because they are opposed to the express words of such authoritative and highly venerated smrtis (as those of Manu) Manu in several places provides for the enforceability of customs and usages. In Manu VII. 203 it is said, 'the conqueror should hold as authoritative and binding the lawful customs of the conquered country, just as they are stated to be' and in Manu VIII. 41 and 46¹⁶⁶⁵ it is provided, 'A king who knows dharma (sacred law) should carefully inquire into the customs of castes, of countries, of guilds and of families and settle (or enforce) the customs peculiar to each. Whatever may have been practised by the good and by twice-born men devoted to dharma, that shall be established (by the king) as the law, provided it be not opposed to the (customs of) countries, families and castes'. Medhātithi adds that the king has to see whether the customs of countries, families, castes and guilds are directly in conflict with the Veda or are harmful to others or utterly immoral (such as marrying one's mother) and only those that are found not to be so are to be enforced by the king and he¹⁶⁶⁶ adds on Manu II. 6 that the practices of *sistas* (persons who are well conducted, free from greed and learned in the Veda) on matters on which the Veda and smṛti are silent and which they observe with the consciousness that they (practices) are right (dharma) should be deemed to be based on Veda. He offers certain illustrations of such practices and also

1665 जातिजानपदान्धर्मान् श्रेणीधर्माश्च धर्मवित्। समीक्ष्य कुलधर्माश्च स्वधर्मं प्रानिपादयेत् ॥ मनु. VIII. 41, on which मेधा. remarks 'समीक्ष्य विचार्य किमान्नायेर्विरुद्धा अथ न तथा पीडाकारः करणचिदुत न एवं विचार्य येऽविरुद्धान्तां प्रतिपादयत् अनुष्ठाय वेदित्वा' । . मातृविवाहादि. सार्वभौमिन निवारणीय । . . एककार्यापेक्षा वणिक्कारकुसीदचातुर्विद्याद्य. तेषां धर्मा श्रेणीधर्माः'. It should be noted that in other works also the Pārāśikās were credited with the highly immoral practice of marrying one's own mother. Vide यशस्तिलकचम्पू 'श्रूयते हि वङ्गीमण्डले नृपतिद्वाराऋद्धेयवास्तोपयोगेण पारसीकेषु च स्वमवित्रीसंयोगे सिद्धेषु विनामित्रसुहृद्विषयोऽस्ति ।' (34th आश्वास p 95). The स्मृतिच (I p 10) and स्मृतिह (वर्णाश्रम p 130) quote several verses from an anonymous smṛti one of which is यथा मानविवादीणि पारसीकेषु दृश्यते

1666 आचारश्चैव ताधुना चशब्देन वेदविदामिति मन्वाधत्ते । पदद्वयेन शिष्टं लक्ष्यते । शिष्टानां य आचारः सोपि धर्मं मूलम् । आचारो व्यवहार अनुष्ठानं यत्र श्रुतिस्मृतिपाठ्यमानि न सन्ति शिष्टाश्च धर्मबुद्ध्यानुतिष्ठन्ति तदपि वेदिकेनैव पूर्वमननियतम् । यथा विवाहादौ क्लृप्तपण्यनादिमाहृतिकत्वेन यत् क्रियते या च कल्याणास्तदहविवादादिप्यममायाः स्तूपतस्तृप्तस्तृप्तपण्यविपूजा देशभेदेन तथा शूद्रासंख्या देशभेदश्च (दाज्ञ ?) या चातिव्यादीनां दृवादीनामनुष्ठानादि विपदिदत्तनामिवादानुष्ठानादिरूपा । मेधा. on मनु II. 6,

relies¹⁶⁶⁷ upon the words of the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 313. 117), 'what is true dharma is concealed as in a dark cave; the (only) path is to follow great men'. In I. 118 Mann declares that the ancient (or long enduring) laws (or customs) of countries, castes, families and the rules among heretics and companies (of traders and the like) have been dealt with by him in the śāstra (Institutes). Yāj. I. 343 provides that when a conqueror reduces a country to subjection he should preserve intact whatever customs, laws and judicial procedure, and family usages are handed down from generation to generation therein (provided they are not opposed to śāstras and, as the Mit. says, he should not cause confusion by imposing the usages of his own country on the conquered country). Yāj. II. 192 (like Manu and Gaut.) provides that the varying usages and conventions of śrenis (guilds of artisans), naigamas (traders), heretics and associations (of soldiers and the like) should be respected by the king in the same way as he honours the usages of learned brāhmanas. About the latter Yāj. II. 186 says that the king should sedulously enforce the conventions of learned brāhmanas which are not opposed to the dictates of the Veda and smṛti (such as about pastures, water-courses and wells and the preservation of temples) and he should also enforce his edicts that are not opposed to Veda and smṛti (such as making provision for travellers and prohibiting the sale of horses to an enemy &c.). Kautilya prescribes¹⁶⁶⁸ that the king should follow as regards inheritance and partition the customs that are in vogue in a country, a caste, a *saṅgha* (company or guild) or a village. Devala¹⁶⁶⁹ and Brhatparāśara (X. p. 281) have a verse very similar to Yāj. I. 343. The Mahābhārata remarks that there is no custom or practice that can be said to be beneficial

1667. अथाप्ययं न्यायो महाजनो येन गतः स पन्था इति... । विद्वांसो ह्यत्र निष्कामाः प्रवृत्तिपूर्वा अनिन्द्याश्च लोके । अथामाणिकी प्रवृत्तिः सापि वेदग्रामाण्यात्सिद्धेवेति । मेघा. on मनु II. 1. The whole verse is : तर्कोऽप्यतिष्ठः श्रुतयो विमिक्षा नैकौ क्षयिष्येव मते प्रमाणम् । धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहाया महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥ वनपर्व 313. 117 ; the words 'धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहाय' are quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 9.

1668. देशस्य जाल्या सङ्घस्य धर्मो ग्रामस्य वापि यः । उच्चितस्तस्य तेनैव वाप्यर्थं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III. 7. p. 165, अक्षपटलमध्वक्षः... निबन्धपुस्तकस्थानं कारयेत् । तत्राधिकरणानां सख्याः... देशग्रामजातिकुलसङ्घातानां धर्मव्यवहारचरित्रसंस्थानं... निबन्धपुस्तकस्थं कारयेत् । अर्थशास्त्र II. 7 p. 62.

1669. यस्मिन्देशे दुरे ग्रामे त्रैविद्ये नगरेऽपि वा । यो यत्र विहितो धर्मस्तं धर्मं न विचारं क्व ॥ देवल in स्मृतिच. I. p. 10.

to all alike¹⁶⁷⁰. From this it follows that variations in practices were to be tolerated by the king. Bṛhaspati¹⁶⁷¹ advises the king to keep intact the customs of countries, castes and families that have been long in vogue in them and states that otherwise the subjects become irritated and disaffected and there is loss of wealth and army. He gives certain striking illustrations of peculiar practices: 'members of the twice-born classes in the southern countries take in marriage their maternal uncle's daughter; in the middle country (the country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya lying to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vīṇāśana where the Sarasvatī disappears, as said by Manu II. 21) artisans and menial workers eat the flesh of a cow; in the eastern countries people (all including brāhmanas) eat fish and women are given to adultery; in the north women drink liquor and contact with them even in their monthly illness is allowed; the people of the *Khakha* country take as wives the widows of their own brothers; these several people are not liable to undergo punishment or penance because of their doing these things in the respective countries'. Medieval writers differed about the meaning of the last half verse. The Madanaratna said (acc. to V. P. p. 22) that there is neither punishment nor prāyaścitta when the above practices which are opposed to smṛti texts are indulged in by the inhabitants of the countries specified, while the V. P. p. 22 holds that there is only absence of punishment at the king's hands for these people in those countries, but they are still liable to undergo prāyaścitta and that if these practices are followed in other countries both punishment and prāyaścitta have to be undergone

1670. न हि सर्वदितः कश्चिदाचारः संभवति । शान्ति 261. 17

1671. देशजातिकुलानां च ये धर्मास्तत्प्रवर्तिताः । तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रभृत्प्रभृत्प्रवर्था मना । जनापरकिर्भवति अलं कोशश्च नश्यति । उद्वाह्यते वाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैः । मध्यदेशे कर्मकराः शिल्पिनश्च गवाक्षिनः । मत्स्यादाश्च नराः पूर्वे व्यभिचाररताः स्त्रियः । उत्तरे मद्यया नर्त्यः स्त्रिया नृणां रजस्वलाः । खड्गजाताः प्रवृद्धास्ति भ्रातृभार्यामभर्तुकामः । अनेन कर्मणा जैते प्रायश्चित्तदर्शकाः ॥ बुध. ५. in स्मृतिच. I. 10 (except जनाप ... नश्यति and last half), व. नि. p. 16 (except first verse and a half), मदनरत्न (folio 5a except half verse खड्गजाताः), स्मृतिस्तु (वर्णाश्रम p. 130), शुक्रनीति IV. 5. 48-52, व. मयूर p. 7 (except the half verse खड्ग &c. and mentions नराः सर्वे ३३ v. l.), व. म. p. 22 खड्ग represents the Khakha tribe in the Vitastā valley उक्तं बुधस्वतिना । अभर्तुकामाभ्रातृभार्याग्रहणं चातिदुषितम् । कुले कन्यामह्वानं च देशेभ्यः हरणे ॥ इत्युक्तं on आप. घ. II. 10. 27. 3 (Bühler's ed.).

Kāt.¹⁶⁷² defines what is meant by the customs of countries and families and states how and when they are to be enforced: 'That is said to be the custom of a country, which is in vogue in a country, is of long standing and is not opposed to the Veda and Smṛti. That is called family custom which has come down hereditarily in a family as right conduct (dharma) to be observed (by members of that family); the king should preserve it as it is.' In disputes between the residents of the same country or capital, hamlet of cowherds, town or village the decision should be based on their own conventional usages, but in disputes between inhabitants of these and others the decision must be in accordance with the sacred texts. Therefore the king should decide the causes of people according to the rules of śāstra: but in the absence of texts he should carry out (the administration of justice) according to the usage of the country. Whatever conventions are settled in accordance with the consent of (the people of a) country should always be preserved in writing sealed with the royal seal. Such conventions should be sedulously upheld as if they were the dictates of śāstra and the king should decide (disputes) after carefully considering them.' Here Kāt is principally concerned with the decision of legal disputes on the basis of the customs of countries and families, but his rules also have a general application. He also states that in the case of the conflict of laws by which the parties are governed śāstra prevails. Pīṭa-maha¹⁶⁷³ has a similar verse about the usages of towns, villages and guilds and mentions that Br held the same view. Manu also (VIII. 3) requires the king to decide the disputes of people according to principles drawn from local customs (*deśadr̥ṣṭa hetu*) and from the Institutes of law (*śāstradr̥ṣṭa*). Medhātithi (on Manu VIII. 3) gives some interesting illustrations of local customs; viz in certain southern localities a sonless widow

1672. यस्य देशस्य यो धर्मः प्रवृत्तः सार्वकालिकः । श्रुतिस्मृत्यविरुद्धेन देशदृष्टे स उच्यते ॥ गोत्रस्थितस्तु या तेषां क्रमाद्व्याप्ति धर्मतः । कुलधर्म तु तं मातुः पालयेत् तर्पय ह ॥ देशपञ्चनगोष्ठेषु पुरग्रामेषु वासिनाम् । तेषां स्वसमये धर्मशास्त्रतोऽन्येषु तैः सा ॥ तस्माच्छास्त्रानुसारेण राजा कार्याणि साधयेत् । वाक्याभावे तु सर्वेषां देशदृष्टेन संनयेत् ॥ देशपातुमनेन व्यवस्था या निरूपिता । लिखिता ह सदा धार्या सुद्धिता राजमुद्रया । शास्त्रव्यापत्तौ ररदा नो निरीक्ष्य विनिर्णयेत् । कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच II p 26 (all except the verse नैत्र-स्थितस्तु), परा मा. III 41 (has first, 3rd and 4th), अपरा मा. p. 399 (has the fourth), द्य य. pp. 21-22 (has 2nd and 4th), द्य. नि. pp. 15-16 (has the first two).

1673. ब्रह्मणोऽष्टपुराणेषु सार्वभौमनिवासिनाम् । एवमहाराष्ट्रदेशे निजंतपो इह स्थितिः । पितृनाह q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 26.

cupies a square low table in the hall of justice, when she is ruck with dice by the judicial officers and then she gets her husband's property (this is a reminiscence of Nirukta III. 5 explaining Rg. I. 25. 7), in the north there is a custom that when certain persons come on behalf of a bridegroom seeking a virgin in marriage and they are fed at the house of the girl's father then it is implied that there is a promise to give that girl in marriage to that particular bridegroom. These two customs are not opposed to any śruti or smṛti (and even the P. p. 10 refers to the second as prevalent in the north and adhyadeśa). But Medhātithi mentions other local usages that are opposed to smṛti e.g. grain is lent in spring and in the autumn of the same year double of it is taken. This is opposed to the rules of smṛti laying down rates of interest.

Very difficult questions arise in regard to the relative force of śruti, smṛti and sadācāra and numerous rules have been laid down in cases of apparent and real conflicts among them. As Manu II. 6, Vas. I. 4-5 and Yāj. I. 7 mention the sources of dharma to be śruti, smṛti and sadācāra in that order, the Mītākaraṇa remarks¹⁶⁷⁴ that 'in case of conflict, each preceding one of these three has more force (or binding character) than each succeeding one.' Śruti or Veda is recognised by all smṛti writers as the highest or supreme authority for those who desire to know what dharma¹⁶⁷⁵ is (vide Manu II. 13 and Yāj. I. 40). If two Vedic texts of equal authority are in conflict, then Gaut¹⁶⁷⁶ I 5, Manu II. 14 and Jābāli declare that there is an option. For example, there are two Vedic texts 'he takes the sodaśin cup in the Atirātra sacrifice' and 'he does not take the sodaśin cup in the Atirātra'. In this case there is an option. Similarly Vedic texts say that the daily Vedic agnihotra may be performed after sunrise, or before sunrise or when neither the sun nor stars are visible. Therefore there is an option, viz. the daily agnihotra offering may be made at any one of the three times specified (Manu II. 15). But a Vedic text which is in apparent conflict with another is not always of equal force with that other. In such a case there is no option, and various rules are laid

1674. एतेषां विरोधे पूर्वपूर्वस्य कर्तव्यत्वम् । निता. on या. I. 7.

1675. धर्मं जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः । मनु II 13, धर्मं .. यधर्मे श्रुतिः । द्वितीयं तु स्वशास्त्राणि तृतीयं लोकसंग्रहः ॥ बृहद्गीता XIV. p 599. vide या. I 40.

1676. सत्यवचनविरोधे विकल्पः । गी I 5; श्रुतिद्वैधं तु यत्र स्वात्तत्र धर्मादुभौ स्मृतौ ॥ स्वनिर्दिष्टे तु विषये कल्पनीया दृष्ट्यु दृष्ट्यु ॥ जाबालि १ by स्मृतिश्च II p 496. The first half of Jābāli's verse is the same as Manu II. 14

down in the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* some important ones among which will be discussed at length in the section on *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*. Such texts may be explained by holding that one lays down a general rule (*sāmānya*), while the other lays down a special rule (*viśeṣa*) or an exception, or that one is a *vidhī* and the other merely an *mithuvāda* or that the two texts have different scopes or refer to different ages &c. All these rules about the interpretation of Vedic texts have been held to apply to *smṛti* passages. For example, *Manu* VIII. 381 is a general rule absolutely prohibiting the killing of a *brāhmana*. While *Manu* VIII. 350 allowing the killing of a *brāhmana* in self-defence is a special rule or may be regarded as a mere *arthavāda* (viz. even a guru who is really not to be killed on any account may be killed when he is an *ātatāyin*, what of others, as the *Mit.* on *Yāj.* II. 21 explains). Similarly *Manu* VIII. 351 saying that there is no fault (i.e. no sin, no punishment and no *prāyościtta*) in slaying an *ātatāyin* has restricted scope as applying only to an *ātatāyin* who is not a *brāhmana*. A few more examples will be given immediately below.

In cases of conflict between *śruti* and *smṛti*, the rules laid down by the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* have already been explained (pp 832-34) *Jaimini* VI. 1. 13-14 and *Śābara* furnish an example. If, relying on *Manu* VIII. 416, the *pūrvapakṣa* were to argue that women own no wealth and so should not engage in a vedic sacrifice then as that *smṛti* so interpreted is opposed to the *Veda* it may be discarded by women¹⁶⁷⁷. *Smṛtis* also lay down certain general rules on that point. *Laugākṣi*¹⁶⁷⁸ and *Jābala* lay down that in case of contradiction between *śruti* and *smṛti*, the former has greater force and that if there is no contradiction then what is laid down in the *smṛti* should be observed as if it were laid down by the *Veda*. The *Mit.* on *Yāj.* III. 46 admits that a proposition of the *Veda* cannot be set aside (*bādhta*) by even a special proposition in a *smṛti* text. But in spite of the general proposition commentators like *Viśvarūpa*, *Medhātithi* and *Vijñānesvara*

1677 फलोत्साहाविशेषात् । जै VI 1 13 ; यदि स्मृतिमनुसृत्यमाना परवदा निषेधो न स्यात्, यजेतेत्युक्ते सति न यजेत् । तत्र स्मृत्या श्रुतिर्वाप्येत । न चैतन्प्राप्यत् । तस्मात्फलाधिनी सती स्मृतिमयमणीकृत्य द्वयं परिग्रहणीयाद्यजेत् चेति । शबर

1678 श्रुतिस्मृतिविरोधे तु श्रुतिरेव गरीयसी । अविरोधे सदा कार्यं स्मर्तुं वैदिक-वत्सदा ॥ लौगाक्षि q hy हरदत्त on गौ I 5 and स्मृतिश्च I. p 7. आदित्यार p 191. मित्रमिश्र in his commentary on या II 21 reads (without naming the writer) श्रुतिः गरीयसी । परस्परविरोधे तु योगयुक्तं (v. l. स्वाययुक्तं) ममालम्बम् । The

१६७८ - येन स्मृतिः परस्परं ... स्वाययुक्तं ममालम्बम्

had to admit that what was laid down by śruti texts was set aside or contradicted or abandoned by smṛti texts or by popular sentiment. After the Udayaniyā (concluding *isth*) in the Agnistoma sacrifice was finished, a rite was prescribed by Vedic texts in which a barren cow (called Anūbandhyā) was sacrificed for Mitra and Varuna. But later on this was condemned and in lieu of a cow āmiksā (mixture of heated milk and curds) was substituted. Vide H. D. II pp 1200-1201 for the anūbandhyā cow and p. 628 n 1198 above for the verse quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 117 condemning cow sacrifice in Kaliyuga. Yāj. III. 234 puts *govadhā* (slaughter of a cow) at the head of upapātakas. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 176 after stating that even such acts as donating all one's property in the Viśvajit sacrifice or killing a cow should not be done (though sanctioned by the Veda) remarks that he gives that explanation following his predecessors' views but that to him it appears that an express śruti text cannot be set aside by a smṛti passage¹⁶⁷⁹. Viśvarūpa also (on pp. 25-26) after adverting to the fact that Yāj. III. 234 places *govadhā* at the head of *Upapātakas* remarks that this may apply to the killing of cows spoken of in smṛtis such as at the time of samāvartana (vide Manu III. 3) and that the rule must be upheld that a smṛti that is in conflict with an express text of the Veda is to be set aside. Sometimes even a smṛti text though theoretically weaker than śruti was allowed to prevail over a śruti. For example, the Veda prescribes the filling of the cups of wine in Sautrāmani *isti*, but this is one of the matters prohibited in Kali¹⁶⁸⁰ (vide chapter on Kalivarjyas below).

The general rule is that when a custom or usage is opposed to the text of the Veda the latter must prevail. So early a writer as Āpastamba states this rule emphatically in several places. In Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 8 it is stated¹⁶⁸¹: 'For, an explicit śruti text has greater force than ācāra (usage) from which a śruti text (on which it may be supposed to be based)

1679 न हि मृत्युक्षतिविहितस्य स्मृत्या बाधो न्याय्यः । नेषा on मनु IV. 176; तेन वेदविरुद्धाया स्मृतेर्बाध इति स्थितिः । विश्वरूप p. 26 on या I. 7.

1680. क्वचिद् दुर्भलेनापि बलवतो बाधः । यथा—सौत्रामण्या सुराग्रहात् युक्तातीति मृत्युक्षतेरपि कलौ युगे त्विमात् धर्मान् वर्ज्यानाहुर्ननीपिणः—इति स्मृत्या । अन्यथानर्थस्यापत्तेः । परिभाषामन्त्राः p. 27.

1681 क्षुतिर्हि बलीयस्यानुमानिकादाचारत् । आप. घ. सू. I 1. 4. 8, विप्रतिषेधे क्षुतिलक्षण बलीयः । आप I 11. 30. 9, वैविध्यवृद्धानां तु वेदा ममानामिति निष्ठा । तत्र यानि भूयन्ते क्षुतिरप्यपराज्यपच कषात्पत्नीसम्बन्धात्तु चर्चनीये कार्यमिति तैत्तिरीय आचारोऽपमानमिति सम्पन्ते । आप घ सू. II. 9. 23. 9.

may be inferred.' In I. 11. 30. 8-9 Āp Dh. S. says, 'during the morning and evening twilights a snātaka should be seated outside the village and should restrain his speech (should not speak about worldly matters); but (an agnihotrin must not go out for) what is enjoined by śruti is of more force in case of conflict of duties'. Similarly in Āp. II 9. 23. 8-9, 'It is the settled view of those who are deeply learned in the three Vedas that they are (highest) authority. They consider that the rites which are there prescribed for performance with rice, *gava*, animals, clarified butter, milk, potsherds (in conjunction) with the wife and accompanied by loudly or inaudibly recited (mantras) must be performed and that a usage opposed to these rites is without authority'. In spite of this and the doctrine of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā stated above (p. 843) usages sprang up that were opposed to or gave the go-by to the prescriptions of the Veda as will appear a little below and particularly in the section on Kalivarjya

The conflict of smrtis among themselves presents much greater difficulties. From very ancient times authors of smrtis differed greatly among themselves. A few striking examples may be cited. Āp. Dh. S. (I 6. 19 2-12) cites the views of ten predecessors on the question of the persons whose food may be partaken of by a brāhmaṇa (*ka āśyāmah*). The difference between Gautama and Baudhāyana on the one hand and Āp. on the other on the question of the validity of certain usages in certain localities has already been referred to (p. 858). In III 16 Manu mentions three views (and four sages) on the question of the position of a brāhmaṇa who marries a śūdra wife or has a son or a child from her. Baud. Dh. S. I. 8 2, Manu III. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 1-4, Pār Gr. I 4, Vas. I 25 show that brāhmaṇas were allowed to have śūdra women as wives. But Yāj. I 56 emphatically dissents from this by stating 'this is not my view'. In this state of affairs the medieval digests and commentators were hard put to it to evolve rules of interpretation. One rule early evolved was that when two smṛti texts were in conflict, 'reasoning based on the practices of elders (śiṣtas) was of greater force' (Yāj. II. 21)¹⁶⁸². The Mīl explains that ratiocinn-

1682 स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान् व्यवहारतः । या. II 21, on which the Rev. N. p. 13 remarks 'न्यायादुपपन्नस्मृत्यपेक्षया न्यायोपपत्त्या स्मृतिर्बलवतीति न्यायादुपपत्त्य-स्मृत्येतात्पर्यान्तरकल्पना-कार्येति । तस्य चोत्सर्गापवाद-विषयव्यवस्था-निरूपणादिरूपय

tion may take the form of holding that one text lays down a general rule and the other lays down a special rule (which prevails over a general rule), or the text may be held to relate to different sets of circumstances or in the last resort it may be held that there is an option, but in arriving at these conclusions the practice of the old or of *sistas* who follow the rule in one text and discard or avoid the rule in the other text is the guide¹⁶⁸³. Br.¹⁶⁸⁴ gives the following warning to those who do not take reasoning into consideration: 'The decision (in a cause) should not be given by merely relying on *śāstras*, for in the case of a decision devoid of reasoning loss of *dharma* results'. Nār. (I. 40) provides in a strain similar to the Mī, 'when there is conflict between two texts of *dharmaśāstra*, it is declared that the method to adopt is to resort to reasoning, for the practices (of *sistas*) are of great force and the strict letter of the law is overruled by them (or properly understood through them)'. These provisions remind us of the working of the principle of *aquilius* applied by the *prætors* in Rome to the rigid older legislation or the influence of Equity in English Law. When

(Continued from the last page)

न्यायस्य प्रत्यायक हेतुमाह व्यवहारत इति । वृद्धव्यवहाराद्व्यवहारीरेकाद्विरुद्धाद्विनादि-
व्युत्पत्त्यपरपर्यायान्यायः प्रत्येतस्य इत्यर्थः १. विस्वरूप reads स्मृतेर्विरोधे and gives three
interpretations of this One is the same as that of the Mī, The other two
are, (2) when there is a conflict between *smṛti* and reasoning, *smṛti*
is stronger (he approves of this), (3) in case of conflict *nyāya* is stronger than
smṛti. निवमिश्र in his commentary on च. II 21 explains व्यवहारतः differently
as 'व्यवहारतः व्यवहारे विषये'.

1683. In *Bhanu v Sundrabai* P. J. for 1874 p. 250, where the question was whether daughters were excluded from inheritance as regards the Utpat family of priests at the temple of Vithoba at Pandharpur, Yāj. II 21 was translated (at p 252) as follows. 'if two texts be opposed *usage* is of force for their construction'. In *Chunilal v Surajram* 33 Bom. 433 at p. 439 Yāj. II 21 is rendered as 'where there is a conflict between two or more *smṛtis* that one should be accepted, which is conformable to equity'. The former rendering is rather obscure and the latter does not translate Yāj. closely The exact meaning of 'equity' in this translation is not clear It certainly does not mean 'equity' in the strict sense of English Law.

1684. न्यायमनालोचयती दीपमाह वृद्धस्पतिः । केवल शास्त्रमात्रस्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णयः । कुकिहीने विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥ च. नूतन p. 7 The verse is q by परा मा. III p 39, च. मा. p 282, स्मृतिच. II p 24, च. अ. p 13, धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे तु कुकिपुनो विधि स्मृतः । व्यवहारो हि बलवान् धर्मरतेनाग्रहीयते ॥ नारद I 40 कुक्ति means लोकव्यवहार acc. to च. मा. p. 282 The व्यवहारतस्त्व (p 199) says, धर्मशास्त्र-पोस्तु विरोधे लोकव्यवहार एवादर्शनीयः । . . अग्रहीयते अग्रगम्यते हि गतानित्यस्माद्धातो. .

old rules become too narrow or are deemed to be not in harmony with the views of a changing or progressive society, it was thought to be the privilege of the king or the judge to adopt his practice to the existing state of society and not to decide a case by a too strict adherence to ancient dicta.

Another rule that was laid down was that in case of conflict between dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra, the former is of more weight or authority or that one should discard the rule in the arthaśāstra¹⁶⁸⁵ (Āp. Dh. S. I. 9 24. 23; Yāj. II. 21; Nār. I. 39; Kāt. 20) Vide pp. 8-9 above for an explanation of this rule. The rule of the arthaśāstra has the accomplishment of a visible or worldly purpose as the goal, while the dharmaśāstra rule has as its purpose the securing of unseen or spiritual results. Therefore the latter from a spiritual or ethical point of view is superior to the former.

Several other methods of resolving conflicts between smṛtis may be mentioned here. Br.¹⁶⁸⁶ states: 'Manusmṛti occupies a pre-eminent position because it puts together the purport of the Vedas; that smṛti which is in conflict with the purport of Manu is not commended'. Angiras also states that to follow the words (of another smṛti) disregarding the unrivalled dharmaśāstra of Manu would not be beneficial to a person. The Mit. on Yāj III. 300 speaks of the Manusmṛti and others as the great smṛtis (mahā-smṛti). Some writers¹⁶⁸⁷ quote the Vedic text 'whatever Manu said' is indeed medicine in this connection, thereby identifying the author of the Manusmṛti with the Manu named in the Vedas. But this does not afford much help. Another principle evolved was that certain rules of conduct and certain smṛtis were of special authority in certain cycles of time. Manu (I. 85-86 = Śānti 232. 27-28 = Parāśara I. 22-23

1685. यत्र विपतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्तुज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्त-
माचरेत् ॥ नारद I. 39, मेधा. on मनु. VII, 1 says 'तथा च कात्यायनः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्त-
... शास्त्रोक्तमात्रजेत् ।'.

1686. वेदार्थोपनिबद्ध (बुद्धि) त्वात्प्राधान्यं हि मनोः स्मृत्यः । मन्वर्थविपरीता तु या
स्मृतिः सा न कैश्यते ॥ तावच्छास्त्राणि शोभन्ते तर्कव्याकरणानि च । धर्मार्थमोक्षोपदेष्टा मनुष्यो-
पमा दृश्यते ॥ बुद्धिं by कुल्लुक on मनु. I. 1. The first is q by अपराकं p 628
and by स्मृतिच. I. p 7 (reads वेदादुपनिबद्धत्वाद्); यथादाहिराः । यत्पूर्वं मनुना मोक्षं
धर्मशास्त्रमनुत्तमम् । न हि तत्समातिक्रम्य वचनं हितमात्मनः ॥ स्मृतिच. I p. 7, स्मृतिदु.
(वर्णाश्रम) p 6

1687. श्रुतिरपि यद्वै किं च मनुवदत्तज्ञेयम् । स्मृतिदु (वर्णाश्रम) p. 6. This
text is in तै. सं. II. 2 10. 2 and Kāthaka XI. 5 has almost the same
words.

= Brhat-Parāśara I. p. 55) himself says that the dharmas differ according to which of the four yugas is current, viz. *tapas* is the highest dharma in the Kṛta age, knowledge in Tretā, *yajña* in Dvāpara and only *dāna* in Kali. This verse only means that in a particular yuga the predominant or easily performed dharma is the one indicated but the verse does not mean that a dharma predominant in one yuga was prohibited in another. Parāśara I. 24¹⁶⁸⁸ (= Brhat-Parāśara I. p. 55) declares that in the Kṛta age the dharmas (to be observed) were those promulgated by Manu, in Tretā those of Gautama, in Dvāpara those of Śaṅkha-Likhita and in Kali those of Parāśara. This also did not solve all difficulties, since the medieval digests and commentaries found that even what was allowed by Parāśara came to be disapproved of or condemned by the people: Many prescriptions of the *smṛtis* were therefore included under *Kalavarjya* (acts forbidden in the Kali age) on the ground that action, though at one time prescribed or sanctioned by the śāstra, should not be resorted to, if it has become hateful to the people, since it would not lead to heaven¹⁶⁸⁹ (if persisted in). This was the dictum of Yāj. I. 156 (= Brhan-Nāradya-purāṇa 24. 12), Manu IV. 176, Viṣṇu Dh. S. (71. 84-85), the Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 11. 7), Śukra III. 64, Bārhaspatya-sūtra (on Arthasāstra) V. 16. Vide p. 630 and n. 1202 above. These texts were relied upon for prohibiting certain acts (though done in former times) by the Mī. (on Yāj. II. 117, III. 18), V. P. (p. 442) and others. But these devices of interpretation also proved futile in certain cases. On the question of the periods of mourning due to death for ksatriyas and others the texts are so various and so conflicting that even the great Viṇāśeśvara declares (on Yāj. III. 22) that he is not going to furnish any orderly presentation of the *smṛti* texts assigning to each its proper province, since it would be useless to do so in view of the fact that the usage of śiṣtas did not agree with most of them¹⁶⁹⁰. Viśvarūpa also (on Yāj. III. 30) is in the same predicament. The commentators (such as

1688 कृते तु मानवो धर्मज्ञेतायां गौतमः स्मृतः । द्वापरे शाङ्खालिखितः कलौ पाराशरः स्मृतः ॥ पाराशर I 24 g. by सुतिच. I. p 11. This is ascribed to बृह. in the आचाररत्न p 12 quoting from the परा मा.

1689 परित्यजेदर्शकानौ धर्मपीडाकरौ वृष । धर्ममप्यहोदक्षौ लोकविद्विदमेव च ॥ तिष्यधुराण III. 11. 7; धर्ममपि लोकविक्रुदं न कुर्यात् लोकविरुद्धं नाचरेत् । बाह्यस्मृत्य-सूत्र V 16.

1690. हृत्येवमेकोऽत्रावचाशौचकल्पः दर्शिताः । तेषां लोके समाचारमावाञ्छातीव व्य-वस्थापदर्शनमुपयोगीति नात्र व्यवस्था प्रदृश्यते । मिता. on यज III. 22.

Mādhava in Par. M. on I. 1. p. 84) were aware that people would not go in for religious practices that called for great effort and would seek for such rules as would be easy of observance ¹⁶⁹¹

In some cases it was provided that where there is a conflict among smrtis the view of the majority should prevail. Gobhila-smṛti (III 148-149) provides ¹⁶⁹² that where there is a conflict among passages (of smrtis), authoritativeness rests with that view which is supported by a majority of the texts, but where two passages are of equal authority then reasoning has to be employed. The assumption or axiom was, according to Medhātithi ¹⁶⁹³ (on Manu II. 29 and XI 216), Mit (on III. 325), Sm C. (I. p. 5), Aparārka p. 1053, Madanapārijāta (pp. 11, 91) and others that all smrtis form one śāstra, that if some smṛti texts on the same subject are in conflict there is an option and when there is no conflict all rules from all smrtis should be held applicable to the subject matter; this was based on the analogy of the maxim called 'sarva-śākhāpratyañāya' or 'śākhāntarādhikarāṇa' (vide Jai. II. 4. 9 and Śābara thereon)

It is further provided that works of heretical sects were to be left out of consideration. Manu calls them smrtis, but they are outside the pale of Vedic orthodoxy. Manu (XII 95) declared, ¹⁶⁹⁴ 'the smrtis that are outside the (pale of) Veda and all false or fallacious doctrines are of no avail after death, because they are all based on ignorance'. In the Vedāntasūtra (II. 1. 1) also the word smṛti is applied to the works on the

1691. अतः कलौ भाणिना प्रयाससाधये धर्मे प्रवृत्त्यसम्भवात् सुकरो धर्मांश्च मुमुक्षुः । परा. मा I part 1 p 84.

1692. अल्पाणां यो विद्वत् स्यात्स बाधो बहुभिः स्मृत । प्राणसमिति (प्राण ?) इत्यादि वासिष्ठं बाधितं यथा ॥ विरोधो यत्र वाक्यानां प्रामाण्यं तत्र भूयसात् । तस्य प्रमाणकत्वे तु न्याय एव (एव ?) प्रकीर्तितः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III 148-149 प्राणसमितो वैश्यस्य is वसिष्ठ XI 57 (about the length of the staff of a vaiśya brahmacārin) The verse विरोधो यत्र is quoted (without name) in मलमासतत्त्व p 767.

1693. यथा सर्वशास्त्राप्रत्ययमेकं कर्म एव सर्वस्मृतिप्रत्ययमपि । यत्तु बहुत्वाद्दृष्टान्स्मृतीनां काश्चीयतामित्यनध्यवसायः । सर्वासां प्रामाण्याविशेषादेकार्थानां विकल्प भिन्नार्थानां समुच्चयः । मेधा. on मनु II 29, एकशास्त्रत्वात्सर्वस्मृतीनामसति विरोधे समग्रं योग्यं विरोधे तु विकल्पः । मेधा on मनु XI 216, एवमन्येष्वपि विरोधिष्वर्थात् विकल्प आश्रयणीयः । अविरोधिषु समुच्चयः । शास्त्रान्तराधिकरणन्यायेन सर्वस्मृतिप्रत्ययत्वात्कर्मणः । मिता on या III 325

1694. या वेदवाङ्मयाः स्मृतयो याश्च काश्च कुहटयः । सर्वास्ता निष्फला प्रत्य तमोनिष्ठा हि ताः स्मृताः ॥ मनु XII 95. This is quoted by the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै 1. 3 5 p. 196 with the remark 'एतदीया ग्रन्था एव न्व मन्यादिभिः परिहार्यत्वेनोक्ता । या वेदवाङ्मयाः...तमोनिष्ठा हि ताः स्मृताः' इति । तस्माद्धर्मं प्रति त्रयीवाद्यनेपजातीयकं प्रामाण्यं नोपेक्ष्य स्यादिति सिद्धम् ।'

Sāṅkhya philosophy. The *Tantravārtika* (p. 195) says that the Bauddhas and other heretical sects do not admit that their doctrines are based on the Veda, like a bad son hating his parents; the prescriptions contained in their works are opposed to all the 14 *vidyās* except in the case of a few sentences laying down restraint of senses, charity and the like; they were promulgated by persons like the Buddha who had given up the path of the Veda and did acts contrary to the Veda and they were propounded to persons that were beyond the pale of the three Vedas and that mostly were śūdras and persons outside the system of the four varṇas and āśramas. Medhātithi on Manu II. 6 adopts this and remarks¹⁶⁹⁵ that the Śākyas, Bhojakas and Kṣapanakas do not admit the Veda as authoritative, they openly declare the Veda to be unauthoritative and they teach doctrines directly opposed to the Veda. The *Caturvīṃśatimata*¹⁶⁹⁶ states that the words of Arhat (Jina), of Cārvāka and of Bauddhas, should be abandoned as they lead to delusion.

Then comes the question of the conflict between smṛtis and purāṇas. It has been shown in the H. of Dh., vol. I pp. 160-167, how the Purāṇas are rich in Dharmaśāstra material. The sūtras and early smṛtis do not look upon the Purāṇas as a source of dharma, though Gaut. XI. 19 and Yāj. I. 3 mention Purāṇa as one of the classes of works on which the king or any one else may draw for knowledge of dharma and though the Āp. Dh. S. quotes from a Purāṇa in I. 6. 19. 13, I. 10. 29. 8 and II. 9. 23. 3 and names a Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa in II. 9. 24. 6. It is to be noted that the views quoted by Āp. from the Purāṇas in the first three passages are opposed to the views of the Kalivarjya section alleged to be taken from the Ādityapurāṇa in medieval digests. The passage of the *Tantravārtika* stating that Purāṇas, Manu-smṛti and Itihāsa are universally accepted throughout India has been already quoted (on p. 853). When Manu states that smṛti is a source of dharma he does not obviously comprehend Purāṇas under smṛti as Manu II. 10 clearly shows (*dharmaśāstram tu vai smṛtiḥ*). Manu III. 232 and Yāj. III. 189 employ the plural 'Purāṇāni' and so those smṛtis obviously

1695 नहि शाक्यभोजकक्षपणकादीनां वेदसंयोगसंभवो येन तन्मूलतया स्वविषये प्रमाणं स्युः स्वधर्मननुपगमात्तैश्च वेदस्याप्रामाण्याभिधानात् मत्पक्षवेदविशुद्धायां पक्षे शास्त्रं । मेधा on मनु II. 6

1696. अर्हन्नागां कवाक्यानि बौद्धादिपठितानि च । विमलम्भकवाक्यानि तानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेत् ॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत (p. 10 स्मृतिमु, वर्णाश्रम, p. 7, स्मृतिच. I p. 5).

knew several Purāṇas and Medhātithi notes that they were composed by Vyāsa and described the creation of the world &c. The Strīparva (13. 2) also employs the plural and the Svargā-rohanikaparva (5. 46-47) speaks of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana as the author of 18 Purāṇas. The Ādiparva¹⁶⁹⁷ (1. 293-94) prescribes that one should strengthen the Veda by (the study of) the Itihāsa and Purāṇa and that the Veda fears the man whose knowledge is insignificant 'this man will harm me'. According to the Bhāgavata-purāṇa I 4. 25 the purpose¹⁶⁹⁸ of the composition of the Mahābhārata was this that as the Veda cannot be learnt by women, sūdras and brāhmanas who are so only by birth (and do not study) the sage Vyāsa took compassion on them and composed the Mahābhārata for their benefit. The same must be deemed to be the purpose of the composition of the purāṇas. The Dakṣasmṛti II. 69 prescribes¹⁶⁹⁹ the recitation of itihāsa and purāṇa in the 6th and 7th parts of the day (divided into 8 parts). The Auśanasa smṛti (III. p. 515, Jīvananda) prescribes the study of the Veda in the bright half of the months from Māgha after *utsarjana* and the study of the Vedāṅgas and of Purāṇa in the dark half. It appears that some at least of the extant Purāṇas were composed in the first centuries of the Christian era and that from early times they contained dharmaśāstra material. In another section the *paurāṇadharma* will be separately dealt with hereafter. Gradually the Purāṇas became very popular in the course of centuries, some of the original rites prescribed by the Veda and the early smṛtis went out of vogue and new modes of worship and rites provided by the Purāṇas came into general observance. The Vedavyāsa smṛti¹⁷⁰⁰ (I. 4) and the Sangraha state that in case of conflict between smṛti and purāṇa smṛti is to be

1697. इतिहासपुराणाभ्या वेदं समुपबृहयेत् । विभिव्यल्पश्रुताहेदो मामय महर्षिभ्यति (v. 1 मतरिष्यति) ॥ आदिपर्व 1. 293-294 (= वृद्धानि chap 3 p 50, Jīvananda, = वायुपुराण 1 201, वासिष्ठ 27. 6). It is ascribed to बृहस्पति in the स्मृतिच. I. p 3. लघुव्यास II. p. 320 (Jīvananda) reads the first half as वेदाध्ययनपट्टपटे

1698. श्रीशुद्धहिजबन्धुना त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा । इति भारतसारूप्यार्ण कृपया सुनिगृह्यतम् ॥ भागवत I 4 25, तेनोक्तं सात्वत तन्त्रं यज्ञात्वा श्रुतिभागभवेत् । यत्र श्रीसूहृद्वासना सत्कारो वैष्णवो मतः ॥ q. by the परिभाषाप्रकाश (p 24) from the भागवतपुराण.

1699. इतिहासपुराणाद्यैः षडसप्तमकौ नयेत् । दक्ष II 69 q by अपरांक p 157.

1700. श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणाना विरोधो यत्र दृश्यते । तत्र अतः प्रमाण स्यात् तयोर्हिधे स्मृतिर्वैरा ॥ वेदव्यास I. 4, श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेषु विरुद्धेषु परस्परम् । पूर्वं पूर्वं पत्नीय स्यादिति न्यायविदो विदुः ॥ संग्रह q. by स्मृतिष्ठ (वर्णाश्रम) p. 7.

preferred. Aparārka (p. 9) quotes¹⁷⁰¹ a *smṛti* text, 'that is highest dharma which is understood from the Veda, that is to be known as inferior dharma that is declared in the *Purāṇas* and the like'. Aparārka (p. 15) further tells us that¹⁷⁰² according to the *Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa* the *purāṇas* are of authority in declaring dharma that is *vyāmīśra* (i. e. mixed up and not purely Vedic). Medieval writers were often divided as to the authoritativeness of *purāṇas*. Mitramiśra (in his commentary¹⁷⁰³ on Yāj. II. 21) asserts that *dharmaśāstra* (viz. *smṛti*) is not more authoritative than *purāṇa* and that in case of conflict between a *smṛti* text and a *purāṇa* text recourse must be had to reasoning as in the case of conflict between two *smṛtis*. On the other hand, the V. Mayūkha,¹⁷⁰⁴ after quoting Manu IX. 126 and Devala about the first born among twins being regarded as the oldest and after referring to a half verse from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (rather from the commentary of Śrīdhara thereon) which holds that among twins the one born later is to be deemed as the elder, remarks that the *Purāṇa* passage is to be set aside in favour of the *smṛti* passages and that in the *purāṇas* usages opposed to the *smṛtis* are very frequently met with. It further says that this view is preferable to that of some others according to whom in this matter the custom of the country should be followed. The *Nirnayasindhu* (III. p. 251) also says the same. The respect for the *purāṇas* carried away late medieval writers so far that relying on some prophetic passages in the *purāṇas* about the disappearance of four *varṇas* in the *Kali* age and the subsistence of only *brāhmanas* and *sūdras* therein, they denied the existence of *ksatriyas* and *vaiśyas* in the *Kali* age, in spite of the fact that all *smṛtis* (like Manu, Yāj, *Parāśara*) and many commentaries (including the *Mitākṣarā*) hold that the four *varṇas* exist in the *Kali* age

1701. अतः स परमो धर्मो यो वेदादधिगम्यते । अवरः स तु विज्ञेयो यः पुराणादिषु स्मृतः ॥ व्यास उ. by अपरार्क p. 9, परिभाषाकाश p. 29, कृत्पर. p. 39.

1702. एव प्रतिष्ठापयामासि पुराणाद्युक्तैर्वैतर्किकैस्तथाह्य नान्या । तेषामेव व्यामिश्रधर्म-प्रमाणत्वेन भविष्यत्पुराणे परिज्ञातत्वात् । अपरार्क p. 15.

1703. तेन पुष्पणाद्धर्मशास्त्रं स्मृत्यात्मकं न बलवत् । किं तु स्मृत्योर्विव स्मृतिपुराणयोः परस्परविरतिर्धन्यायाद्बलाबलम् । मित्रमिश्र on या II 21, यत्र स्मृतिपुराणयोरविरोधस्तत्र विकल्पः । संस्कारसार folio 14 a (part of हंसिद्धमसाद).

1704. यन्तु द्वौ तदा भवतो गर्भौ स्मृतिर्वैतर्किकपर्यायात्—इत्यादिना भागवते पञ्चाज्जातस्य ज्यैष्ठ्यश्रुतं तदप्यनेन साध्यते । पुराणीषु स्मृतिविरुद्धाचारार्णां बहुशो दर्शनात् । देशाचारतोऽप्यपरथा ज्ञेयेति केचित् । श्रुतं तु पूर्वाक्तमेव । व्य मयूख pp. 97-98. Vide राजनीतिय. pp. 37-39 for a similar view.

Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 380-382 about the existence of kṣatriyas in the Kali age.

The case of conflict between *smṛti* and customs has now to be considered. The general rule deduced from Vas. I. 5, Yāj. I. 7 and supported by the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 7 and II. 117), the Sm. C. (II p. 266), Kullūka (on Manu. II 10) and several others is that *smṛti* is of superior authority to the usages of the *śiṣtas*. But from early times there have been dissenting voices. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 250 states that that purport of the *smṛtis* is to be followed which is in accordance with the settled practice of the *śiṣtas* resident in Āryāvarta¹⁷⁰⁵. On Manu IV. 176 Medhātithi points out that *niyoga* is permitted by such *smṛtis*¹⁷⁰⁶ as Gaut. 18.4-14, Yāj. I. 68-69, Vas 17. 56-65, but being condemned by the people it is not practised. Therefore the principle that may be deduced from these is that the prescriptions of *smṛtis* (and even of *śruti*) need not be observed and should not be observed when they are vehemently condemned by the people. The chapter on Kalivarjya will make this clear. Commentators like Medhātithi (on Manu II. 10) went so far as to say that Dharmasāstra is that which prescribes what is to be done for attaining dharma, that is *smṛti* from which dharma which one performs as a duty is understood and therefore *śiṣtācāra*¹⁷⁰⁷ also is *smṛti*. The *smṛtis* themselves embodied the practices of the people current in their days, as Manu I. 107 declares, 'in this work dharma has been fully stated as well as the good and evil qualities of (human) actions and the ancient customs and usages of the four varnas.'¹⁷⁰⁸ Manu adds (I. 108), 'ācāra (customs and usages) are transcendental law, and so are the practices declared in the Veda and the *smṛti*; therefore a twice-born person desirous of his own welfare should always

1705. लोकश्च शब्दार्थाधिगमहेतुरिति नातीव क्लेशनीयम् । यथैवार्थान्वर्तनिवासीदिदि व्यवहारस्थितिस्तथैव स्थूलथोद्धृत्तसर्तव्यो न तद्विपर्ययेण । विश्वरूप on Yāj. III. 250.

1706. इदं तु युक्ततरुद्वारहरणम् । नियोगधर्मः स्मृत्या विहितो लोकसकुलत्वात् क्रियते । मेधा. on मनु IV. 176.

1707. इह सदाचारो न श्रुतिर्न स्मृतिनिबन्धाभावात् । निबन्धाक्षरा हि स्मृत्य प्रसिद्धाः । अतस्तस्य स्थूलविषयपादयति । यकार्य धर्ममात्रार्थं तद्धर्मशास्त्रम् । यत्र धर्मं शिष्यते कर्तव्यतया प्रतीयते सा स्मृतिः । निबन्धानिबन्धावमयोजकौ शिष्यसमाचारादपि धर्मस्य कर्तव्यतावगतिः । सोपि स्मृतिरेव । मेधा on मनु II. 10

1708. अस्मिन्धर्मोऽखिलेनोक्तो गुणदोषौ च कर्मणाम् । चतुर्णामपि वर्णानामाचारश्चैव शास्वतः ॥ मनु I 107, on which मेधा. says 'शास्वतो ब्रह्मपरम्परया नेदानीन्तनैः प्रवर्तितः'.

make efforts to follow it'.¹⁷⁰⁹ This has been the basic text in modern decisions that recognize the binding nature of customs. It is therefore necessary to understand the exact meaning of this verse. Two constructions are possible; (1) that the word *ācāra* is qualified by the words 'śrutyukta' and 'smārta' and that the first half declares that usages declared in the Veda or *smṛti* are transcendental law (this is the meaning given by most commentators of Manu); (2) that *ācāra* by itself and other rules of conduct declared in the *śruti* or *smṛti* are transcendental (i. e. here in the first half of the verse there is a reference to three kinds of *ācāras*, as Govindarāja and Nandana explain). If we look to the preceding verse and the following verses (that eulogise *ācāra*) the 2nd construction looks more natural and has been accepted by the decided cases when¹⁷¹⁰ they lay down that 'immemorial usage is transcendental law' (Sir William Jones' translation of Manu I. 108) and that "under the Hindu system of law clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law". The *Anuśāsana* (141. 65) and *Śānti* 354. 6 expressly state that *dharma* is threefold viz. that declared in the Veda, that declared in the *smṛtis* and the third is what is practised by *śiṣṭas*. Sumantu¹⁷¹¹ emphatically declares that family usage should be preferred to the prescriptions of *sāstra*. The *Kūrmapurāṇa*¹⁷¹² (*Uttarārdha* 15. 19) appears to support the 2nd interpretation when it says, 'one should observe that *ācāra* which is declared by the *śruti* and *smṛti* and which is rightly followed by the good'. The exact import of the word *ācāra* (or *sadācāra*) has been shifting from age to age and among commentators. In the earliest days, as shown by the *Tai. Up.*, *Gaut.* (28. 48, 51), *Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 4-9*, *Manu XII. 108-109*,

1709 आचारः परमो धर्मः श्रुत्युक्तः स्मार्त एव च । तस्मादस्मिन् सदा युक्तो नित्य
स्यादात्मवान् द्विजः ॥ मनु I. 108, 'य श्रुत्युक्त आचारः पुरुषसाधारणमाध्यात्म्यरूपानार्थं
च धर्माख्यः यश्च स्मार्तः स परमः प्रकृतो धर्मः परमो ज्योतिषोमादिकादिभ्यः श्रौतस्मार्तधर्मेभ्यः'
गोविन्दराज, 'श्रुत्युक्तोऽपि होत्रहोमादिः स्मार्तोऽष्टकादिः । अस्मिन् त्रये' मन्दन; compare
अनुशासन 141. 65 वेदोक्तः परमो धर्मः स्मृतिशास्त्रगतोपरः । शिष्टाचीर्णः परः श्रोतव्यो
धर्मोऽसमाप्तः ॥ and शान्ति 259 3 सदाचारः स्मृतिर्वेदस्त्रिविधं धर्मलक्षणम् ।

1710 Vide *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramlinga* 12 Moo I. A. 397 at p. 436, *Bhyah Ram Singh v. Bhyah Ugur Singh* 13 Moo. I. A. 373 at p. 390.

1711. तस्मिन् कुलक्रमागतमाचारं स्वाचरेद् द्रुप । स गरीयान् महाबाहो सर्वशालो-
वितादपि । समन्तु ५ by स्मृतिश्च (वर्णाश्रम) p. 7.

1712. श्रुतिस्मृत्युदितः संप्रकृ साधुभिर्नश्च सेवित । समाचारं निषेयेत नेहेतान्यत्र
कार्द्विद ॥ (कूर्म, उच्यते 15. 19).

Vas. I. 6, the *ācāra* to be followed was that observed or declared by learned *brāhmanas* who were highly moral and selfless (the *śīstas*) Medhātithi on Mann II. 6 states that binding *ācāra* is that of *śīstas* learned in the Vedas. Gradually every usage that had no visible secular purpose came to be looked upon as binding and lastly the usages of *sūdras*, of *pratiloma* castes and even of heterodox sects became, as will be shown in the sequel, enforceable by the king. As observed in 39 Mad. 298, 301 the commentaries indicate an attempt to reconcile the text law with the actual usages of the people.

The requisites of valid customs, according to the *smṛtis* and commentaries and digests, are similar to those laid down by the writers on *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* i. e. they must be ancient, must not be opposed to *śruti* and *smṛti*, must be such that they are regarded by respectable people as obligatory on them and such as are observed with that consciousness by the *śīstas*, they must be strictly construed and cannot be availed of by others not within their purview and must not be immoral or severely condemned by popular sentiment. Customs once in vogue may be abandoned by the people as the chapter on *Kalivarjya* will show.

From Gaut., Manu, Br., Kāt and other writers quoted above it follows that the customs and usages of which account has to be taken are those of districts (*deśa* or *janapada*), towns and villages, castes, families, guilds or corporations or groups (*gana*, *śreni*, *sangha*, *naigama*, *varga*). A few words on each of these and on usages of *gotras* and *śākhās* will be said later on and a few illustrations of each will be given. But first of all certain preliminary observations have to be made about customs in general. The medieval writers on *Dharmasāstra* make it clear that customs that depart from the generally received *smṛti* prescriptions must be strictly construed and that they cannot be extended on the ground of analogy to other matters outside the specific acknowledged customs. For example, both the Sm C (I. 71) and the *Smṛtimuktāphala*¹⁷¹³ (on *Varnaśrama* p 31) say that, though one's maternal uncle's daughter can be married (by custom) yet one's mother's sister or mother's sister's daughter

1713 अतो ब्राह्मणदिविवाहेषु निवृत्तसपिण्डभावाया मातृसपिण्डत्वान्मातुलस्यता परि-
जेय। एवं पैतृवसेत्यपि। न च तथाविधा मातृवसा तद्वद्विज्ञातं किमिति न परिजेयेति
वाच्यम्। शास्त्रानिरोधेपि लोकविरुद्धत्वाद्भर्त्यमपि लोकविद्विष्टं तन्मातृवसेयम्। तदुक्तं महणा
'अस्वर्ग्यः ... चरेत्तु इति। स्मृतिरु (वर्णाश्रम p 131). Vide H. Dh. vol II,
p. 467 n. 1096 for the passage of the Sm. C. almost in the same words

cannot be married, because popular sentiment is opposed to the latter kind of marriages and popular sentiment has to be respected as Manu declares (in IV. 176). Similarly the Śaṅkara-kaustubha¹⁷¹⁴ and the Dharmasindhu provide that where there is a local or family usage for narrowing down the limits of sapinda relationship in marriage, only those who belong to that locality or family can avail themselves of such narrowing down, but if a person in a different locality or belonging to a different family were to follow the practice of narrowing down the sapinda relationship, he would incur blame. Owing to the vastness of Bharatavarsa it was recognised that what was *sadācāra* in one country would not be so in another, as is noted by the Par. M. (I 2. p. 65) in relation to marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter.¹⁷¹⁵

A few words may now be said about customs of countries. That usages about details of ritual varied a great deal even in the Vedic times is quite clear. The Śat Br. (I 1. 4 13) notes that in former times it was the wife of the sacrificer that rose at the Haviskrt call, but that in its own day the wife or a priest (the Āgnidhra) rises in answer to the call. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1027 and n. 2311 on the Haviskrt call. For similar differences in practices vide the same Brāhmaṇa XII. 3. 5. 1 and XII. 6 1. 41. The Ait. Br. frequently refers to one view and refutes it by saying that one should not do so (*tat tathā na kuryāt*) or one should discard it (*tat tat nādrīyam*) e. g. vide chap. 12 7, 17. 1, 18. 8, 28 1, 29. 5. Vide also Tai. Br. I. 1. 8, I. 3. 1, III. 8 8 for similar words. That different districts had different customs about marriages and other matters even before the times of the grhyasūtras and dharmasūtras has been

1714 Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 465 n. 1093d for the quotation from the Dharmasindhu. The सं. को. p. 613 remarks 'यस्तु देशाद्वैक्येण कुलमात्रेण चोद्दिष्टं । नित्यं स व्यवहारः स्याद्वैक्येयैतत्प्रतीयते ॥ इति चतुर्विंशतिमहावच । तृतीयां मातुलः कन्यां सुमीं पितृतत्तथा । विवाहयेन्मनु माह पाताशयोऽङ्गिरा यमः ॥ इति चन्द्रिका-परिजातोदाहृतपञ्चविंशतिमहावच । and adds (p. 620) अतः सिद्धमेतत् । कलावपि येषां कुले वैशेषिकस्यैव सापेक्षवसङ्गीत्य परम्परया समागतः तेषां तादृशसङ्कोचेन न दोषः अस्ति च भार्यात्वोत्पत्तिः । अन्येषां तै. सह व्यवहारे नैव दोषः । स्वयं तु कुलदेशविरुद्धतापि-पञ्चसंकीर्त्तनं विवाहे भवत्येव दोषः । The two verses यस्तु देशा and तृतीयां are quoted by the वैजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 24. 10.

1715 यद्यपि मातुलसुतापरिणयनमुदीच्यशिक्षमाहितं तथापि दाक्षिणात्यशिक्षैराचारि-
तत्वेन नाविगीतोयमुदीच्यनानाचारः । न च दाक्षिणात्यानां राममुल्ल शङ्कनीयं विधिनिषेध-
परीक्षकैरेव तद्विवाहकरणान् । मातृव्यसुताविवाहस्तु अविगीतेन शिक्षाचारेण गदितः ।
परा मा I. part 2 p. 65.

noted above (pp. 856-857) Baudhāyana made a distinction about the customs of the northern and southern people (countries). That customs of the northern and southern countries differed is emphasized by many commentators and writers of digests. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. I 256 refers to the differing views of dāksinātyas and udīcyas on Ekoddista-śrāddha. Śankarabhāṭṭa in the introductory verses of the Dvaitanirṇaya (or Dharma-dvaita-) expressly states that he will furnish solutions of knotty points in Dharmaśāstra after abiding by the views of southern writers.¹⁷¹⁶ The Nirṇayasindhu in its section on sāpindya speaks of Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati and Śuddhiviveka as Gaudas and Maithilas, and points out that Śūlapāṇi in the Sambandha-viveka and the Sambandhatattva (a Gauda work) allow marriage with a girl separated by three gotras from the bridegroom, while the southern writers (dāksinātyas) do not accept the view. But in those days there were no rigid territorial boundaries for certain practices or doctrines. For example, Vijñāneśvara, Madana-ratna, Pārijāta, Vācaspati and Śūlapāṇi accepted the view that sāpindya arises from community of the particles of the body, while Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and Mādhava (though they were southern writers like Vijñāneśvara) held that sāpindya was based on the offering of pinda in śrāddhas. The fashion of dividing Hindu works into schools and assigning them definite territorial limits started with Colebrooke and has been perpetuated by decisions of the Privy Council and of the Indian High courts. Vide *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo* 12 Mad. L.A. 397 at p 432 (for reference to Colebrooke), p 435 (as to how schools arose), pp. 436-437 (as to different schools) Strange results have flowed from this. The Vyavahāramayūkha, written by Nilakantha, whose family belonged to Paithan in Mahārāstra and migrated to Benares and who himself wrote under the patronage of a Bundella chief, came to be regarded as a work of the highest authority in Gujerat and North Konkan (even superseding the Mitaksarā), while in Mahārāstra proper its authority is subordinate to that of the Mitaksarā. The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 119) avers that in the section on the partition of heritage the texts generally repeat what is

1716. सीमांसद्वैतसाम्राज्यनीतिलो भट्टशङ्करः । .. सुदोषं विस्थलीसेतुकर्तृजांतां
मतानि ह्यु । द्वाक्षिणात्यमते स्थित्वा धर्मद्वैतेषु निर्णयम् । तद्वते सेतुिगालीय नावनाय कथंचन ॥
धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय Intro. verses 5-8.

already current among the people¹⁷¹⁷ and that if Yāj. II. 118-119 were interpreted to mean that the words 'what is acquired at the cost of paternal estate by a person himself' stand by themselves and do not qualify the other clauses, then what is acquired through friendship even at the cost of the paternal estate would not be liable to partition, which would be opposed to the practice among people. The Vyavahāra-mayūkha also¹⁷¹⁸ says on Manu IX. 210 (about reunion) that the law and administration of justice are generally based as is the case with grammar on people's usages. The Viramitrodaya also states that all writers of digests are agreed that smṛtis on Vyavahāra generally re-iterate recognized popular usages.

Customs of countries and families have been specially recognized from very ancient times in the sphere of marriage. The Āsv. gr. (I 7. 1-2) has been already cited above (p. 856). The commentators on Āsv. gr., Haradatta and Nārāyaṇa, both mention that in certain countries sexual intercourse is commenced immediately after marriage, that this practice is opposed to the rule in Āsv. gr. I 1. 10 that the married couple should be celibate after marriage for at least three nights (if not for a longer period) and that one should follow the rule laid down in the gṛhyaśūtra and not the usage of the country. The Āp. gr. (II. 15) remarks,¹⁷¹⁹ 'people should understand from women (and others) what procedure is (to be followed according to the custom of the country)' and the commentator Sudarsanācārya notes that certain rites like the worship of planets, *aṅkurūropana* and the tying of *prahsara* (a string or ribbon tied round the wrist) are usual and are performed with Vedic Mantras. The Kāthakagrhya (25. 7) allows the usages of countries and families to be observed in marriage and the

1717 नवत्र मासस्य प्रतिषेधः किन्तु सिद्धस्यानुवादेऽप्यम् । लोकसिद्धस्यैवानुवाद-
काद्येव प्रायेणस्मृत्यकरणे वचनानि । मित्ता on या II 119. Vide note 1091 above
about partition of what is obtained through friendship. प्रायेण व्यवहारस्मृतीनां
लोकसिद्धार्थानुवादकत्वमिति सकलनिपण्डुभिरभिधानात् । व्य. प्र. p. 420

1718 तेनाचारमूलकत्वेऽप्यस्य सम्भवति तद्विरुद्धश्रुतिकल्पनमप्याच्यम् । व्यव-
हारशास्त्रस्य व्याकरणवत्प्रायेणाचारमूलकत्वाच्चेति तु परे । व्य. मयूख p. 146.

1719. आवृतश्चा स्त्रीष्य. प्रतीयेरन् । आप. शु. II 15, मन्त्ररहिता. क्रिया. आवृत
उच्यन्ते । हरदत्त, आ स्त्रीष्य सर्ववर्णेभ्य. सकाशात् अवगम्य प्रतीयेरन् कुर्वीरव विवोदार. ।
तत्र समन्वका ग्रहपूजादङ्कुरारोपणप्रतिसरवन्धाया आचारसिद्धा. । अमन्त्रका नामवलि-
यक्षबीजप्राणीपूजादयः । ताश्च यथाजनपदं यथावर्णं यथाकुलं यथास्त्रीपुंसं व्यवस्थिता एव ।
न तु सर्वे. सर्वत्र सद्गच्छिनाः । तात्पर्यदर्शन.

commentators mention some usages, viz. Devapāla refers to stating the purpose of the visit, announcing the name of the maiden, worship of family deity, striking with flowers and cressets. The com. Brāhmanabala states that in Kashmir at the time of marriage the mother-in-law or some other woman whose husband is alive ties an auspicious wreath on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom, that the mother-in-law places flowers on the feet, knees, shoulders and head of the bridegroom and on the same seven places of the bride's body flowers are placed but in the reverse order (i. e. first on the left limb and then on the right).

Haradatta on Gaut. XI. 20 (cited above in n 1662) mentions the following usages: in the Cola country while the sun is in the zodiacal sign of Aries maidens draw with powders of various colours on the ground an orb of the sun together with attendants and offer worship in the morning and evening; on the full moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa maidens putting on ornaments walk about in the village and offer to a temple idol whatever they get in their wanderings; when the sun is in the sign of the Crab, maidens worship the goddess Umā while the moon is in the constellation of the Pūrvā Phalgunis and offer to the gods *mudga* beans that have put forth sprouts and salt; when the sun is in the sign of Pisces, house-holders worship the Goddess of wealth while the moon is in the constellation of Uttarā Phalgunī. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13, 7 notes that in certain countries the special portions of the eldest son in paternal wealth are gold, dark-coloured cattle and black-coloured produce of the soil (i. e. black grain). Vide Br. and Tantravārtika quoted above (as to customs of certain countries).

Several such illustrations may be furnished from other writers, but considerations of space make it necessary to omit reference to them.

The Pār. gr. S. I. 8 states¹⁷²⁰ that the usages of villages may be followed, since a text says 'one should enter a village (i. e. follow the opinion of village elders) in case of marriage and funeral rites' and since the Veda says that 'the village is the authority in these two.'

1720. ग्रामवचनं च कुर्वन्निवाहमज्ञानयोर्ग्रामं प्रविशतादिति वचनात्तस्मात्तयोर्ग्रामः प्रमाणमिति श्रुतेः । पार. सू. ४, I. 8

Numerous caste customs have been recognized from ancient times to these days. Gaut. XI. 20, Vas I. 17, Manu I. 118, VIII. 41 and 46, Kaut. III. 7, Śukra IV. 5. 47 emphasize the validity of caste customs and call upon the king to enforce them. Yāj. I. 361 advises the king to punish those who swerve from the usages of their family, caste, guild, or group. Kātyāyana (40) enjoins¹⁷²¹ that the king should not disregard the fixed usages even of *pratiloma* castes and of the inhabitants of inaccessible places (mountain forts or habitations), even if they be opposed (to the rules of *smṛtis*). In the *Paribhāṣā-prakāśa* Mitramiśra holds¹⁷²² that the usages of good *śūdras* free from moral defects are binding on their sons and others even though they do not know the Veda.

Compared to Western Christian countries very great religious tolerance prevailed in ancient India. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 388 (n. 928 a), 723-724 for some remarks on this. Aśoka in his Pillar Edict VII (E I. vol. II. p. 272) says that he looked after sanghas, brāhmanas, Ājivakas and all other sects (pāsanda). The Bhagavadgītā (IX. 23-25) proclaims that the devotees that worship other gods do worship Kṛṣṇa himself though in an irregular way and that those who offer worship to the Manes or to the elements reach the goals they desire. The Mānasollāsa enjoins¹⁷²³ that one should give up condemnation of or hatred towards other gods, that one should show reverence on seeing an image or a temple and should not pass it over (in contempt). People of different countries no doubt twitted each other on the customs and usages peculiar to each; but it rarely went beyond the bandying of words. For example, even such a

1721 प्रतिलोमप्रसूतेषु तथा दुर्गनिवासिषु । विरुद्धं नियतं माहूस्त धर्मं न विचारयेत् ॥
कार्या q. by च्य. p. 89. The च्य. नि p. 16 reads प्रतिलोम्ये प्रसूतानां । निवासिनाम् । वर्णानां नियतं धर्मं न्यायोयेत न चालयेत् ॥. Acc to the Vyavahāra-Kalpāraṇ, बृह. read the verse as 'प्रतिलोमप्रसूतानां ... निवासिनाम् । शास्त्रवद् यत्नतो यथा सन्दिग्धौ साधनं तु सा' (quoted in 'Rājadharmā' p. 155 by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar).

1722. अथवा आचारश्चैव साधूनामिति, च्छेदः । एवं चावेदविद्वानपि क्षीणदोषपुरुषाणामाचारः प्रमाणम् । तथा च सच्छूद्राद्याचारस्तत्पुत्रादीन्मति भवति प्रमाणम् । परिभाषा-प्रकाश p. 9.

1723. अन्येष्वपि देवानां निन्दां द्वेषं च वर्जयेत् । देवं देवकुलं ब्रह्मा नमस्कुर्यान्न लङ्घयेत् ॥ मानसोद्भास, verse 105 p. 11.

philosophical work as the Jivanmuktiviveka remarks¹⁷²⁴ that brāhmanas of the south condemn even the learned brāhmanas of the north as fleasheaters and brāhmanas of the north condemn southern brāhmanas because they marry their maternal uncle's daughters and because they carry earthen vessels in fairs or on pilgrimages. It was on account of the general attitude of religious tolerance that the smrtis and digests prescribe that even the usages of heretical sects should be enforced by the king. Yaj. II. 192 prescribes¹⁷²⁵ that the king should guard against breach of the distinctive usages and conventions of guilds (of artisans), of traders, of heretical sects and bands (of soldiers). Nārada (samayasānapākarma 1-3) states¹⁷²⁶ that the king should uphold the conventions of heretical sects, of traders, guilds and other groups and that whatever traditional usages, activities, mode of attendance and means of maintenance were peculiar to them should be permitted to them by the king without introducing any change. Among the matters of which the king was to take cognizance *suo motu* and included under prakīrnaka by Nārada (verse 2) was the transgression of the usages of heretics, traders, guilds and ganas. Brhaspati provides¹⁷²⁷ that in disputes among husbandmen, artisans, wrestlers, money-lenders, guilds, dancers, heretics, thieves, a decision is to be given in accordance with their conventions. It is no doubt true that certain smrtis present a sterner treatment of heretics and

1724. तथाहि देशविशेषेण परस्परं निन्दाबाहुल्यमुपलभ्यते । दाक्षिणात्यैर्वैरीतैराह्रा वेदविदो विना मासभक्षिणो निन्द्यन्ते । अतैराह्रैश्च मातुलसुतोद्गाहिनी यानासु मृद्गाण्डबाहिनी दाक्षिणात्या निन्द्यन्ते । बह्वृचा आश्वलायनशाखा काण्वशाखायाः प्रशस्ता मन्यन्ते वाजसनेयिनस्तु वैपरीत्येन । जीवन्मुक्तिविवेक (वासनाक्षयप्रकरण) p. 54.

1725. अग्निनैगमपाखण्डिगणानामप्यय विधिः । भेदं चैषा द्वयो रक्षेत्पूर्ववर्ति च पालयेत् ॥ या. II 192, नैगमा. ये वेदस्यातप्रणीतत्वेन प्रामाण्यमिच्छन्ति पाण्डुतादयः । पाखण्डिनो ये वेदस्य प्रामाण्यमेव नेच्छन्ति नशा संगतादयः । एतेषा च अग्न्यादीना भेदं धर्मव्यवस्थानं द्वयो रक्षेत् । मिता, the दीपकालिका explains 'नैगमौ ऋषिगादिनानापीरसमूहः । पाखण्डः प्रव्रज्यावसितः', कात्यायन defines नैगम as 'नानापीरसमूहस्तु नैगमाख्य प्रकीर्तितः' and the षड्विंशन्मत defines पाखण्ड as 'प्रामाण्यमेव ये वेदे न वदन्ति कुष्ठद्वयः । तेषा औद्गार्हतादीना पाखण्डाख्या प्रकीर्त्यते । प्रव्रज्यावसिता ये तु पाखण्डाख्याः प्रकीर्तिताः । (q. by व्य. नि. p. 13), vide अपरार्क pp 171-72 for quotations from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर and विष्णुपुराण about पाखण्डिव.

1726. पाखण्डनैगमादीना स्थिति समय उच्यते । पाखण्डिनैगमअग्निपूजातगणाद्विपु । संरक्षेत्समय राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा । यो धर्मः कर्म यन्चैषासुपस्थानविधिश्च य । यच्चैषां वृथुपादानमनुमन्येत तत्तथा ॥ नारद (समयस्यानपाकर्म 1-3) q by वि र. p. 180.

1727. कीनाशाः कारका मल्लः कुसीदअग्निनर्तका । लिङ्गिनस्तस्कराश्चैव स्वेन धर्मेण निर्णयः ॥ बृह q. by व्यय ना. p. 281, व्य. नि p 11, व्य. य. p. 23 (which reads कारकाः शिल्पिकुसीदि°).

the like Gaut. IX. 17 provides¹⁷²⁸ that a snātaka should not talk with *mlecchas*, impure persons and sinners. Manu IX. 225 prescribes that the king should banish from his capital gamblers, dancers, heretics, vintners &c. Manu IV. 30 holds that one should not honour as guests even by words persons who are heretics, rogues &c. and recommends that one should not reside in a country which is overrun by groups of heretics. Yāj. II. 70 and Nār. (rñādāna 180) say that a heretic (pākhandi) or an atheist is not a proper witness. These passages may be explained in various ways. Probably the prescriptions of Gautama and Manu refer to an age when the schism caused by Buddhists and Jainas was not very old and feelings between the followers of the Veda and the heretics ran high. But most of these prescriptions are addressed to the followers of the Veda as individuals. They do not negative the requirements laid down by Nār., Br. and others that the king (though of a different persuasion) was to enforce among heretics their own usages. It can be said without any fear of contradiction that at least from the 4th century A. D. onwards the policy of the State in India was 'to protect all religions, but to interfere with none'.¹⁷²⁹

Customs of families will be briefly referred to later on in connection with modern law cases. Among family customs the customs about the year when *caula* was performed and the locks of hair kept on the head in the *caula* ceremony are frequently mentioned in the grhya sūtras and other works. Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 260 and 265.

The digests contain numerous examples about the customs and usages that were adhered to among the followers of the several Vedic branches (śākhās) and the grhya sūtras in performing several religious rites. A few examples may be set out here by way of illustration. According to Yāj. I. 242 the offering of *pinḍas* to the *pitrs* in a *śrāddha* takes place after the *brāhmanas* invited at the *śrāddha* are fed, while Manu III. 261 shows that they were offered also before the *brāhmanas* were fed. The Sm C (on *śrāddha* p. 471) says that one should follow the practice of one's own Vedic śākhā. Among the five daily sacrifices (*mahāyajñas*) one is *pitryajña*, which acc. to some (such as Kātyāyana) means *tarpana*, while according to Manu

1728 न म्लेच्छाश्चूपधार्मिकैः सह सम्भावेत । गौ IX 17.

1729 Vide *Vasudev v Vamnay* 5 Bom 80 at p 82 where Melvill J states that this is the policy of the British Courts in modern India.

III. 81 it means śrāddha and the Sm. C. (I. p. 208) provides that one should follow one's śākhā. The same remark applies to the number of handfuls of water offered in *tarpana* (Sm. C. I. p. 191 and Madanapārijāta p. 286). About the month of pregnancy in which the ceremony of *śimantonnayana* was to be performed each person was to follow his own *grhyasūtra* (Sm. C. I. p. 17, and Par. M. I. part 2 p. 22). The same holds good as to the day of *nāmakarana* (Sm. C. I. p. 21, Par. M. I. part 2 p. 25). It is not necessary to multiply examples. According to Gaut. XI. 21-22 and others already cited above, the king has to enforce the usages of guilds (*śreni*) and corporations. Several such usages have been cited above (pp. 487-488)

CHAPTER XXXIV

KALIVARJYA

(ACTIONS FORBIDDEN IN THE KALI AGE.)

It has been stated above (pp. 865-866) that one of the several ways in which the conflict between several smṛti texts was got over was to hold some of them as legislating for a bygone age (yugāntara). For example, when Hārīta allowed upanayana to women, both the Sm. C. (I. 24) and Par. M. (I. 2. p. 83) hold that the text refers to another *kalpa* (aeon). In H. of Dh. vol. II (on pp. 151, 162, 424, 451, 603, 612, 620, 750, 790, 796, 928, 929, 934, 953, 1005 n, 1201 n) reference has been made to several matters forbidden in the Kali age. It is remarkable in this connection to note that, though the Parāśarasmr̥ti (in I. 24) claims *par excellence* to lay down the dharmas for the Kali age, several important provisions contained in it, viz. the remarriage of a married woman¹⁷³⁰ (Parāśara IV. 30), the variation in the period of impurity due to births and deaths depending on the learning and character of a brāhmana (Parāśara III. 5-6), permission for a brāhmana to partake of the food of five classes among śūdras (XI. 21) are included among Kalivarjyas by the Ādityapurāṇa (as quoted by writers of the 12th and later centuries). It is necessary, therefore, to investigate into the origin and development of the Yuga theory and of the topic of Kalivarjya.

From the Mahābhārata (Śānti 59), Manu (I. 81), Nārada (I. 1-2), Brhaspati and the Purāṇas it is clear that they all believed in the existence of an ideally perfect community in the dim past followed by gradual degeneracy and decline in morals, health and length of life. But they also believed that a cycle of decline would be followed in the far distant future

¹⁷³⁰ Some of the printed editions of Parāśara (IV. 30) read नष्टे युते ... पतिरन्यो न विद्यते. But the Par. M. on it (vol. II part 1 p. 53) makes it clear that this reading was fabricated by orthodox people and that Mādhava at least read it as पतिरन्यो विधीयते, as he remarks 'अयं च पुनश्चादौ पुनश्चादौ विधीयते'.

by another of moral perfection. The only pity is that all works that are extant think that they are in the midst of a very sinful age and there is not a single work which thinks that the era of perfection may dawn in the very near future

The germ of the theory of progressive deterioration in morals is found even in the R̥gveda. In the famous dialogue of Yama and Yami the former exclaims in one place¹⁷³¹ (R̥g X. 10. 10) 'those later ages are yet to come when sisters would do what is not sister-like'. The word 'yuga' occurs at least 33 times in the R̥g., but the exact meaning is somewhat doubtful. In a few places it means 'yoke' (R̥g X 60 8, X 101. 3 and 4). In several places it appears to stand for a very brief period of time (e. g. R̥g. III. 26. 3) Generally it means 'a generation' (as in R̥g. I 92 11, I. 103. 4, I 124 2, II 2 2, III. 33 8, V. 52 4) In R̥g. I 158. 6, 'dirghatamā māmatelyo jujurvān daśame yuge' *yuga* probably means 'a period of four or five years', while in R̥g. VI 15. 8, VI. 8 5, X 72 2, X. 94 12, X 97. 1 it should mean¹⁷³² 'a long period of time'. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 2. 21 *yuga* appears to mean a period of several thousand years, two *yugas* being indicated as longer than 10000 years (*śatam tesyutam hāyanān die yuge tñi catvā. lcrnmah*). Here there is a clear reference to four *yugas* and to the fact that *yuga* meant a very long period of time. Whatever be the meaning of the word in each passage, the R̥gveda does not contain the names of all the four well-known *yugas* viz. *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali*. The word '*Kṛta*' when used in the R̥gveda appears to mean 'the best throw of dice or of the seeds of vibhītaka in gambling' (X. 34. 6, X. 43 5). In the Atharvaveda VII. 52. 2, 5, 6 *kṛta* has the same meaning *Kali* is the name of the author of R̥g. VIII. 66 and in verse 15

1731. आ घा ता गच्छादुत्तरा युगानि यत्र जमय कृणवन्नजानि। ऋ. X 10. 10. The Nirukta (IV. 20) understood this verse in the sense given above 'आगमिष्यन्ति तानि उत्तराणि युगानि यत्र जमय. करिष्यन्ति अजामिकर्मणि' R̥g I. 113. 13 and III 33. 8 make it clear that उत्तर must mean 'future'. ह्यश्वत्थुरोपा द्युवास देव्ययो अयेद् व्यावो मघोनी। अथो द्युच्छादुत्तरा अदुद्यूनजरासृता चरति स्वधामि. II ऋ I 113 13. Here the occurrence and sequence of दुरा, अद्य and उत्तराद् leave no doubt about the meaning of the last word.

1732. या औषधी. पूर्वा जाता देवेभ्यस्त्रियुगं दुरा। ऋ. X 97 1. Here what is meant by त्रियुग is doubtful. The Nirukta IX 28 explains देवेभ्यस्त्रीणि युगानि दुरा, while सायण says कृताद्युगत्रयम्. In the शतपथ VII 2. 4 26 त्रियुगं means 'three seasons of spring, rains and autumn' (S. B. E. vol. 41 pp. 339-340).

of that hymn we read 'kalayo mā bibhītana' (O descendants of Kali do not be afraid). In Rg. X. 39. 8 the Āsṛins are said to have rejuvenated Kali who had become old. Vide also Rg. I. 112. 15 (where Kali is said to have got a wife from Āsṛins). But Kali as a throw of dice does not occur in the Rgveda. In the Atharvaveda VII 114 1 Kali¹⁷³³ means a throw of dice. The words *krta*, *tretā*, *dvāpara* and *āskanda* occur in the Tai S. IV. 3. 3, Vāj S. 30. 18¹⁷³⁴ and in the Śat. Br. XIII. 6. 2. 9-10 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 416). In later literature Kali is also called Tisya (as in Bhismaparva 10. 3). In the Tai Br. III. 4. 16 the word Kali is used¹⁷³⁵ in place of Āskanda. In all the above places Krta and the other three words denote throws in gambling, Krta being the most lucky and Kali being the most unlucky. In another passage of the Tai¹⁷³⁶ Br. (I. 5. 11) we read 'the four stomas (Trivrt, Pañcadaśa, Saptadaśa and Ekavimśa) are Krta and the five are Kali; therefore the *catustoma* (should be performed in the Jyotistoma)'. This shows that Krta meant a throw of four or any multiple of four and Kali a throw which when divided by four left one as remainder. The Aitareya Br. employs the words Krta¹⁷³⁷ and the other three in a metaphorical sense as representing progressively more desirable states of human activity, 'one lying down becomes Kali, when about to leave the bed he becomes Dvāpara, when rising he becomes Tretā, and when he moves about he

1733. इदमुग्राय बभ्रवे नमो यो अक्षेष्टु तन्वशी । पृतेन कलिं शिक्षामि स नो सुवती-
दृष्टो ॥ अथर्व VII 114 1.

1734. अक्षराजाय कितवं कृतायादिनवदर्शं त्रेतायै कल्पिनं द्वापरायाधिकल्पिनमास्क-
न्दाय सभास्थाणम् । वाज .सं 30. 18

1735. कृताय सभाविर्न त्रेताया आदिनवदर्शं द्वापराय बधि-सद्वं कलये सभास्थाणम् ।
तै ब्रा III 4. 16 For आदिनव vide अथर्व VII 114. 4 'आदिनवं मतिदीप्ते
प्रेतास्मै अभिष्कर'. सायण explains 'आदिनवदर्शं मर्यादायां ज्वेनस्य द्वार परीक्षकम्'.
The meanings of these technical expressions in gambling are extremely
uncertain

1736. ये वै चत्वार स्तोमाः कृतं तत् । अथ पञ्च कलिं स. । तस्माच्चतुष्टोम ।
तै. ब्रा I 5 11.

1737. कलि. शयानो भवति सजिह्वानस्तु द्वापर । उत्तिष्ठेता भवति कृतं सग्नयते
चरत् । तै ब्रा 33 3 The शाङ्खायनश्रौत (15 19) reads कलिं शयानं पुरुष-
उत्तिष्ठेता भवति. मनु IX. 301-302 seem to be reminiscent of this verse
of the ऐ. ब्रा.

becomes *Kṛta*'. The Śat. Br. V. 4. 4. 6 speaks of *Kali*¹⁷³⁸ as '*abhibhū*' (the vanquisher) and suggests that *Kali* is a throw of five that vanquishes all others. In the Chān. Up. IV. 1. 4 it is said 'as (in a game¹⁷³⁹ of dice) all the lower throws are included in the *Kṛta* throw which becomes victorious, so to him (to *Raikva*) comes (the merit of) all the good acts that people do'. Here Śāṅkara explains that *Kṛta* is a throw of dice having four marks, while other throws that have three, two or one mark are called *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* respectively. The *Mundaka Up.* I. 2. 1 refers to *Tretā*¹⁷⁴⁰. 'This is the truth; the sacrificial rites which the sages saw in the *mantras* (i.e. as prescribed in the hymns of the *R̥gveda* and other *vedas*) have been performed in many ways in the *Tretā*'. This last word is explained by Śāṅkarācārya in two ways, first as referring to the threefold priestly duties (of *hotṛ*, *adhvaryu* and *udgātṛ*) which are based on the three *Vedas* and alternatively as referring to the *Tretā* age. From this resume it appears that even up to the times of the latest period of Vedic literature (i.e. *Upanisads*) the words *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* were used in the sense of throws of dice in gambling and that it is very doubtful whether they were used in the sense of different ages of the world. Even in the *Mahābhārata* *Kṛta*¹⁷⁴¹ and *Dvāpara* are used also in the sense of throws of dice (vide *Virāta* 50. 24). In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. 28) there is a reference to the beginning of the *Dvāpara* age.

Even in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*¹⁷⁴² (of *R̥g.*) the word *yuga* is used in the sense of a period of five years (*pañcasamvatsaramayam*

1738. अथास्मै पञ्चाक्षान्पाणावावपति । अभिभूरस्येतास्ते पञ्च दिशः कल्पन्तामित्येष वा अयानभिभूर्यत् कालिरेव हि सर्वानयानभिभवति तस्मादाहाभिभूरसीति । शत ब्रा V. 4. 4. 6. It is impossible to say definitely how the game was played. Vide S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 106 for a note on the various explanations

1739. यथा कृताय विजितायाधरेयाः संयन्त्येवमेन सर्वं तदभिसमेति यत्किं च प्रजाः साष्टु कुर्वन्ति । छान्दोग्य IV. I. 4 and 6 शङ्कर explains यथा लोके कृताय, कुतो नामागो द्युतसमये प्रसिद्धश्चतुरङ्गः स यदा जयति द्युते प्रवृत्तानां तस्मै विजिताय तदर्थमितरे त्रिद्वेकाङ्का अधरेयास्तेताहापरकालिनामानः सयन्ति सङ्ख्यन्तेऽन्तर्भवन्ति । छान्दोग्य IV. 3. 8 suggests that each die was marked in all with ten dots (4, 3, 2, 1) 'तस्मा उ ह द्वादशे वा एते पञ्चान्ये पञ्चान्ये दश सन्तस्तत्कृतम्'.

1740. तदेतत्सत्यं मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो शान्यपश्यन्तानि त्रेताया बहुधा सन्ततानि । शुण्डकोप I. 2. 1.

1741. नाक्षत्रं क्षिपति शाण्डीवं न कृतं द्वापरं न च । विराट् 50. 24 (cr. ed. 45. 23).

1742. सायण्युक्तमप्यस्य पौषकुण्डसमापिनः । युगस्य पञ्चवर्षस्य कालज्ञानं मन्त्रसते । verse 5 of वेदाङ्गज्योतिष

yugādhyakṣam prajāpatim). The ancient Pitāmahasiddhānta which is not now extant, stated, according to the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira (XII. 1), that *yuga* means five years of the Sun and the Moon (ravīśāśnoḥ pañca yugam varṣāni Pitāmahopadistāni). This sense of the word is still found in the Sabhāparva 11. 38.

The Nirukta (I. 20) distinguishes between ancient sages and those of later days in the words,¹⁷⁴³ 'the (ancient) sages had an intuitive perception of *dharma* and they imparted the Vedic mantras by instruction to later (sages) who had no intuitive perception of *dharma*'. But it does not mention or refer to any theory of four yugas. Both Gaut. I. 3-4 and Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 7-9 give expression to the view that among sages of old transgressions of *dharma* and violent actions are observed, but that on account of their distinguished spiritual greatness they incurred no sin, while a person of later days, being weak in spiritual merit, should not imitate them, otherwise he would come to grief. Here a distinction is drawn between very ancient sages and later sages as regards the endowment of spiritual merit, but nothing is said about the names or the theory of the four yugas. Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 4 further says¹⁷⁴⁴ that sages are not born among men of later days (*auvresu*) on account of the transgressions of religious ordinances (prevalent in later ages). Therefore, it would not be quite wrong to assume that the theory had not been fully developed even in the times of the early dharmasūtras of Gaut. and Āp. even though both held that they were living in an age of decline and that sages coming after the authors of the *mantras* were inferior.

Here epigraphic evidence affords some help in fixing the lower limit of the period when the theory of yugas must have been developed.

In the Rock Edicts of Aśoka No. 4 and No 5 we have at Kalsi and two other places the words 'āva kapam' (*yāvat kalpam*) and at Girnar the words 'āva samvāta kapa' which mean 'up to the end of the kalpa' or 'up to the end of the kalpa when the clouds or fires of destruction called samvāta

1743. साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवन्तेऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मस्य उपदेशेन मन्त्रान्समाबुः । निरुक्त I. 20. Almost the same words occur in वनपर्व 183. 67

1744. तस्मादृषयोऽपरेषु न जायन्ते नियमातिक्रमात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 4

will arise¹⁷⁴⁵. Vide C. I. I. vol I. pp. 8, 10, 30-33. This indicates that the idea of a *kalpa* (a vast period of time at the end of which the universe would be dissolved) which is part of the theory of the yugas had been developed in the 3rd century B. C. The Junāgadh Inscription of Rudradāman¹⁷⁴⁶ (150 A. D.) refers to 'wind the velocity of which was as terrible as that at the end of the yuga'. In certain very early inscriptions of Pallava¹⁷⁴⁷ kings (of about the 3rd or 4th century A. D.) they are described as 'always ready to extricate dharma that had sunk deep owing to the evil effects of the Kali age'. In one of the Gupta Inscriptions dated in the 96th year of the Gupta era (415-16 A. D.) Dhruvasarman is praised as following the path of righteous conduct which prevailed in Krtayuga,¹⁷⁴⁸ while the Chammak copperplate of the Vakātaka emperor Pravarsena II also speaks of Krtayuga (Gupta Inscriptions No. 55 p. 237 at p. 240) The Talgunda inscription of the early Kadamba king Kakusthavarman refers to Kaliyuga (E. I. vol. VIII p. 34) It is not necessary to adduce passages from inscriptions of a later date. From the above it may be said that the theory of yugas and kalpas had begun to take shape at least in the 4th or 3rd century B. C. and that in the first centuries of the Christian era it had been fully developed. It must have gone through several stages in the course of its development. For example, Brahmagupta (Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta XI. 10) states that the theory of yugas, Manus and kalpas set out by Āryabhata was not like that of the smṛtis.

The same conclusion is arrived at from a consideration of the classical Sanskrit literature. The theory of *yugas* and *manvantaras* as detailed in the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva chapters 149, 188, Śānti chapters 69, 231-232), Manu chap. I, Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra XX. 1-21, the Purāṇas (such as Viṣṇu I. 3, VI. 3, Mārkaṇḍeya 46, Brahma 229-230, Matsya 142-144) and astronomical writers from Brahmagupta is briefly as follows: Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali comprise together with the period

1745. Compare : ततः संवर्तको वह्निर्वायुना सह भारत । लोकमाविशते पूर्वमादित्यै-
रुपशोषितम् । वनपर्व 188. 69.

1746. युगनिघनसहस्रपरमधोरवेनेन वायुना in E. I. vol. VIII p. 36 at p. 43.

1747. Vide कलियुगद्वीपावसथधर्मोद्धरणनित्यसनद्धस्य—which occurs as an epithet of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman in I A vol V. p. 50 at p. 51 and of Simhavarman in the Pīkīra grant in E. I. vol. VIII p. 159 at p. 162.

1748. कर्तयुगाचारसद्धर्मवर्त्मद्रुपायिता ध्रुवशर्मणा in Gupta Inscription No. 10 pp. 44-45.

called *sandhyā* (that precedes each yuga) and the period called *sandhyāṃśa* (that follows each yuga) 12000 years, i. e. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali extend respectively over 4000, 3000, 2000, 1000 years and *sandhyā* and *sandhyāṃśa* of these four extend over 400, 300, 200 and 100 years each (i. e. the *sandhyā* of Kṛta is 400 years and the *sandhyāṃśa* of Kṛta is 400 years and so on). But these are divine years. Each divine year is equal to 360 human years. Therefore we have to multiply 12000 by 360 to arrive at the number of human years in the four yugas (i. e. the figure is 4320000). The Kṛtayuga with its *sandhyā* and *sandhyāṃśa* comes to 1728000 human years, Tretā to 1296000, Dvāpara to 864000 and Kali to 432000. These four yugas are together called sometimes caturyuga (Manu I 71) or simply yuga also (Vanaparva 188. 27, Śānti 232. 29); 1000 of these four yugas constitute a day of Brahmā, which is called Kalpa. The night of Brahmā is of the same duration. At the end of a kalpa the universe is resolved into Brahmā (and this is called *pralaya*) and at the end of Brahmā's night the world is created again. In one day of Brahmā there are 14 Manus and therefore each Manvantara is equal to about 71 caturyugas (1000 divided by 14). The life of Brahmā is 100, out of which half is gone and therefore the present is said to be the 2nd or latter half (*dvitīya parārdha*) of the life of Brahmā and at present the kalpa that is running is called Vārāha. From the above it will be seen that, according to the Purāṇas, the universe has been created and dissolved many times and there have been numerous Manvantaras also (vide Manu I. 80). The four yugas in various ways differ in their characteristics. Kṛta is so called because it is an age in which everything is fulfilled by every one and nothing is left to be done¹⁷⁴⁹. The symbolic colours of the four yugas are respectively white, yellow, red and dark (Vanaparva 189. 32). In Kṛta, Dharma prevails in all its perfection and it stands with all its four feet (dharma being figuratively spoken of as *vṛṣa*,¹⁷⁵⁰ a bull, in Manu VIII. 16 and Vanaparva 190. 9) and it declines or deteriorates by a quarter in each of the following yugas (Manu I. 81-82 = Śānti 232. 23-24), so that in Kali only one quarter (or one foot) of dharma remains and adharma occupies three quarters. In Kṛta people are entirely free from diseases, secure all that

1749 कृतमेव न कर्तव्यं तस्मिन् काले युगोत्तमे । वनपर्व 149 11.

1750. कृते चतुष्पात्सकलो निष्प्राजोपाधिवर्जित । इष प्रतिष्ठितो धर्मो मनुष्ये भरत-
पञ्च ॥ वनपर्व 190. 9.

they desire and the length of human life is four hundred years, all of which decline by one quarter successively in the following three yugas (Manu I. 83=Śānti 232 25). The dharmas in each of the four yugas are different; *tapas* was the highest in *Kṛta*, philosophic knowledge in *Tretā*, sacrifice in *Dvāpara* and charity alone in *Kali* (Manu I. 85-86=Parāśara I. 22-23=Śānti 232. 27-28). Manu I. 85, Śānti 232 27 and 261. 8, Parāśara I. 22 all have the same verse stating that the dharmas prescribed for men in each yuga differ.

In *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* the dharmas (that should be observed) are respectively declared by Manu, Gautama, Śāṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara (Parāśara I. 24). In *Kṛta* there was a single varṇa but at the end of *Kali* almost all will be *sūdras* (Brahma 229. 52, Matsya 144. 78). Parāśara (I. 25-28) points out other characteristics of the four yugas, which need not be detailed here. Manu IX. 301 and 202, however, indicate that the yugas are not watertight parts of Time. It is the king who can by his conduct introduce the characteristics of one yuga into another. Medhātithi on Manu IX. 301 explains that the king should not be misled into thinking that *Kali* is a historical part of Time and that he (the king) cannot therefore be *Kali* or *Kṛta*, but that it is the king's way of conducting himself that will produce the conditions of the several yugas among his people.

In *Vanaparva* 149. 11-38, *Vāyu* 32 and 57-58, *Līṅga* 39, *Matsya* 142-144, *Garuda* 223, *Nārada-purāṇa* (*pūrvārḍha* 41) and in several other *purāṇas* there are descriptions of the nature of the four yugas, which are passed over here. But it is important to see how the Great Epic and the *Purāṇas* describe the nature of *Kaliyuga*. *Vanaparva* chap. 188 and 190, the *Yugapurāṇa* chapter of the *Gargasaṃhitā* (published in the J. B. O. R. S. vol. 14 pp. 400 ff. by K. P. Jayaswal), *Harivaṃśa* (*Bhaviṣya* chap. 3.5 ff.), the *Brahmapurāṇa* 229-230, *Vāyu* 58 and 99. 391-428, *Matsya* 144. 32-47, *Kūrma* I. 30, *Viṣṇu* VI. 1-2, *Bhāgavata* XII. 2, *Brahmāṇḍa* II. 31, *Nāradya* (*Pūrvārḍha* 41, verses 21-88), *Līṅga* 40, *Nṛsimha* 54. 11-49 and several others present, often in identical verses, a very pessimistic, dismal and harrowing account of what will happen in the *Kali* age. One extract¹⁷⁵¹ taken from the *Vanaparva* (188) is added at the end by way of sample, of which a summary is given below. All men will generally be liars; in

1751. Vide Appendix.

the Kali age substitutes will be invented for *yajñas*, gifts and *vratas*; *brāhmanas* will do actions prescribed as peculiar to *sūdras* and *sūdras* will be acquiring wealth (which is the peculiar privilege of *vaiśyas*) or they will maintain themselves by following the profession of arms; *brāhmanas* giving up the study of the Veda and the performance of sacrifices and devoid of the staff and deer skin will eat anything (i. e. will not observe rules about *bhaksyābhaksya*); *brāhmanas* will not engage in *japa* (muttering of Vedic mantras), while *sūdras* will be intent on *japa*; when the world will be turned topsy-turvy, it will be the first indication of coming destruction; many *mleccha* kings will rule over the earth, who will be sinful, will issue false edicts and will be engaged in fruitless wrangling; there will be *Āndhras*, *Śakas*, *Pulindas*, *Yavanas*, *Kāmbojas*, *Bāhlikas* (from Balkh) and valiant *Ābhiras* (as rulers); no *brāhmana* will maintain himself by pursuing his own dharma; *ksatriyas* and *vaiśyas* will indulge in prohibited or bad activities; people will be short-lived, have little strength, their valour and prowess will be insignificant, their spirits will be low and their bodies diminutive and they will speak words that have very little truth; countries will be mostly untenanted and the spaces will be occupied by beasts and snakes; people will be engaged in dry discussions about *brahma* (they will have no realisation or experience of *brahma*), *sūdras* will employ the word 'bhoh' (in addressing others¹⁷⁵² of higher classes) and *brāhmanas* will employ the word *ārya* (in addressing people other than *brāhmanas*); swarms of insects will abound; all perfumes will not smell as fragrant as before and fluids will lose their sweet taste; women will have numerous progeny, will be of short stature, devoid of character and good conduct and engage in sexual intercourse against the order of nature; countries will suffer pangs of hunger¹⁷⁵³, squares where four

1752. This would be against the rules of *dharmaśāstras* and *smṛitis* about *abhiwādana*. Vide H. of Dh vol II. pp 336-339.

1753. Nilakantha notes that the verse अहश्चल जनपदा. &c was variously explained before him, अह meant either 'food' or 'śulka': शूल means विक्रय, शिव means Veda, चतुर्पथ means ब्राह्मण or the square where four roads meet, केश means भग. नील himself explains differently. According to him the explanation is. अहमर्चं तदेव शूलं दुःखं येन ते शुद्ध्याभिरता, शिवा सर्व-पुत्रपदार्थनीयतया कल्याणवत्यः शूलाः पण्यस्त्रियो येन ते शिवशूल विद्वाराङ्गनापूर्णा, स्त्रियो पाणिग्रहणवत्योपि केशोपलक्षितं सौभाग्यं लज्जामूलं शीलं शूलमिव दुःखं त्वया च पासां तां केशशूलाः भर्तुर्द्विपण्यस्त्यक्तलज्जा. The शुद्धकमलाकर p 244 quotes the verse अहश्चल and then remarks 'अर्पणमाह परशुरामः । अहमर्चं शिवो वेद शूलं विक्रय एव च । केशश्च भगवित्याहुर्वेदत्वार्थदक्षिण ॥ '

roads meet will be full of *nautch* girls, and women will give up their chastity; cows will yield little milk; trees will produce few flowers and fruits and will abound in crows, brāhmanas will receive gifts from kings that are guilty of brāhmana murder and that falsely accuse others of grave sins, people in the various spaces will be dunned for alms by brāhmanas steeped in greed and ignorance, who falsely make a pretence of their being religious; householders afraid of the burden of taxation, guilty of thieving and subsisting on trade, will remain concealed under the false garb of ascetics; brāhmanas pretending to be brahmacārins will, through greed of wealth, fraudulently allow their nails and hair to grow; persons in the various stages of life, that observe false rules of conduct but are drunkards and indulge in incest, will desire mundane objects and the increase of flesh and blood, the āśramas (forest dwellings) will be full of various heretical opinions and will extol the merits of food provided by others (out of charity), Indra will not send down rain at the proper season and all seeds will not put forth proper growth; people will take delight in killing and will be impure and abundant will be the fruit of adharma; whoever will then be acting according to his dharma may be regarded as having a short time to live, since there will be no dharma whatever (in Kaliyuga); people will sell goods mostly with false weights and measures and traders will be full of many tricks; the righteous will wither away, the sinful will prosper; dharma will lose its strength and adharma will be powerful; those who follow dharma will have short lives and will be poor, while those who give up dharma will have long lives and will be prosperous, in the sporting grounds of cities people will be sinful (or adulterous) and people will enter into transactions by sinful means; people, that have saved a little, will be puffed up with the pride of the rich; people with whom wealth was deposited privately through trust will mostly be ready to deny the deposit, shamelessly saying 'it was never so deposited;' the sporting grounds of towns and temples belonging to towns will be infested by beasts and birds that prey upon human beings; girls of seven or eight years will become pregnant and males of ten or twelve years old will have sons born to them; people will be bald-headed in the 16th year and there will be quick decline in the length of the lives of men; young men whose lives will be short will act like old people and old people will have the habits of the young; women acting contrary to their duty

will deceive worthy husbands, will be of bad character and will have intercourse with slaves and even beasts; wives of heroes will resort to other men and will be guilty of adultery even while their husbands are alive.¹⁷⁵⁴

The dates of the composition of the Purāṇas not being beyond controversy, it would be difficult to point to a particular period as the time when the full-fledged theory of the yugas was developed. But this much can be stated with certainty that by the 4th century A. D. at the latest the theory had been completely developed. Āryabhata¹⁷⁵⁵ (in *Kālakriyāpāda* 10) states that when three *pādas* of the yuga (i. e. *Kṛta*, *Tretā* and *Dvāpara*) and 3600 years more had elapsed, he was 23 years old i. e. (accepting the calculations current at present) in 499 A. D. Āryabhata was 23 years old and so was born in 476 A. D. In his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* Varāhamihira¹⁷⁵⁶ (505 to 587 A. D.) summarises the data of several astronomical

1754. It would be interesting to compare the descriptions of Kali given in the *Mahābhārata* and the several Purāṇas. Some verses are common to several of them and the ideas are almost the same throughout. The principal counts in the indictment are that there will be *śūdra* and *Mleccha* lings, that heretical sects will predominate, that the ordered duties and privileges of the several castes will be turned topsyturvy and there will be great physical and moral decline. After *Vanaparva* chap. 188 there is an additional description in chap. 190 of what will happen in the Kali age, which appears, from the express words of *Vanaparva* 191. 16, to have been taken from the *Vāyupurāṇa*. So this chapter is a later interpolation. The verse अहङ्गला &c. occurs again in *Vanaparva* 190. 52 and also in *Harivamśa* (*Bhaviṣyaparva* 3. 12), *Brahmapurāṇa* 230. 11, *Matsya* 47. 258. Two characteristic verses are शुक्रदन्ता जिताक्षश्च मुण्डः काषायवाससः । शूद्रा धर्मं वदित्वा हि शत्रुबुद्धोपजीविनः ॥ (*ब्रह्मपुराण* 230. 13, *वायु* 58. 59, *ब्रह्माण्ड* II 31. 59-60, *Harivamśa*, *Bhaviṣyaparva* 3. 15) and देवस्थानेषु चैतेषु नागानामलयेषु च । एहकचिह्ना शृण्वी न देवश्रुतिता ॥ वनपर्व 190. 67. The first says that *śūdras* with white teeth and (professing to have) curbed their senses, with the head shaved and wearing ochre-coloured robes and maintaining themselves on false doctrines will propound dharma. This is a direct attack on Buddhist monks taken from the class of *śūdras*. The 2nd says that the earth will be covered with edifices enshrining bones (of Buddha) and not with temples of gods. The idea about girls of 5, 6 and 7 being mothers occurs in *Viṣṇupurāṇa* VI 1. 41-42, *Brahma* 229. 41-42, *Nāradya Pūrārdha* 41. 64 and elsewhere.

1755. षट्चन्दानां वदित्वा वृत्तीनां त्रयश्च युगपादाः । व्याधिकां विंशतिरब्दास्तदेह मन जन्मनोतिता ॥ *कालक्रियापाद* 10. This does not necessarily mean that he composed this work when he was only 23.

1756. Vide J. A. S. B. for 1912 pp. 275-278 for the date of Varāhamihira.

Siddhāntas of which Romaka is one, about which Brahmagupta remarks that the Romaka siddhānta is outside the pale of *smṛtis* because¹⁷⁵⁷ it omits all mention of yugas, manvantaras and kalpas that have been regarded by the *smṛtis* as useful in measuring time. Kālidāsa¹⁷⁵⁸ in *Raghuvamśa* 15. 96 speaks of dharma as having only three feet (in *Tretā*) when Rāma made up his mind to depart from this world. No scholar will assign to Kālidāsa a date later than the middle of the 5th century A. D. Therefore the theory of yugas must be deemed to have been perfected long before 400 A. D. K. P. Jayaswal holds that the *Yugapurāṇa* chapter of the *Garga-saṃhitā* was composed about 50 B. C. (J. B. O. R. S. vol. 14 p. 399) and he is probably right.

At present it is the practice to hold Kali 5046 (expired) as equal to 1945 A. D. or *śaka* 1867 or *saṃvat* 2001-2. But it appears that there were several views about the date of the beginning of the Kaliyuga. The exact starting point on the above computation was Friday, 18th February 3102 B. C. One view was that Kaliyuga was about to begin when the great Mahābhārata war was fought out.¹⁷⁵⁹ This view is expressed in the Aihole Inscription which appears to equate the beginning of Kali with the Bhārata war and states that 3735 years (expired) from the Bhārata war are equal to 556 years of the *śaka* era.¹⁷⁶⁰ Āryabhata knew this computation, since he says that he was 23 years old when three parts of the (great) yuga and 3600 had elapsed (Kāla-kriyāpāda, verse 10). Another view set forth in the Purāṇas is that Kaliyuga began when Kṛṣṇa finished his *avatāra* and went to heaven.¹⁷⁶¹ This would put the beginning

1757 युगमन्वन्तरकल्पा कालपरिच्छेदका स्मृतावृत्ताः । यस्मात् रोमके ते स्मृतिनाद्धो रोमकस्तस्मात् ॥ ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त I 13 q by S.B. Dikshit (2nd ed of 1931) in भारतीयपद्योतिःशास्त्र p. 155. ब्रह्मस्फुट flourished from 598 A. D. to at least 665 A. D.

1758. तस्मिन्नात्मनचतुर्भागे माह्नाकमधितस्थुषि । राघव शिथिल तस्थौ भुवि धर्मशिखादिब ॥ रघुवंश 15. 96.

1759 अन्तरे चैव संयासे कलिद्वारपर्योरधूत । समन्तपञ्चके युद्धं कुरुपाण्डवसेनयो. ॥ आदि. 2. 13. प्राप्त कलियुगं विद्धि । शल्य 60. 25. एतत्कलियुग नामाचिराद्यत्नवर्तते वनपर्व 149. 38.

1760. त्रिशत्यु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारताद्वाहवादितः । सप्तान्दशतयुकेषु गतेष्वन्देशु पञ्च ॥ पञ्चाशत्यु काले षट्स पञ्चशताद्य च । समाद्य समतीताद्य शकानामपि धूमनाम् ॥ E. I. vol. VI p. 1 at p. 7.

1761. यस्मिन्कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदा दिने । प्रतिपन्नाः कलियुगस्तस्य संज्ञां निबोधत ॥ बायु 99. 428-429, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74. 241 The भागवत XII. 2. 33 reads प्रतिपन्न कलियुगमिति माहुः पुराविद्. मत्स्य 273. 49-50, विष्णु IV. 24. 40 respectively read प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगं ज्ञायं तस्य मे कृणु and प्रतिपन्न...तस्य संज्ञां निबोध मे ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 212. 8 has the same idea in different words.

of Kaliyuga several years after the date arrived at on the first view.¹⁷⁶² Vide Mausalaparva chap. 1. 13 and 2. 20 for reference to the lapse of 36 years before Kṛṣṇa's passing away. The Yūgapurāṇa appears to make Kaliyuga start on the day Draupadī died (vide J. B. O. R. S. vol. 14 p. 400). Another view is that of Varāhamihira who says that the constellation of the Great Bear was in Maghā when Yudhisthira was on the throne and that that time is arrived at by adding 2526 years to the śaka year.¹⁷⁶³ This would place Yudhisthira in 653 of the Kali age (as calculated at present) and not at the end of Dvāpara and the beginning of Kali. The Rājataranginī I. 56 quotes the Brhat-saṁhitā and holds that Kurus and Pāṇḍavas flourished in 653 of the Kali yuga (I. 51). Great efforts have

1762. Vide J. R. A. S. for 1911 pp. 479ff and 675ff about the Kaliyuga and its era; 'Five thousand years ago, the Mahābhārata war' a paper by Dr. D. S. Trivedi in Festschrift Kane pp. 515-525 in which after setting out many divergent views and criticizing them, it is held that the Mahābhārata war was fought out in 3137 B. C., 'Purāṇic date of Mahābhārata', a paper by Mr. M. Raja Rao in the Bulletin of the Ganganath Jha Research Society, vol. II pp. 125-143, which mentions numerous dates suggested by various scholars. I am not at all convinced of the correctness of Dr. Trivedi's conclusions, in spite of the great learning that he brings to bear on the problem. Vide also his paper in 'Bhāratīya Vidyā', vol. VI (1945) pp. 117-120.

1763. आसन्नं भवामु नूनय. शासति र्ष्यो र्षिष्ठिरे वृषतौ। पृथ्वीकपञ्चद्वियुत शक-
कालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥ बृहत्संहिता 13.3 This is not a verse of Garga as some scholars assert. In 13.2 Varāhamihira promises that he will dilate on the movements of the seven sages (*ṁuricāra*) according to the *opinion* of Vṛddhagarga. It appears that 13.3 is his *own* verse. Garga held the opinion that the Great Bear remained in one constellation for one hundred years. That is all Utpala quotes the verse of Garga, but it is in the Anustubh metre. It was believed by the authors of the Purāṇas and even by such astronomers as Varāhamihira that the constellation of the Great Bear remained in each *nakṣatra* for a hundred years. Vide Br. Sam. 13.4, Bhāgavata XII.2.27-28, Matsya 273.40-44, Vāyu 93.421-422, Viṣṇu IV.24.33. Mr. Velandī Gopal Aiyer in 'Chronology of Ancient India' (p. 75) holds that 'śad-dvika-pañca dvi' means 26 times 25 i. e. 650 years and that we should read 'śakyakāla' or 'śākyakāla' (p. 73) instead of 'śakakāla' in Br. Sam. 13.3 in order to correct the error of one *mātrā* in the 4th quarter of the verse. In this last he is in error; he forgets that, according to works on chandas-śāstra, a short syllable at the end of a *pāda* is deemed to be prosodically long (and therefore the last syllable in Br. Sam. 13.3 is long). Besides, he is not able to cite a single example to show why the usual rule of अङ्गानां वानवो गतिः should not be followed here also or that Varāhamihira elsewhere employs a similar method in a compound word.

been made by several scholars to meet this discrepancy by explaining the word 'sad-dvika-pañca-dvityutah' (in the *Brhat-samhitā*) in various fanciful ways, which are far from satisfactory. There is no reason why *dvika* should not straightforwardly be taken in the sense of 'two',¹⁷⁶⁴ as the *Līlāvati* and *Br. Sam.* 71. 5 itself do.

It is difficult to believe that the *Śakakāla* referred to in that verse is different from the *Śakendrakāla* or *Śakbhūpakāla*, which the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (I 8) and the *Brhat-samhitā* (8. 20-21) make use of in several places. At least *Varāhamihira* gives no such indication. Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his '*Mahābhārata, a criticism*' pp. 80-81 holds that the *Śakakāla* referred to in the verse 'āsan maghāsu &c.' is the era of Buddha's Nirvāṇa. There is hardly any warrant for this assumption. His interpretation of 'sad-dvika-pañca-dvityutah' as meaning 2566 (and not 2526) is not bad and does not seriously affect the argument about the date of Yudhisthira. On that interpretation Yudhisthira would be placed in 2488 B. C. (instead of in 2448 B. C.). But there is no reason why the usual values of *sat* (six), *dvika* (two) and other words should not be understood to be meant here.

The data contained in the *Nidhanpur* plates of *Bhāskara-varman* (*E. I.* vol. XII p. 65), when properly scrutinized, appear to favour the position of *Varāhamihira*. Those plates in setting out the genealogy of *Bhāskara-varman* start with *Naraka*, whose son *Bhagadatta* fought on the side of the *Kauravas* in the *Mahābhārata* war and was killed by *Arjuna* (*vide Drona-parva* chap 29). *Bhagadatta*'s son is said to have been *Vajradatta*. After *Vajradatta* his descendants ruled over *Kāmarūpa* for 3000 years and then *Pusyavarman*, a scion of the *Bhagadatta* family, became king of *Kāmarūpa*. King *Bhāskara-varman* was 12th from *Pusyavarman* and was a contemporary of Emperor *Harsa* (first half of the 7th century A. D.). Taking an average of 20 years for the reign of each ruler, *Pusyavarman* should be taken as having flourished about the beginning of the 5th century A. D. Adding 3000 years which are alleged by the plates to have intervened between *Pusyavarman* and *Vajradatta*, we arrive at about 2500 B. C. as the time of *Vajradatta* and therefore approximately of the *Mahābhārata* war. This

1764. The *लीलावती* (अङ्गुलीशमकरण verse 262, *Ānand* ed) reads द्विकाद-कांश्च त्रिजवाटकेषां, where the *cpm.* says द्वावेव द्विक्..

corresponds rather very closely with the statement of Varāhamihira who puts Yudhiṣṭhira's reign at 653 Kaliyuga (i. e. 2448 B. C.). On the other hand, if we assume that the Mahābhārata war was fought in or that Kaliyuga started in 3101 B. C, then Pusyavarman who flourished 3000 years after the Mahābhārata war would have to be placed about 101 B. C. and there will be an interval of about 700 or 750 years between Pusyavarman and Bhāskaravarman. A period of 700 or 750 years for 12 rulers would work at about 60 years for each ruler, which is a very improbable average. Therefore the Nidhanpur plates do not support the hypothesis that the Mahābhārata war was fought about 3101 B. C, but rather support the statement of Varāhamihira that it was fought about 2500 B. C.

Another epoch for the Mahābhārata war and the beginning of Kaliyuga is indicated by some passages of historic importance found in some of the Purāṇas. The Vāyupurāṇa (99. 4-15) and the Matsyapurāṇa (273. 36) say that from the birth of Parikṣit to the coronation of Mahāpadma (Nanda) a period of 1050 years elapsed, while the Bhāgavata XII. 2. 26 assigns 1015 years for the same. There is some mistake in the Purāṇa texts here. The Matsya (in chap. 271. 17-30) enumerates the kings of the Bārhadraṭha dynasty of Magadha descended from Sahadeva, son of Jarāsandha, and states that the dynasty will rule (i. e. ruled) for a thousand years. Then chap. 272 (verses 1-5) speaks of five kings, who will be followed by the Śiśunāka dynasty, that together reigned for 360 years and the last king in which was Mahānandi (verses 6-13) whose son from a sūdra wife was Mahāpadma (272. 18). So if the years of these three dynasties are added we get the period of about 1500 years. This is supported by the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (IX. 22. 48 and XII. 1-2) and Vāyupurāṇa (99. 308-321), which latter says that 32 kings of the Bārhadraṭha dynasty will rule for 1000, then five Vitihoṭra kings for 138 years (Pradyota and others) and then the Śaiśunāka (Śiśunāga in the Bhāgavata and in the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa III. 74. 134-135) dynasty for 362 (in all exactly 1500 years). The same periods are given by the Viṣṇupurāṇa (IV. 23 and 24) and by the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa III. 74. 121-135. Śrīdhara in his comment on Bhāgavata XII. 2. 26 states that the interval between Parikṣit and Nanda is 1498 as the Bhāgavata holds that the Śaiśunāga dynasty ruled for 360 years (XII. 1. 4-6). Therefore the proper reading in the Vāyupurāṇa or Matsyapurāṇa or the Bhāgavata should be 'pañcaśatottaram'

instead of 'pañcāśaduttaram' or 'pañcadasottaram.' Taking the interval between Parīkṣit and Nanda to be 1500 years and holding as most modern scholars do that the Nandas flourished in the 4th century B. C., Parīkṣit, the grandson of Arjuna, the Mahābhārata war and the beginning of Kaliyuga would have to be placed in the 19th century B. C. Therefore there are so far three main different epochs for the Mahābhārata war viz. 3101 B. C., 2448 B. C. and about 1900 B. C. All the three are well attested by evidence dating at least from about the 5th century A. D. One cannot dogmatically say that a certain tradition alone out of these three is the only correct one. All that one can say is that one prefers a particular tradition to the other two. Since the epoch of 1900 B. C. is supported by the Purāṇas in great detail by citing the names of the several kings and their regnal years I personally regard the epoch of 1900 B. C. for the Mahābhārata war as more probable than the other two. It is best to acknowledge one's inability to assign a certain date to the Mahābhārata war rather than twist plain words or ignore altogether inconvenient passages or put on them fanciful or far-fetched interpretations. The first desideratum is to prepare critical editions of the important purāṇas from the best MSS material. Even then it is doubtful whether unanimity among scholars can be secured. A scholarly beginning was made by Pargiter in his book 'The Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali Age' (1913). He compares the material available in the printed editions of several Purāṇas and MSS on the subject of royal dynasties. One cannot or may not agree with many of the assumptions and inferences that he makes or draws, yet one cannot withhold admiration for his industry and method. For example, I cannot agree with him when he takes 'bhaviṣye kathitān' of the Matsyapurāṇa or 'bhaviṣye pathitān' of Vāyu (99, 267) as referring to the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa. In many passages of the Purāṇas we have references to 'bhaviṣyajña' (Brahmaṇḍa III. 74-105), which simply means 'those who are conversant with sections on the future' contained in ancient works like the Mahābhārata.

It is not possible owing to limitations of space to enter into detailed examination of the theories of several scholars about the date of the Mahābhārata war. But one or two important matters will have to be referred to here.

Mr. Velandi Gopala Aiyer in 'The chronology of Ancient India' in chap. II. (pp. 51-104) examines the astronomical data

furnished by the Mahābhārata and relying on the far-fetched and wrong interpretation put by him on the words of the Brhat-samhitā (quoted above) and on the fact that the Kollam era in Malabar appears to take 1177 B. C. as the starting point for Kaliyuga arrives at the conclusion that the Mahābhārata war took place in the latter part of 1194 B. C. This theory goes against all the three other starting points which are supported by comparatively ancient and authoritative evidence.

The information derived from the fragments of the work of Megasthenes on India are supposed to shed some light on this vexed problem. In one fragment (p. 115 of 'Ancient India as described by Megasthenes &c.') occurs the passage: 'From him (i. e. Bacchus) to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with three months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings that reigned in the intermediate period to the number of 153'. An extract from Pliny makes out the number of kings to be 154. As against this we have the statement in the 'Indika' of Arrian (2nd century A. D., translated by McCrindle, p. 203): 'From the time of Dionysos to Sandrakottus, the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established ... another to 300 years and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionysos was earlier than Heracles by fifteen generations and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India'. This passage is of very great importance for one reason, viz that it proves that in the 4th century B. C. there was a persistent Indian tradition which carried back Indian civilization and ordered government to 6000 years before the 4th century B. C. But there is great doubt as to what Megasthenes actually wrote and there is some divergence as to the number of years and kings also. Besides, this has no direct bearing on the date of the Mahābhārata war or the beginning of Kaliyuga, unless Heracles is taken to be Hari-Kṛṣṇa, as some scholars¹⁷⁶⁵ do. The account of Heracles (pp 201-203 of McCrindle's work) agrees in some respects with the legends about Kṛṣṇa viz. that he was honoured by the Sourasenoī (Śūrasenas), an Indian tribe who possess two large

¹⁷⁶⁵ Vide Mr. C. V. Vaidya's 'Mahābhārata, a criticism' pp. 75-76, where ignoring the figures of total years (viz 6042 or 6451) he comes to the conclusion that Kṛṣṇa flourished about 3101 B. C. since 138 Kings between Heracles and Sandrakottus (i. e. Candragupta) may have ruled in all about 2760 years, taking 20 years as the average for each reign

cities Methora (*Mahurā*) and Cleisobora and that Heracles had many wives; but then there are other anecdotes about Heracles which do not at all agree viz his having a daughter Pandaia with whom when she was only seven Heracles had intercourse for raising a mighty race. Here there is some confusion with the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī or with the Pandyan kingdom in the South. Moreover, 6000 years for 153 or 154 kings is rather a very long period. It cannot be said that a king is only a unit of time in these computations (40 years on an average), since such Purāṇas as the Vāyu and the Matsya expressly mention the number of years that each dynasty held sway, the number of kings belonging to each dynasty and the lengths of the reigns of several kings. It is no doubt true that the details of the names of the several kings, the number of kings and the duration of their reigns do not always tally. It appears that the Purāṇas that contain historical material were recast at different times, e. g. the Vāyupurāṇa (99. 383) refers to the Guptas while the Matsyapurāṇa is silent about them. The extant Purāṇas cannot be supposed to have given imaginary details about historical dynasties, but they must have had before them older records or traditions. The Purāṇas do not appear to have invented names of new kings or given imaginary lengths of reigns. The authors surely knew that the total of the several dynasties between Parīkṣit and Nanda did not square with the total of the lengths of the reigns of the several individual kings. But they gave both these without trying to solve the discrepancies as they wanted to record all the traditions they had got before them. The Purāṇas have a claim on our attention, but in the present state of our knowledge they cannot unfortunately form the basis of any certain or connected history and chronology of ancient times.

A few words may here be said about the attempts made to deduce the age of the Mahābhārata war from the astronomical references in the Epic.

The number of works and papers in which the dates of the Bhārata war and of Kaliyuga are discussed is very large. A few of them only are noted here. The late Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit in his exhaustive volume on 'the History of Indian Astronomy' (in Marathi, 2nd ed. of 1931) deals with this subject at pp. 107-127. Mr. C.V. Vaidya in 'Mahābhārata, a criticism, 1904' devotes one chapter (pp. 55-78) and appendix note Y (pp. 180-190) to the date of the Mahābhārata war. He holds fast to the traditional

view that the Mahābhārata war was fought in 3101 B. C. Mr. N. Jagannatha Rao writes a book on 'the Age of the Mahābhārata war' (Bezwaḍa, 1931), in which he disputes the identity of Candragupta Maurya with Sandracottus mentioned by Megasthenes, holds that Sandracottus is the Gupta Emperor Candragupta, that the date of Candragupta Maurya would be about 1535 B. C., that the word 'Śakakāla' in the Brhatsamhitā refers really to the era of the Persian Emperor Cyrus about 550 B. C. and that the Great War was fought in 3139 B. C. The work does not go deeply into anything and is rather superficial. There is a lengthy and interesting article by Mr. K. G. Sankar on 'some problems of Indian Chronology' in Annals of the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, vol. XII pp. 301-361 in which he seems to favour 1198 B. C. as the date of the Mahābhārata war. Mr. J. S. Karandikar, editor of the 'Kesari' (Poona), contributed certain articles (in Marathi) which are now issued as a booklet (1939), in which he examines many of the astronomical references in the Mahābhārata and the Paurāṇic lists about the dynasties of ancient Indian kings and arrives at the conclusion that the Mahābhārata war was fought in 1931 B. C. Though I differ from him in important details, I think that the date arrived at by him appears to be one of the two probable or best authenticated dates among the several dates proposed by various scholars. Prof. P. C. Sen-Gupta contributed a paper to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1937, vol. III pp. 101-119, in which he discusses the date of the Mahābhārata war and arrives at the conclusion that the Bhārata war was fought about 2449 B. C. This also is a very probable date and has the authority of the tradition mentioned in the Brhatsamhitā that the śaka era is 2526 years after the era of Yuddhiṣṭhira. In J. A. S. B. for 1938, vol. IV pp. 393-413 Prof. Sen-Gupta again examines 'Bhārata battle traditions' and confirms the date 2449 B. C. already arrived at by him. Dr. K. L. Daftari delivered some lectures in the University of Nagpur on 'the astronomical method and its application to the chronology of Ancient India' which are published in book form (Nagpur, 1942). This work exhaustively deals with almost all the passages of astronomical importance contained in the Mahābhārata and is characterized by great industry, patient calculations and ingenious explanations of conflicting passages. His conclusion is that the Bhārata war was fought in 1197 B. C. Although one feels nothing but admiration for the author's great learning and acumen, it is not possible to agree with the date arrived at by him or with

the method and theories adopted by him. Apart from details one cannot accede to the following theories propounded by him viz. his division of the astronomical references into two groups, his assumption that a passage in the Dronaparva (chap 184) about the rising of the moon at about 2 A. M. is an interpolation (because it does not square with his explanations of the other passages), his bold expedient of changing 'citrām' to 'cantām' in Bhīṣma 3 12 and his transposition of Śrāvana and Pusya in Śalyaparva 34, 6, his taking 'angaraka' to mean Venus (and not Mars). Dr. Daftari's work was reviewed by Prof. Sen-Gupta in JASB for 1943, vol. IX pp. 221-228 and after submitting it to a searching analysis and calculations, the learned Professor arrives at the conclusion that he cannot accept Dr. Daftari's method, which is useless for all practical purposes. Prof. K. V. Abhyankar contributes an article to the Annals of B. O. R. I. for 1944, vol. XXV. pp. 116-136 on 'the date and time of the Bhārata war', in which he takes into account only the material available in the Epic itself and bases his conclusions on the principle of following the voice of the majority. He furnishes a useful table in an appendix that shows at a glance some of the important astronomical passages of the Mahābhārata with their interpretations given by the commentators Arjunamīśra and Nilakantha and by Mr. Karandikar and himself and finally gives his opinion that the traditional view of the date (3101 B. C.) is approximately correct. It appears that he had not, when he wrote the article, the work of Dr. Daftari before him nor Prof. Sen-Gupta's devastating criticism of it. It will be apparent from the above that the attempts to settle the exact date of the Mahābhārata war on the strength of the astronomical materials contained therein are dismal failures. Hardly any two scholars agree on the exact dates so arrived at, which range from 1193 B. C. to 3101 B. C. and even beyond. There are many reasons for this disappointing result. In the first place, several of the criteria mentioned in the epic are hopelessly inconsistent, as will be made clear a little below by a few examples. Further, several scholars assume that the epic was composed within a short time (about three years according to Adiparva, 62, 52, cr. ed. chap 56, 32) after the war. Many (including my humble self) cannot subscribe to this view. Besides, we are totally in the dark about the details of the system of the calendar generally adopted at the period of the war. Many suppose that it largely resembled the rules contained in the Vedānga Jyotiṣa (of the Rgveda). There is no unanimity on the question whether the months

ended with *amāvāsyā* (i. e. whether they were *amānta*) or whether they ended with Full Moon (i. e. whether they were *pūrṇimānta*).¹⁷⁶⁶ That a *pūrṇimānta* month was in vogue in Vedic times is beyond dispute. For example, Tai. S states that Pūrṇvā Phalgunī is the last night of the year and Uttarā Phalgunī is the month (i. e. beginning). Similarly Tai. S VII. 4. 8. 2 declares that the *citrāpūrṇamāsa* is the month of the year; while Śān. Br. IV. 4 declares that the Phalgunī Pūrṇamāsi is the *mukha* of the year. The author or authors of the Mahābhārata, in describing the evil portents of an impending tragic or catastrophic event, often assemble together (as in Udyoga 143.5-29, Bhīṣma 2. 16-33) all of them irrespective of the fact whether some of them are possible in the very order of nature. For example, it is stated that Arundhatī went before Vasistha (Bhīṣma 2. 31), that a mare gave birth to a cow calf and that a bitch gave birth to a jackal (Bhīṣma 3. 6) and that images of gods trembled, laughed and vomited blood (Bhīṣma 2. 26, which may be compared with Brhatsamhitā 45. 8 and the verses of Garga quoted by Utpalā thereon); it is several times said that the Moon and the Sun are seized (i. e. eclipsed) at an unusual season (*aparāṇa*) or simultaneously by Rāhu (vide

¹⁷⁶⁶ That the months in North-west India were *pūrṇimānta* in the Kharoṣṭhī records drawn up in Kaniska's era is shown in E. I. vol. 18 p. 266 and E. I. vol. 19 at p. 10. Aparārka (p. 423) quotes a verse from *Bhādrapada* 'अथयुक्कृष्णपक्षे तु आह्नं कार्यं दिने दिने' and remarks that Bhādrapada dark half is in that verse said to be the dark half of Āśvina. In the Bhavisiya-purāṇa (Uttara-parva, chap. 132. 17) the Full Moon of Phālguna is said to be the end of the month' (किमर्थं फाल्गुनस्यान्ते पौर्णमास्यां जनार्दन । उत्सवो जायते लोके श्रमे ब्रामे दुरे दुरे ॥) In the Matsyapurāṇa (159. 4-6) it is said that Skanda and Viśvakha were born on the 15th of the dark half of Caitra, that in the bright half of Caitra itself on the 5th Indra made one boy out of the two and on the 6th crowned him as Lord. This shows that in the Matsya Caitra was *pūrṇimānta* and not *amānta*. When the month is *pūrṇimānta*, the first fortnight ending with *amāvāsyā* is assigned to a month which is one month in advance of the *amānta* reckoning; i. e. what is Kārtika dark half with *amānta* reckoning becomes Mārgaśīrṣa dark half with the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning. On Jai VI. 5. 31 Sabara quotes a Vedic passage about यवानपन 'पुरस्तात्पौर्णमास्याश्चतुर्दशे दक्षिणत् । ऋतुदुस्त्रं वैवा पौर्णमासी संवत्सरस्य या चैत्री पौर्णमासी', which seems to indicate that the year began with the Full Moon of Caitra and that the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning was not unknown.

Bhismaparva 3. 28 and 32-33 and Āśvamedhikaparva 77. 15],¹⁷⁶⁷ Further, these very verses state that the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon took place on the *same day* and on the 13th and in the same month. Dr. Daftari interprets 'ekāhna' as meaning on the same week-day and 'on the 13th tithi' (pp. 5-6 of his work) calculated according to the wrong method of those days. It is extremely doubtful whether week-days had been known or named at the time of the Bhārata war or even at the time of the composition of the Epic. It is too much to assume that the astronomers of the Mahābhārata war days, while they could predict eclipses and state accurately the position of the planets, were so clumsy as to allow a mistake of two *tithis* to occur in their calendar with respect to the occurrence of a solar eclipse. The words in Bhismaparva 3. 28 and 32-33 appear to be a mere exaggerated statement of portents. If real observed eclipses are meant they would have to be taken in the order of the words in the text, viz. first an eclipse of the Moon (on Kārtika purnimā) and then an eclipse of the Sun (on Kārtika amāvāsyā) and further it must be assumed that the dark half of Kārtika contained only 13 days. Dr. Daftari (pp. 44-46 of his work) holds that first there was a solar eclipse on Āśvina amāvāsyā, then a lunar eclipse and then again a solar eclipse. In that case we should expect the order to be 'sūrya-candrau' and not 'candra-sūryau'. Besides, hardly any other scholar holds that there were three eclipses one after another. Therefore, it is hardly possible to say with certainty that the author accurately states astronomical facts observed by him or even traditionally handed down as definite facts and does not draw on his own imagination about the portents or does not exaggerate

1767. चन्द्रसूर्यादौ ग्रस्तौ एकाह्ना हि त्रयोदशीम् । अपर्वणि ग्रहे यातौ प्रजासक्षप-
निवृत्तः ॥ चन्द्रसूर्यादौ ग्रस्तौ एकमासी त्रयोदशीम् । अपर्वणि ग्रहेणैतौ प्रजाः सक्षप-
यिष्यतः ॥ भीष्मपर्व 3. 28, 32. The cr. edition of the Mahābhārata gives only
the first of these two verses. Utpala in his com. on Brhatsamhitā 5. 26
reads एकमासे त्रयोदशे. The words प्रजाः सक्षपयिष्यत, make it quite clear that
eclipses and the fortnight of thirteen tithis are taken as very evil omens.
Similar words occur in Bhīma 3. 12 and 13 quoted below in note 1779. In
Brhatsamhitā 3. 6 it is said that a *graha* called Tvastr makes the orb of the
Sun look dark even when there is no parva (amāvāsyā). Utpala quotes on
the same a verse of Parāśara 'अपर्वणि सप्ताह्नाको लघा नाम महाग्रहः । आवृणोति
तमःश्यामः सर्वलोकविपत्तये ॥'. There is no doubt whatever that the writer
of Bhīma 2 and 3 is more concerned with chronicling evil omens than with
setting out accurate astronomical and other data observed by him personally
or by others.

as a rhetorical device. In Brhatsamhitā 5. 26, 97-98 Varāhamihira states the evil consequences if a moon eclipse precedes or follows a sun eclipse in the period of one fortnight.

Most of the important astronomical details will now be set out from the time when Lord Kṛṣṇa is said to have started as a peace-maker to the Kauravas. In Udyogaparva 83. 6-7¹⁷⁶⁸ it is said that Kṛṣṇa started in the month of Kārtika (Kāumude māsi) *at the end of the śarad season* and about the advent of winter, when the moon was in Revatī nakṣatra and on *mañtra muhūrta*. Āśvina and Kārtika are at present said to form the season of śarad, and Mārgaśīrṣa and Pausa form hemanta. This verse itself presents a difficulty. On the Full Moon day of Kārtika, the moon is in Kṛttikā nakṣatra and the moon would be in Revatī three days before i. e. on or about the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika. If we take this along with the words 'at the end of śarad' it follows that the month was *pūrṇimānta*; otherwise (i. e. if the month were *amānta*) it would be highly improper to say that the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika was at the end of Śarad. After Kṛṣṇa failed in his mission he returned to the Pāṇḍavas (for all of which we must allow a few days after the 12th of Kārtika śukla) and reported what Duryodhana and he himself said. Two of the statements reported by him are very material. Duryodhana said to his allies: 'March towards Kurukṣetra (for battle); to-day the moon is (in) Pūṣya nakṣatra'.¹⁷⁶⁹ If Kṛṣṇa started on his mission when the moon was in Revatī (on the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika), then these above words must have been uttered in his presence on or about the 5th of the dark half of Kārtika (or of Mārgaśīrṣa if the month was *pūrṇimānta*). Another important statement is that Kṛṣṇa in his conversation with Karna (whom he had tried to win over) stated to him: 'this is a mild month in

1768 मैत्रे सुहृते संपाते बृहत्त्रिंशति दिवाकरे । कौमुदे मासि रेवत्या शरदन्ते हिमागमे ॥ उद्योगपर्व 83 6-7. 15 muhūrtas of the day and 15 of the night are referred to even in the ज्ञानपञ्चाङ्गण X 4 2. 18, 25, 27 and the तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण (III 10 11) mentions the names of the 15 muhūrtas of the day (such as Citra, Ketu &c). In the Kumārasambhava VII. 6 the *mañtra* muhūrta is mentioned in connection with ceremonies preceding marriage. The commentators explain mañtra as the 3rd muhūrta after sunrise. In the Atharva Jyotiṣa fifteen muhūrtas of the day are enumerated of which the first three are Raudra, Śveta and Mañtra.

1769 आज्ञापयस्व राजस्तान् पार्थिवान्दुष्टचेतसः । प्रयाध्व वै कुपक्षेत्रं दुष्योद्योति पुनः पुनः ॥ उद्योग 150. 3.

which fodder and fuel can be easily had, which is neither too hot nor too cold; on the 7th day (from today) there will be *amāvāsyā*; battle may be joined on that day; they regard it as having Indra for its (guardian)¹⁷⁷⁰ deity'. Therefore this must have been said on or about the 8th of the dark half of the month. But what was the name of the month? If the reckoning was *pūrnimānta*, the month must be *Mārgaśīrṣa*, but if the reckoning was *amānta*, the month must be *Kārtika*. The words 'this month' taken along with Udyoga 83 6-7 would indicate that the month meant was *Kārtika*. Further, Indra was the deity of *Jyesthā naksatra* and the *amāvāsyā* (as stated in Udyoga 142. 16-18) had *Jyesthā naksatra*. In modern times this is possible on *Kārtika Amāvāsyā*, while there cannot be *Jyesthā naksatra* in modern times on *Mārgaśīrṣa amāvāsyā*, but only on or about the 13th of the dark half of it. But this passage itself (Udyoga 142. 16-18) is in conflict with Śalya 35. 10 where Kṛṣṇa says: 'the Kauravas do not act up to my words, being driven to do so by the Time Spirit; O' descendants of Pāṇḍu, go out (for battle) together with me when the moon is in *Puṣya*'. If the moon was in *Jyesthā* on *amāvāsyā* when Kṛṣṇa had proposed to Karna that the war should be begun, this passage of Śalyaparva would put the beginning of the war 16 or 17 days after *Kārtika amāvāsyā*, which is not warranted by any other passage and which no scholar puts forward. In Udyoga 143 11 it is stated,¹⁷⁷¹ 'the spot on the moon has turned away (disappeared) and Rāhu approaches the Sun'. The exact meaning of the first quarter is not quite clear. Some interpret it to mean that 'an eclipse of the Moon has already taken place'. The moon looks beautiful with the spot thereon (compare Śakuntala I '*mahānamapi hṛdāṅkoṣe lakṣmīḥ lakṣmīḥ*') The disappearance of the spot might have been looked upon as an evil portent. Even supposing that the first quarter refers to an eclipse of the moon, it does not matter much. The second quarter states that an eclipse of the Sun was expected when Karna addressed these words to Kṛṣṇa, the envoy of the

1770 सौम्योय वर्तते मास सुप्रापयवसेत्थन । . निष्पन्नो रसवत्तोयो नारदुष्ण-
मिजिर सुख. ॥ सप्तमाहचापि दिवसादनावास्या भविष्यति । सग्रामो युज्यता तस्या तामाह
मकदेवताम् ॥ उद्योग 142. 16-18 नीलकण्ठ explains 'सग्राम' सग्रामसाधनकलाप
युज्यमानकीभूयावतिष्ठताम् । संग्रामारम्भस्तु दिनान्तर एवेति वदन्ते । . न कुर्वन्ति यवो मास
कुरव कालनोदिता । निर्गच्छध्व पाण्डवेया युष्मेण सदिता मया ॥ शल्य 35 10

1771. सोमस्य लक्ष्म व्यावृत्तं राहुरर्कस्तुपैति च । दिवश्चोत्का पतन्त्येता मनिपांता
सकम्पना ॥ उद्योग 143 11. Almost these very words occur in भीष्म 2 32 (व्यावृत्तं
लक्ष्म सोमस्य भविष्यति मद्भद्रम्) and in भीष्म 3 11 (अर्कं राहुरर्कपैति च)

Pāṇḍavas. Later on in Bhīṣma 2.23 it is stated¹⁷⁷² that the Moon had become devoid of brightness, was without its spot on the Full moon day of Kārtika and assumed the colour of fire while the sky retained its original hue; so that if there was an eclipse of the moon it was on Kārtika Purnimā and an eclipse of the sun was yet to take place. On the whole, therefore, one may assume, though not without hesitation, that the months were *amānta*, that possibly there was an eclipse of the moon on Kārtika Full Moon when Kṛṣṇa had gone as a peace-maker and that there was a solar eclipse on the *amāvāsya* of Kārtika just about the time the war began. In Śalyaparva 56.10 we again meet with the words (at the beginning of the mace duel) 'Rāhu swallowed the Sun at an unusual season'. This passage and Āśvamedhika 77.15 (Rāhur-agrasadādityam yugapat somameva ca) rather suggest that the eclipse of the sun at an unusual time had become a stock example of an evil portent without the actual occurrence thereof. The words in Śalyaparva refer to the last day of the war before the mace duel between Duryodhana and Bhīma and the passage says that Rāhu seized the sun and there was an earth-quake also. Hardly any one (except Dr. Daftari) holds that there was another eclipse on the last day of the war, when just before the war there already had been an eclipse on Kārtika *amāvāsya*.

As to the exact *tithi* and *nakṣatra* on which the Great War began, there are many conflicting statements. In the Bhārata-sāvitrī it is stated that the Bhārata war started in the first month (i.e. Mārgasīrṣa) of Hemanta on the 13th of the bright half when the moon was in the nakṣatra presided over by Yama (i.e. Bharani)¹⁷⁷³. The Bhārata-sāvitrī is no part of the

1772 अदृश्यः प्रभया हीनः पूर्णिमासीं च कार्तिकीम् । चन्द्रोद्भृदग्निवर्णश्च समवर्णः (v) पञ्चवर्ण- नभस्तले ॥ श्रीमत् 2. 23.

1773 The following verses of the Bhārata-sāvitrī are material for the days of the important events of the war: 'हेमन्ते प्रथमे मासे शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदशी । प्रवृत्तं भारतं युद्धं नक्षत्रं यमदेवतम् ॥ काल्युत्पत्त्या निहतो भीष्म कृष्णपक्षे च समसी । अदृश्यां चैव सौमद्रो नवम्या च जयदृष्टः । दुःशम्यां भगदत्तस्तु महायुद्धे निपातितः । एकादश्यामर्धरात्रौ हतो गीरो घटोत्कचः । ततः प्रभातसमये विराट्पुत्रपुत्री हतौ । द्वादश्या चैव मध्याह्ने द्रोणाचार्यः रणे हतः ॥ त्रयोदश्यां तु मध्याह्ने द्रुपसेनो निपातितः । चतुर्विंश्यां तु पूर्वाह्णे रणे दुःशासनो हतः । अमास्यां धर्मपुत्रेण शल्यो मद्राधिपो हतः । . . अमायामर्धरात्रे तु राजा दुर्योधनो हतः । . . अमायामेव यामिन्यां द्रौणिना निहतास्तदा । धृष्टद्युम्नः शिशुण्डौ च द्रौपद्याः पञ्च चात्मजाः । (set out at the end of हरिवंश in the Citraśālā edition). There are some statements here that are opposed to the text of the Mahābhārata Abhimanyu

Mahābhārata, yet it has some traditional value, being probably earlier than all the commentators of the Mahābhārata and later than the text of Sauti. In conflict with this passage of the Bhāratasāvitri we have the words of Udyoga 142. 18 (quoted above) where Kṛṣṇa says to Karna that battle may be joined on amāvāsyā when the moon is in Jyesthā. The Mahābhārata itself states that after the disposition of the vast armies called Ulūka and sent him to the Pāndavas to inflame their feelings with the words¹⁷⁷⁴ (Udyoga 160. 93) 'the worship of steel (weapons) has been performed, the site of Kuruksetra is dried up (has no mud), your horses are well fed, warriors are hired by you; fight tomorrow'. This Lohābhihāra (or-sāra) is the same as the rite of *nirājanā* (according to the Amarakośa) or is performed immediately after *nirājanā* (for which see pp. 230-231 above). Kautilya (II 30 p. 135) prescribes a *nirājanā* rite at the start of an invasion and when two seasons meet. So a *nirājanā* rite on Kārtika amāvāsyā would be most appropriate (both because a battle was to be begun and because at the end of Kārtika the season of Śarad ended). The Brhatsamhitā (43. 1-2) prescribes a *nirājanā* rite for horses, elephants and men on the 8th or 12th of Kārtika bright half or on the 15th of Kārtika (Full Moon or *amāvāsyā*). It is extremely doubtful

(Continued from the last page)

was killed on the third day after Drona became commander-in-chief. It may be noted that Nīlakantha explains यमदैवतम् differently as meaning Mr-gasīrsa which has a double deity as its presiding deity. It may be noted that this text of the भारतसावित्री as printed is not quite reliable, since नीलकण्ठ in his commentary on भीष्म 17. 2, reads 'अञ्जनेन हतो भीष्मो मायमासेऽसिवाहमी' for फाल्गुन्यां . . सप्तमी and 'अयोदश्यां तु मध्याह्ने भारद्वाजो निपातिर' for 'द्वादश्यां . . रणे हतः'. If these readings be accepted it follows that the Bhāratasāvitri impliedly recognizes the existence of a *tithihsaya*, since Drona is there said to have been killed on the 13th tithi of dark half when the epic itself says that he died on the 15th day after the battle began. As the war commenced on the 13th of bright half, there would be 16 days on 13th of dark half.

1774 लोहाभिहारो निर्वृत्तः कुरुक्षेत्रमर्कवर्मम् । शुक्लपक्षे भूता योधा श्वो दुश्चस्व
सकेशवः ॥ उद्योग 160. 93. About this, अमरकोश says 'लोहाभिहारोऽर्कवर्मता राज्ञो
नीराजानो निधिः' (v. 1 नीराजनाद्विधिः). The तिथितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन quotes
(Jivananda p 35) a passage from the Devipurāṇa that on the 6th of Caitra
Shanda is to be worshipped and it is called स्कन्दपट्टी. The निर्णयसिन्धु II
(on मार्गशीर्षकृत्य) says 'मार्गशीर्षशुक्लपट्टी चम्पापट्टीति महाराष्ट्रेषु प्रसिद्धा । . . .
इयमेव स्कन्दपट्टी.'

whether Mr. Karandīkar is right in saying that Lohābhihāra (or-sāra) refers to Skandasasthī. In the first place, the worship of weapons can be done at any time, particularly when a battle is to be commenced. In the second place, it is not necessary to postulate the lapse of six days and more for the sending of Ulūka and his return from the time when Kṛṣṇa said that battle may be begun on amāvāsyā. The armies had taken up opposite positions on the field of Kuruksetra and Ulūka could have come and gone in a day or two. Further, we have no evidence that Skanda-sasthī was performed in northern India in Mārgaśīrṣa, though very late works composed by *dāksaṇṭhyas* like the Nirayasinḍhu say that Skandasasthī is the same as Campāsasthī in Mahārāstra and is observed on the 6th of Mārgaśīrṣa. Raghunandana quoting Devīpurāṇa places Skandasasthī on Caitra 6th of the bright half and is supported by the Matsyapurāṇa quoted above in n.1766. There is no reason why the actual fight should commence so late as the 13th day of Mārgaśīrṣa (or even 11th as Mr. Karandīkar suggests) when Kṛṣṇa said that it should be joined on amāvāsyā. It is quite possible that the war began on or about Kārtika amāvāsyā. The observance of 'lohābhihāra' does not lead to the certain inference that the war was not begun till several days after the 6th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa. Similarly, Mr. Karandīkar says that the moon is ordinarily in Bharanī on the 11th or 12th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa. It may be so. But it is possible to have the moon in Bharanī even on the 13th. I am inclined to hold that the Bhāratasāvitṛī dates of the beginning of the war embody a different tradition altogether from the one contained in the Mahābhārata itself. The Bhāratasāvitṛī is silent about nakṣatras on which the principal events of the war took place except at the commencement of the war. It mentions no *tithikṣaya* or *tithivṛddhi*. Kṛṣṇa sends a message with Ulūka to Duryodhana (Udyoga 162. 57) 'tomorrow you will be seen' (in your true colours) and Arjuna does the same (Udyoga 163. 14).

The Mahābhārata nowhere states quite explicitly the *tithi* or *nakṣatra* on which the battle actually commenced. We have to rely upon various indications to arrive at the *tithi* or *nakṣatra*. Balarāma could not bear to see the fight between Duryodhana and Bhīma, both of whom were his pupils in mace-duel and went on a pilgrimage (Udyoga 157. 33-35 and 158. 39). Balarāma returned on the 18th day of the war and (in Śalyaparva 34. 6)

he remarks, 'it is 42 days since I left (on a pilgrimage); I started when the moon was in Pusya and I have come here again on Śravana' ¹⁷⁷⁵. In Śalya 35. 13-14 it is stated that Balarāma went to the river Sarasvatī on pilgrimage on 'maitra-naksatra-yoga' (i. e. when the moon was in Anurādhā). This conflict may be resolved by holding, as Nilakantha does, that Balarāma left the Pāṇḍavas on Pusya, reached the Sarasvatī on Anurādhā and returned on Śravana. If we follow Śalya 34.6 the war commenced when the moon was in or near Mrgāśīrsa (18 naksatras before Śravana). This would be in direct conflict with a passage in Bhīsmaparva 17.2 that ¹⁷⁷⁶ 'on the day of battle the moon was in the province of Maghā' and also other passages that will be indicated later on. This last passage should ordinarily mean that the moon was near Maghā. Mr. Karandikar looks upon Śalya 34.6 as an interpolation and takes Bhīsmā 17.2 to mean that the moon was in an inauspicious naksatra of the category of Maghā. This would suit Bharanī but not Rohini or Mrgāśīrsa. His meaning is far-fetched and he does not explain why Bharanī was not directly mentioned in the Epic, when in several other places the epic does mention directly the naksatra concerned. His explanation gives the go-by to the 13th *tithi*. Dr. Daftari boldly asserts that we must transpose the naksatras (in Śalya 34.6) and read 'śravane samprayātosmi pūsyena punarāgataḥ'. If we once resort to these methods followed by these two learned writers, there is no knowing where one should stop. There are scholars who might with equal or greater plausibility claim that most of these astronomical references are either of very late date or are interpolations (vide Vaidya's 'Mahābhārata' p. 71). Similarly, if we once concede that we are at liberty to change readings to suit our theories even in the total absence of all manuscript evidence, then there is no sure foundation on which we can build. The Mahābhārata passages have a tradition of centuries behind them. We must, in the absence of good mss. evidence to the contrary, either accept *them all* and try to explain them or we must give up the job of reconciling them as a hopeless tangle and rely on other evidence to arrive at the date of the

1775. चत्वारिंशद्वह्नयश्च द्वे च मे निवृत्तस्य वै । पुण्येण संमयातोस्मि अत्रणे पुनरागतः । शल्य 34. 6.

1776. मघान्विषयः सोमस्तद्दिनं प्रत्यपद्यत । दीप्यमानाश्च संपेक्षित्वि सप्त महामहाः ॥ भीष्म . 17. 2. जीलकण्ठ explains. मघा विषयं नक्षत्रं तस्य विषयो देवः पितृलोकस्तदा सोमः ।

Bhārata war as best as we can. We saw above that Jyesthā was the nakṣatra on Kārtika amāvāsyā and, if the war began then, the nakṣatra on the 18th day from then would be Pūṣya. Nīlakaṇṭha, following the Mīmāṃsā rules of interpretation, holds that the concluding passage (*upasaṃhāravākya*) is superior in strength to passages that occur at the beginning of a work, that the passage in Salya 34.6 is the dominant one and other conflicting passages must be either brushed aside or explained away in conformity with Salya 34.6 and gives an explanation of 'Maghāvisayagaḥ somah' which is quite unsatisfactory. Dr Daftari also holds, relying on Atharva Jyotiṣa, that the passage means 'the moon was in Mūla' (p. 27 para 62-65 of his work 'Astronomical method' &c.) The explanation is ingenious but one fails to see why this round-about way was resorted to and why the text did not simply say 'mūlanakṣatragah somah', which violates no metrical requirements. In Anuśāsana parva (167.26-28) Bhīṣma, while on the bed of darts, states.¹⁷⁷⁷ 'the sun has turned (towards the north); 58 days have passed by since I laid myself down on this (arrow bed) This is the mild month of Māgha that is now current, three parts of it remain and this fortnight should be *śukla*'. Bhīṣma was struck down on the 10th day of the war; so 67 nights had passed from the day when the war began to the day in Māgha on which this was uttered. The difficulty is how to connect 'tribhagaśeṣaḥ', whether as an adjective of 'māsa' or of 'pakṣa'. If we take it in the first way, these words were uttered on 8th of Māgha *śukla*: if we take it as an adjective of 'pakṣa', then they will have to be taken as uttered on the 4th of the bright half or on the 4th of the dark half which may be regarded in its astrological effects as equal to *śuklapakṣa* (though the tithi itself is in the dark half). If the words were uttered on the 8th of Māgha *śukla*, the Bhārata war began on Kārtika amāvāsyā (which will be in consonance with Udyoga 142.18 quoted in n 1770). The passage in Anuśāsana (167.26-28) is supported by two other passages. After the war was over, Yudhiṣṭhira went to the capital and stayed there for 50 nights and when he found that the Sun had started on its apparent northward path (*uttarāyana*) he came to Bhīṣma (Anuśāsana 167.5). In Śāntiparva 51.14 Kṛṣṇa says to Bhīṣma: 'You have yet to live 56 days' Nīlakaṇṭha, who takes Salya 34.6 as the dominant passage, puts a

1777 अद्यप्यश्वाश्वं राक्ष्य शयानस्याद्य मे गता । . माघेय समनुभासो मासः सौम्यो
पुष्यतिष्ठ । त्रिभागशेषः पक्षेय शुक्लो भवितुमर्हति ॥ अनुशासन 167, 26-28.

most far-fetched construction on the word 'astapañcāśatam', which he takes to mean 'one hundred minus 58', i. e. 42 nights and explains 'pañcāśatam sat ca' as equal to 30. This shows to what straits commentators are reduced when conflicting passages have got to be explained away. One more indication about the *tithi* on which the war commenced is afforded by Dropaparva chap. 184, where it is stated that a grim fight went on till midnight when Ghatotkaca was killed, that the fatigued armies then snatched some sleep, that then the moon rose at about 2 A. M. (verse 46) and that the fight was then resumed¹⁷⁷⁸ (chap. 186. 1 'tribhāgamātraśeṣāyām rātryām yuddham-avartata'). This description of moonrise shows that Ghatotkaca was killed on or about the 11th of the dark half. We know from the Mahābhārata itself that Ghatotkaca was killed on the night of the 4th day of Drona's command or on the 14th day after the war began. This would establish that the war began on the 12th or 13th of the bright half and ended on the 14th of the dark half or on amāvāsya of Mārgaśīrṣa. Dr. Daftari holds that this description is an interpolation.

If we try to find out the *nakṣatra* on which the war began, we have one sure criterion in Śalya 34. 6 viz. that the war ended on Śravana nakṣatra when Balarāma returned from pilgrimage. Now the moon cannot be in Śravana at all in Mārgaśīrṣa dark half, but may be in it on the first or 2nd of the bright half of Pausa. So between the *tithi* and *nakṣatra* as disclosed by the Mahābhārata itself there is a slight discrepancy of a day or two. There is another way of looking at the data. Bhīṣma was waiting for uttarāyana to begin and we know that he passed away on the 59th day after he was mortally wounded on the 10th day of the war. Therefore, a period of 67 days (58 nights of his lying on arrow-bed plus 9 nights of the battle when he slept on his usual bed) elapsed between the beginning of the war and the beginning of Uttarāyana, which undoubtedly occurred in Māgha in that year (as Anuśāśana 167. 28 expressly states). The real difficulty is to find out the *tithi* of the commencement of Uttarāyana. But if we accept the approximate *tithi* and *nakṣatra* (as stated above) of the end of

1778. त्रिभागमात्रशेषाय रात्र्या युद्धमवर्तत । कुरुणा पाण्डवाना च समुद्युता विशा-
पते ॥ द्रोण 186. 1. नीलकण्ठ explains 'सुहृत्त्रयवशिष्टायाश्च, तत्र दुर्योधनोत्तरं त्रयोदशं
द्रोणस्य नाशः' ॥ He supposed that द्यौत्कच was killed on the 12th of the
dark half.

the war (i.e. Mārgaśīrṣa amāvāsyā or 1st of Pausa and Śravana nakṣatra), uttarāyana began 49 days thereafter i. e. on or about the 4th of the dark half of Māgha. According to the Vedāngajyotiṣa, 4th of the dark half of Māgha is one of the tithis on which uttarāyana may begin (vide Dikṣit's work pp 75, 91). How scholars accept one of the data and reject others is well illustrated here. Acc. to Śālyā 34 6 the war ended on Śravana (and so should have begun when the moon was in Mrgaśīrṣa). Acc to the Bhāratasāvitṛī the war began on Bharanī and on the 13th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa and ended on Amāvāsyā (and therefore the nakṣatra was Mūla or Pūrvāśādhā). Arjunamīśra gives up the nakṣatras and sticks to the tithis. Mr. Karandīkar gives up the express verse about Śravana (and regards that whole chapter as an interpolation), he gives up the 13th tithi of the beginning of the war as given in the Bhāratasāvitṛī, holds that the war began on 11th instead and sticks fast to the Bharanī nakṣatra given in the Bhāratasāvitṛī. Dr. Daftari altogether changes the reading of Śālyā 34 6 by transposing the nakṣatras mentioned

The difference between the day of Uttarāyana in Māgha stated in the Mahābhārata and the day thereof at present is utilised by scholars for arriving at the date of the Mahābhārata war.

There are other data in the Mahābhārata from which also the date of the Mahābhārata war is sought to be deduced. Before entering into details, some matters that are accepted by most scholars may be stated here. It is generally held that there were two eclipses, first, one of the moon immediately followed by a solar eclipse, that there was a fortnight of 13 days which was looked upon as very unusual and a very evil omen. Vide Bhīṣma 3 28 quoted in n 1767. In Bhīṣmaparva 3 31-32 Vyāsa is reported as saying, 'I have known amāvāsyā occurring on the 14th, 15th or 16th day (of a pakṣa), but I do not know an amāvāsyā occurring on the 13th day (of a pakṣa); both the moon and the sun were eclipsed in the same month on the 13th day'. In the Mausala-parva¹⁷⁷⁹ 2 18-19, when Kṛṣṇa, 36 years after the war, beheld certain portents it is said, "on observing those portents on the amāvāsyā occurring on the 13th day he declared 'Rāhu had made this (13th day) appear as the 14th and 15th (when usually there is amāvāsyā) when the Bhārata

1779 एव पश्यन् दृष्टीकेशं संभ्रान्तं कालपर्ययम् । त्रयोदश्याममावास्या तान् दृष्ट्वा भ्रान्तिदिदम् ॥ चतुर्दशी पञ्चदशी कृतेषु राहुणा पुनः । माते वै भारते युद्धे माता च्चाद्य क्षयाय न ॥ भास्करपर्व 2, 18-19,

war took place ; to-day it has again occurred for our destruction'. From these words it is clear that the occurrence of an *āvāsyā* at the end of a *pakṣa* of 13 days was looked upon as a very evil omen. Then many scholars hold that a comet had also appeared at the time of the great war. Bhīṣma 3.13¹⁷⁸⁰ states, 'a very frightful comet stands in the sky covering the constellation of Pusa'. There are grave doubts whether the statement is made from actual observation. The appearance of a comet has always been associated in ancient times with great calamities. Compare Kumārasambhava II.32 'upaplavāya lokānām dhūmaketurivot-thitah'. As indicated above, the Mahābhārata gathers together several possible and impossible things to emphasize their significance as to impending calamities. Therefore the inclusion of a comet among portents does not establish that a comet had actually appeared at the time of the Bhārata war. Supposing for argument that a comet had appeared, that circumstance is of no help at all in settling the date. A large number of comets is included in the sun's retinue. The number of comets of long periods that approach the sun in a century is said to be 300. There is nothing to show what particular comet appeared at the time of the war and no one has data to connect the Mahābhārata comet with Halley's comet or any other comet well-known in modern times. Therefore the *datum* about a comet is entirely worthless for purposes of chronology. According to Brhatsamhitā 11.5 and Utpala thereon the ancient writer Parāśara held the view that there were 101 *ketus* and Garga said that there were a thousand. The description in Bhīṣma 3.13 states that the *perihehon* of the comet was in Pusa. In Udyogaparva 143.10 it is said 'since a *graha* specially afflicts Citrā, a great calamity is indeed approaching the Kauravas'. This may probably refer to a comet. Two other verses appear to have some bearing on this. Bhīṣma 3.12 states¹⁷⁸¹ that the white *graha* stands traversing

1780. श्वेतो ग्रहस्तथा चित्रां समतिक्रम्य तिष्ठति । अभाव हि विशेपेण कुरुणा तत्र पश्यति ॥ धूमकेतुर्महाघोरं पुण्यं चाक्रम्य तिष्ठति । सेनयोरीशिव घोरं करिष्यति महाग्रहः ॥ श्वेतो ग्रहः प्रज्वलितः सधूम इव पावकः । ऐन्द्र तेजस्वि नक्षत्रं ज्येष्ठमाक्रम्य तिष्ठति ॥ भीष्म 3.12, 13, 16. The Madras edition reads इयामो ग्रहः. in भीष्म 3.16 and Dr. Daftari proposes to read चैता for चित्राम् (p. 64 para 130).

1781. ध्रुवं प्रज्वलितो घोरमपसव्यं प्रवर्तते । रोहिणीं पीडयत्येवमुभौ च शक्रि-भास्करौ ॥ चित्रास्वात्यन्तरे चैव विष्ठितः परुषग्रहः । भीष्म 3.17, compare बृहत्संहिता 11.39 'श्वेत इति जटाकारो रूक्षः. उपायो विचित्रिभागगतः । विचित्रवर्तेऽपसव्यं चित्राग्रेषां प्रजा कुरुते ॥'. उत्पल explains 'रूक्षं परुषं इयाव कुरुणवर्णः'. It is remarkable that बृहत्सं 11.57 is चित्रासु कुरुक्षेत्राधिपस्य मरणं समादिशेत्तज्ज्ञः, thus agreeing very closely with भीष्म 3.12.

ritrū (i.e. it is about to enter into *sāh*) and verse 16 says, 'the white *graha* is fiery like fire emitting smoke and stands occupying Jyesthā which is a bright star presided over by Indra'. What is meant by 'white *graha*'? The words 'sveto *grahah*' should ordinarily denote Venus. Nilakantha takes them to mean Ketu (node) in Bhīsmā 3.12 and another comet in 3.16. If this latter explanation be accepted there were two comets seen at the time. Even if we hold that Bhīsmā 3.16 describes the tail of the comet mentioned in 3.13, that is of very little help. All that would be meant would be that the tail of the comet was a very long one. Bhīsmā 3.17 has been taken to refer to Rāhu by Nilakantha, while some modern scholars hold that it refers to a comet. It means, 'a cruel comet standing between Citrā and Svātī, afflicts Rohini and also the sun and the moon'. The description of the Ketu called Śveta in Brhat-samhitā 11.39 agrees very closely with the description in the Bhīsmaparva and Parāsara quoted by Utpala thereon states that the Ketu called 'Śveta' becomes visible after 115 years and portends the destruction of two-thirds of the population.

Then there are several passages which state the positions of several planets just before the battle or on the day the battle began. Here again at least two different positions are assigned to each planet except Mercury. It is first to be noted that at the beginning of the war all the seven planets excluding Rāhu and Ketu are declared to have been near each other (Bhīsmā 17.2, q in note 1776 above). We know from the Mahābhārata itself that the Sun and the Moon on Kārtika amāvāsyā were in Jyesthā. If the war began on amāvāsyā or a day later, the planets must be near Jyesthā. If the Bhāratasāvitrī be followed then the war began on Mārgasīrṣa bright 13 and on Bharanī. If that were so, the sun and the moon cannot be together. Mr Karandikar takes 11th of the bright half of Mārgasīrṣa to be the tithi of the beginning of the war and holds that the Sun was in nakṣatra Jyesthā and that the moon was in Bharanī (following the Bhāratasāvitrī as to this last). I should hold that we are not at liberty to take one datum from one group of statements and another from another group and then say that it is proved that the war was fought at a particular time. It is further noted in Karnaparva 37.4 that on Karna's death (i.e. 17 days after the war began), the seven planets were seen going away from the Sun.¹⁷⁸² The positions of the planets at the beginning of the war were as follows:—

1782 नि सन्तो व्यद्वन्त स्यात्सित मदाग्रहाः ॥ कर्ण 37. 4..

- SUN—** Udyoga 143. 11 (Rāhu approaches the Sun)
 Bhīṣma 3. 11 (" " ")
 Bhīṣma 3. 28, 32 (q. above in n. 1767)
 The Sun was either in Jyesthā or near Mrgaśīrsa.
- MOON—** Bhīṣma 3 17 (*parusa graha* i. e. Rāhu afflicted both the Sun and the Moon) and Rohini
 Bhīṣma 3. 28, 32 (q. above in n. 1767)
 Bhīṣma 17. 2 (the Moon was in the province of Maghā q. above in n. 1776).
- MERCURY—** Karnaparva 94. 49 says that on Karna's death the son of the Moon (i. e. Mercury), the white luminary, rose slantingly resembling in hue fire and the Sun The Śalyaparva 11. 18 states that Mars, Venus and Mercury were in conjunction ¹⁷⁸³ If Mars was in Maghā as stated in Bhīṣma 3 14 and Mars and Mercury were in conjunction Mercury would be in Maghā, which forebodes destruction of people by war, as stated in Brhatsamhitā 7 3
- MARS—** Udyoga 143. 9 states, ' Mars having made a retrograde motion in Jyesthā seeks (to reach or afflict ?) Anurādhā, the nakṣatra presided over by Mitrā, as if bringing death (to friends)'
 Bhīṣma 3 14 states: ' Mars is retrograde in Maghā ' What is the meaning of this ? Literally it means that Mars was in Maghā and was retrograde in motion Mr Karandikar holds that Mars had only *dṛṣṭi* on Maghā and was in Pūṣya Supposing this is correct, Mars was not near the Sun but far away
- Bhīṣma 3 18 declares: ' Mars, having changed its motion after being retrograde and with the lustre of fire, stands covering Śravana, the mansion of Brhaspati '. ¹⁷⁸⁴

1783. ग्रहश्च तिर्यग् ज्वलनार्कवर्णः सोमस्य पुत्रोऽपुदियाय तिर्यक् ॥ कर्णपर्व 94
 49. भृगुसुहृदधरापुत्रौ क्षात्रिजेन समन्वितौ । चरम पाण्डुपुत्राणां पुरस्तात्सर्वभूतजाय ॥
 शल्य 11. 18.

1784 कृत्वा चाङ्गारको वक्र ज्येष्ठाया मधुसूदन । अङ्गाराधो मार्यते मेव सगमयन्निव ॥
 उद्योग 143. 9. मघास्वङ्गारको वक्र अवगे च बृहस्पति । भग नक्षत्रमाक्रम्य सूर्यपुत्रेण

We find that the Mahābhārata employs two classes of expressions. When it uses words like 'tisthati' (stands), 'ākramya' (having traversed), 'samvṛtya or samparivārya' (having covered or concealed) it means that the planet was in or very near that nakṣatra. When words meaning 'afflicts (piḍayati) are employed, the meaning is probably that the planet has only dr̥sti on the nakṣatra. It is impossible to say whether the rules and theories about dr̥sti or pūrṇa dr̥sti and partial dr̥sti had been evolved at the time of the Mahābhārata War. If the war was fought about 3101 B C or even 1931 B C there is nothing to establish that the theories about dr̥sti contained even in the Atharvayajotisa (which is certainly later than the Vedāngayajotisa of the R̥gveda i e much later than about 1200 B C) were known then. Vide under Venus for further difficulties.

JUPITER— Bhīṣma 3 14 states that Jupiter was retrograde in Śravana; Bhīṣma 3 27 states,¹⁷⁸⁵ 'Both Jupiter and Saturn that had stayed together for a year are near Viśākhā and are both fiery'.

Jupiter cannot stay for one year in one nakṣatra; it traverses $2\frac{1}{2}$ nakṣatras in a year. If at the time of the war Jupiter was near Viśākhā it could not have been near it for a year. Eleven months before that it would have been very near Citrā. If it was near Viśākhā at the time of the war and the Sun was in Jyesthā, it can hardly be correct to say that seven planets had come together in the sky (there being a distance of about two nakṣatras or about 26

(Continued from the last page)

गोद्वये ॥ भीष्म ३. १४, ब्रह्माशुक्लं कृत्वा च अवर्णं पावकमथ । बह्मराशिं समावृत्य लोहि-
ताङ्गो व्यवस्थितः ॥ भीष्म ३ १५ उत्पल on बृहत्संहिता १. १०. explains, अनुवक्तुं स्पष्ट-
गतिवत् । वक्रां गतिं त्यक्त्वा पुनः स्पष्टा गतिमाश्रितो अनुवक्रित इत्युच्यते. In these
verses there is probably some reference to the verses of Parāśara and Garga
quoted by Utpala on Brhatsaṃhitā ६ १-१३ गर्ग quoted on ६. १३ says that
the nakṣatras from Pūrvaśādhā to Āśvinī are to be of *dakṣiṇa-mārga* and
the movements of Mars in them cause danger.

1785. संबत्सरस्थायिनौ च ग्रहौ भज्जलितावुभौ । विशाखाया समीपस्थौ बृहस्पति-
शनैश्चरौ ॥ भीष्म ३. २७, बृहस्पति संपरिमार्गं रोहिणीं बभूव चन्द्रार्कसमौ विशांते ॥
कर्ण १४. ५१.

degrees between the two) Even if we hold the meaning to be that Jupiter and Saturn had remained near Viśākhā for one year and are (now at the time of the war) fiery, that does not solve the difficulty In the first place, it is not a natural construction This meaning would leave the exact position of the two planets at the time of the war unspecified But Jupiter and Saturn must be supposed to be in or near Jyesthā if the Sun was in Jyesthā at the beginning of the war If Saturn was in Jyesthā at the time of the war it could have been one year in Viśākhā about two years before the war What is the propriety of mentioning Saturn's position two years before the war? The relevant point is to state that position at the time of the war Therefore it must be held that Bhīṣma 3.27 states their position at the time of the war and adds one more circumstance that they were there for one year.

Karnaparva 94. 51 says: 'Brhaspati having entirely covered Rohinī has become like the Sun and the Moon'. If at the beginning of the war Brhaspati was retrograde and was near Viśākhā, it passes one's understanding how in a fortnight it came to Rohinī Mr. Karandikar suggests that Rohinī here is the name of Jyesthā as in the Tai S IV 4.10.1-3. Again in this explanation there are several difficulties There is nothing to show that at the time of the Bhārata war or of the epic Jyesthā was called Rohinī The Tai S does not employ the name Jyesthā in its list It speaks of Rohinī once as having Prajāpati for its presiding deity and then as having Indra as the presiding deity Jyesthā is well-known to the Mahābhārata and the word is employed by it in other passages Further, if Brhaspati had covered Jyesthā it can hardly be correct or even useful (for the purposes of chronology) to say that Jupiter was near Viśākhā.

VENUS—

Bhīṣma 3.15 states that Venus¹⁷⁸⁶ having ascended (i. e. occupied) the Pūrvābhādrapadā nakṣatra shines charmingly and it looks up to Uttarābhādrapadā together with (?) The meaning of 'parikramya sahitaḥ' is not at all clear. However the first half is as clear as possible. Venus was in Pūrvā Prosthapadā. If the Sun was in Jyesthā on Kārtika amāvāsyā, it is impossible that Venus could have been in the 8th nakṣatra from Jyesthā. Venus is never more than four nakṣatras from the Sun in the sky. This would completely knock on the head the principal statement that seven planets were near each other. Mr. Karandikar in desperation suggests that we should understand Pūrvāsādhā for 'Prosthapade Pūrve' and also that the word 'Prosthapade' was an interpolation inserted by some busy body later on. As I have frequently said above, this is a most unjustifiable way of dealing with the so-called astronomical data in the Mahābhārata. 'Prosthapade Pūrve' can never mean 'Pūrvāsādhā'. In the Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. 1-3, and the Tai. Br. I. 5. 1 and III. 1. 1 the word Prosthapadā is expressly employed for Pūrvā Bhādrapadā. Why should one word in a verse be held to be interpolated? Is it because it does not agree with one's hypothesis? In Śalya 11. 18 Venus and Mars are said to be in conjunction with the Moon. If the war started on Bharanī as the Bhāratasāvitṛi says, then at the time of the mace-duel the moon might be in Jyesthā and therefore both Mars and Venus will have to be in Jyesthā. But this is opposed to two of the passages cited above referring to the position of Mars. If the war began on Jyesthā and Kārtika amāvāsyā, then on the 18th day the moon will be in Pūṣya or Āślēsā and both Venus and Mars would have to be in one of these two. In any case, if Venus was in Pūrvā-bhādrapadā at the beginning of the

¹⁷⁸⁶ शुक्र. मोक्षपदे पूर्व समासस्य विरोधते । उच्यते तु परिक्रम्य सहितः सद्युद्धिक्षिते ॥
भीष्म 3. 15.

war, on the 18th day it can neither be in Jyesthā, nor in Pūṣya nor in Āślēsā. Besides, it is debatable whether Bhīṣma 3. 16 (where 'śveto grahah' is mentioned) refers to Venus or not. Venus is often called 'Sita' in ancient astronomical works (e. g. in Brhat-samhitā 9. 42, 45).

SATURN— We have four statements about Saturn. In Udyoga 143 8 we read,¹⁷⁸⁷ 'A refulgent and malignant planet, Saturn, afflicts the nakṣatra presided over by Prajāpati (i. e. Rohini)', Bhīṣma 2 32 states, 'Saturn afflicts Rohini': Bhīṣma 3. 14 says, 'the nakṣatra presided over by Bhaga is covered and afflicted by Saturn', Jupiter and Saturn are near Viśākhā (Bhīṣma 3.27 considered above). In the first three passages the root 'pīd' occurs and therefore it is possible to argue that some kind of aspect (*drśā* or *vedhā*) of the nakṣatra mentioned in the text is meant. But in the third passage both 'ākramya' and 'pīdyati' are used about the same nakṣatra. This makes that passage inexplicable in the usual way. The 'prajāpatya nakṣatra' must be Rohini as in the 2nd passage Rohini is expressly named. All authorities agree that Prajāpati is the deity of Rohini. 'Prajāpatya nakṣatra' cannot be taken to mean Mūla, since the presiding deity of Mūla is 'pitarah' in Tai. S. IV. 4. 10 1-3 and Nirrti (in the Tai. Br. I 5. 1 and in the Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa) and Prajāpati only in some later works. Bhaga is the presiding deity of Uttarā Phalgunī in the Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. 1-3 and Tai. Br. I 5. 1, and III. 1. 1, while in the Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa (Rgveda, verse 25), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (78 16), Śān. Gr. (I. 26 9, SBE vol. 29 p. 53) Bhaga is the deity of Pūrvā Phalgunī. The 4th passage about Saturn being near Viśākhā has been already dealt with under Jupiter.

1787 राजापत्यं हि नक्षत्रं ग्रहस्तीक्ष्णो मदाद्यति । शनैश्चरः पीडयति पीडयन् प्राणि-
नोऽधिकम् ॥ उद्योग 143. 8, रोहिणीं पीडयन्नेव स्थितो राजन् शनैश्चरः । भीष्म 2. 32.
मग्नं नक्षत्रमाक्रम्य सूर्यपुत्रेण पीडयते । भीष्म 3. 14.

The above detailed statement about the astronomical passages of the Mahābhārata will induce any unbiased reader who has no axe to grind that they are hopelessly inconsistent and that no certain chronological conclusion can be drawn therefrom. In the above discussion I have generally not cited the various explanations indulged in by several scholars, as that would have involved me in a very lengthy discourse without any adequate benefit. To me it appears probable that the final redactor of the Mahābhārata had two or more sets of astronomical data about the war before him and without trying to examine and sift them he included them all in his work. The Bhārata-sāvitrī probably represents one (and a later) tradition about the positions of the planets at the time of the war. As I hold that either the Mahābhārata passages on the positions of the planets were interpolated at a very late stage or are hopelessly inconsistent I deem it unnecessary to enter upon an examination of the mathematical calculations made by several scholars to find out the date of the Bhārata war from the shifting of the solstices and the position of the planets.

Since only 5046 years have elapsed (in 1945 A. D.) from the beginning of the Kali age and as Kaliyuga extends to 432000 years according to Paurāṇic computations we are just on the threshold of the Kaliyuga and it is beyond one's comprehension to visualize what will happen towards the end of the vast period of about 427000 years that are still to pass before Kaliyuga ends. It is very small consolation to read in the Purāṇas in a prophetic strain that at the end of that colossal period Viṣṇu will be incarnated as Kalkin in a village Śambhala, will destroy all Mlecchas, śūdra kings and heretics and will establish dharma, so that the Kṛta age will then be ushered in. Here again as in almost all matters there are differences in the legend. The Vāyu (58 75-90) and the Matsya (144, 50-64) state that it will be Pramati Bhārgava who will be the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and uproot the Mlecchas, heretics and śūdra kings, while Vāyu 98, 104-110 and 99 396-7, Vanaparva 190 93-97, Bhāgavata XII 2 16-23 state that Kalkin will conquer the Mlecchas, will become a universal emperor (*cakravartin*) of the *dharma-yajñ* type and will start the Kṛta age. 'In some passages he is called Kalki (nom. of Kalkin) as in Vanaparva 190 93, Brahma 213, 164, Vāyu 99 396, Matsya 47. 248, Nṛsimha 54 3; while in others as Kalki (nom. of Kalki) as in Vāyu 98, 104, Kalki 2 28, Bhāgavata XII 2 16, Matsya 47. 251. In

some passages he is said to be the son of a brāhmana Visnu-yaśas who will be the head^{178a} of the village called Śambhala (Bhāgavata XII. 2, 16, Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 24, 26, Agni 16. 8, Nṛsiṃha 54. 3, Kalkipurāṇa 2. 34), while in other passages he is himself styled Viṣṇuyaśas (Vāyu 98, 104, Vanaparva 190, 93, Brahma 213, 164, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 74, 40)^{178a}. In some places

1788 इमंलयांमसुरयस्य ब्राह्मणस्य महात्मनः । भवने विष्णुयज्ञसः कल्किः प्रादुर्भ-
विष्यति ॥ अश्वमाशुगमास्व देवदत्तं जगत्पतिः । अस्मिन्नासाधुदमनमैश्वर्यगुणान्वितः । ..
यदावतीर्णो भगवान्कल्किर्मपतिर्हरिः । कृत भविष्यति तदा प्रजासृतिश्च सात्त्विकी ॥
भागवत XII. 2 16-23

1788a Various efforts have been made about finding germs of history in the legend of Kalkin. In I A vol 48 pp. 123-128 Prof. H. B. Bhude tries to show how Jain authorities about Kalkin are conflicting. Mr K. P. Jayaswal in I. A. vol 46 (for 1917) p. 145 holds that Kalkin must be identified with the great hero Yaśodharman who ruled over India from the Brahmaputrā to the Western Ocean and from the Himālaya to Mahendra and who conquered the Hun Mihirakula and made him pay homage to his feet as stated in the Mandasor Inscription (vide Gupta Ins. p. 149). Prof Pathak on the other hand relying upon certain Jaina sources identifies Kalkin with Mihirakula himself (I A for 1918 at p. 19). Otto Schrader in Brahmayādyā vol I pp 17-27 discusses how the names Kalkin or Kalki came to be given to the saviour of India from Mlecchas, heretics and the like. Kalka means 'silt' or 'sediment' and Karka means 'a white horse'. Therefore he thinks that Kalkin is a form of *karkin* (one riding a white horse). Vide also N I A vol. IV pp 337-343 (on Kalki from the Kalkipurāṇa). It is probable that the dismal accounts of Kaliyuga were put forth in the first centuries of the Christian era when the ancient varṇa-śrama-dharma had suffered a great set-back owing to the ascendancy of Buddhism and Jainism and the invasions of foreigners like the Śakas and Hūnas, that when Yaśodharman defeated the great Hun invader Mihirakula, people believed that the dark ages were at an end and that an era of perfect dharma was at hand. That Mihirakula was a most ruthless and blood-thirsty invader who in his long career of 70 years slaughtered myriads of men and women is stated by the Rājataranginī I 310 (which speaks of him as *trikotihan*) and 322 (which narrates that he slaughtered three crores of women of respectable birth together with their husbands, brothers and sons). Hiouen Tsiang (Beal's B. R. W. W pp. 171-172) narrates that Mihirakula either slaughtered or made slaves of nine lakhs of people in Gandhāra. Passages in a prophetic vein were added about the time of Yaśodharman to those already existing about the decline of dharma in Kaliyuga. This will of course necessitate that all passages about Kalkin in any work whatever were put in later than about 530 A D. There are two theories as to who defeated Mihirakula. Hiouen Tsiang's account gives the name of the victor as Bālāditya of Magadha (vide Beal's B. R. W. W. part I. pp. 167-171). On the other hand there are three inscriptions, the

(Continued on the next page)

he is said to have already flourished (Vāyu 98. 111, Matsya 47. 255), in other places the texts employ the future (Vāyu 99. 396, Bhāgavata XII 2. 16). This last discrepancy is probably due to the fact that the writers sometimes forget their role of prophets. Further, it has to be remembered that according to the Purāṇas the four yugas (and therefore the Kalki avatāra) have been repeated again and again. The Kalki-purāṇa (I. 2. 33 and I. 3 32-33) states that Kalki was a contemporary of Viśakhayūpa king of Māhismati, while the Vāyu (99. 312-314), Matsya (272. 4) and Viṣṇu (IV. 24) state that Viśakhayūpa was the 3rd of the Pradyota dynasty that preceded the Śiśunāga dynasty. Though the Kalki-purāṇa several times uses the past tense about Kalki, yet at the very beginning it says (I. 10) that what is narrated is an ākhyāna (story) of the future. It is interesting to note that in the Parnalaparvata-grahan-ākhyāna^{1788b} of Jayarāma composed about 1673 A.D. Bahlol Khan,

(Continued from the last page)

Gwalior stone Inscription of Mihirakula (Gupta Ins. No. 37 p. 161), the Mandasor stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman (Gupta Ins. No. 33 p. 142), and the Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana (Gupta Ins No 35 p. 150) in none of which is Bālāditya referred to. But in the Sarnath Stone of Prakatāditya, son of Bālāditya, another Bālāditya is referred to (Gupta Ins. No. 79 p. 284). In the Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription (Gupta Ins p. 147) occur these words relating to Mihirakula 'नीचैस्तेनापि परमं प्रणतिमुज्ज्वलावर्जनाङ्गिदृग्मूर्धना चूलाग्रपोषहारे-मिहिरकुलनृपेणाचितं पादयुग्मम्'. In the Mandasor Stone Ins (Gupta Ins. No. 35 at p. 153) lines 4 and 5 read अथ जयति नरेन्द्रः श्रीयशोधर्मनामा । आजौ जितौ विजयते जगतीं युतश्च श्रीविष्णुवर्धनराधिपतिः स एव ॥ Dr. Fleet held that Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana were different, but the reasons he assigns are unconvincing and Jayaswal appears to be right in holding that Viṣṇuvardhana is the same as Yaśodharman (in 'Imperial History' pp. 39-41) and that Viṣṇuvardhana was the overlord of Bālāditya. It appears likely that the compilers of the extant Purāṇas combined the two principal parts of the two names Viṣṇuvardhana and Yaśodharman and that the conqueror of the Mlecchas was said to be Viṣṇuśaśaś Vide I H Q. vol. XII p. 531 and vol. XV pp. 302-306 for Yaśodharman, Viṣṇuvardhana and Mihirakula and Dr. R. G. Basak in 'History of North-East India' (1934) pp. 97-101 (who holds that Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana were two different Kings). Fargiter's 'Ancient Indian tradition' and 'Dynasties of the Kali age' and Dr. Pradhan's 'Chronology of Ancient India' may be read with advantage in connection with the historic material in the Purāṇas.

1788b. श्रूयते किल हिन्दूनां शास्त्रे कैश्चिदुदाहृतम् । कल्की विष्णवतारणां दशमः सम्भविष्यति ॥ हेतुस्तथे तेन सर्वत्र व्याप्तं पावनमण्डलम् । तस्यैव कल्किनस्तावदसावधौ समागतः । इतो वै प्रतिभास्यमान्यतोऽस्मिन्नधिपतौ ॥ पणालिपर्वतग्रहणारूपान V 6-8, published by भारत-इतिहास-संशोधक-मण्डल at Poona, 1923.

commander-in-chief of the Bijapur army, is made to say to Khawaskhan, the Vazīr, as follows, 'In the Hindu sāstras some say that Kalkin, the 10th avatāra of Viṣṇu will be born and he will destroy the hordes of Yavanas. Shivaji appears to be the first harbinger of that Kalkin'.

Even though the Purāṇas are carried away by their over-zeal in condemning the moral and physical decline of the Kali age, almost all of them exhibit no verses about matters forbidden in the Kali age. We have to see when the topic of *Kalivarjya* attained prominence and what the matters are that were once practised by people without objection and that later on came to be prohibited or condemned.

The Āp. Dh. S (II 6. 14. 6-10) condemns the practice of giving all or most of the ancestral property to the eldest son as opposed to śāstras. The Āp. Dh. S (II 10 27. 2-6), after referring to the view of some that a woman when being married is given to the whole family of the bridegroom, condemns the practice of *nyoga*.¹⁷⁸⁹ Both these practices (of *uddhānavibhāga* and of *nyoga*) are among those included in the texts on *Kalivarjya*. Among the earliest references in the smṛtis to practices once current, but forbidden in the Kali age is a passage of Brhaspati quoted by Aparārka p 97, where *nyoga* and the numerous secondary sons are said to be impossible owing to the decadence¹⁷⁹⁰ of spiritual power among men of the Dvāpara and Kali ages. Aparārka p 739 and the D M quote a passage of Śaunaka to the effect that sons other than the aurasa or dattaka are not allowed in the Kali age¹⁷⁹¹ Pīṣāpati (verse 151) refers¹⁷⁹² to the ancient practice of offering meat and wine in śrāddhas, but prescribes that these should be eschewed in the Kali age Vyāsa¹⁷⁹³ quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu and other works forbids

1789 सगोत्रस्थानीया न परेभ्यः समाचक्षीत । कुलाय हि स्त्री प्रदीयत इत्युपदिशन्ति । तदिन्द्रियदौर्बल्यद्विपत्तिपक्षम् । अविशिष्ट हि परत्वं पापे । तद्व्यतिक्रमे खलु पुनश्च भयोनिरकः । आप ध. सू II 10. 27. 2-6

1790 Vide H of Dh vol. II. p 603 n. 1418 for the quotation

1791 अत एव कलौ निवर्तन्ते इत्यल्लुप्तौ शौनकेनोक्त-दत्तौ रसेतरेषा तु पुनस्तेन परिग्रहः—इति । अपरार्क p. 739. This is cited as from आदिश्वपुराण in several other works

1792 मद्यमद्यभृतं आञ्जे कलौ तच्च विवर्जयेत् । मासान्यपि हि सर्वाणि युगधर्मक्रमाद् भवेत् ॥ पञ्चायति 151

1793 चत्वार्यब्दसहस्राणि चत्वार्यब्दशतानि च । कलेर्यदा गमिष्यन्ति तदा त्रेता-परिश्रद्धः । संन्यासस्तु न कर्तव्यो ब्राह्मणेन विज्ञानता ॥ q bv महोजि in टीका on चतुर्विंशतिमत p 55 Vide H of Dh. vol II. p. 953 n. 2481 for other references to this text.

the setting of the three vedic fires and of resorting to sannyāsa after 4400 years of Kali. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana¹⁷⁹⁴ smṛti (21 14-15) states that the two kinds of sons called Kunda and Golaka were permitted in former ages and had the saṁskāras performed on them, but are condemned in the Kali age. Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi, it is worth noting, do not quote a single verse about Kalivarjya. On Yāj. III. 30 Viśvarūpa tries to reconcile Parāśara III. 5 (saying that a brāhmana who is learned in the Veda and keeps the sacred Vedic fires becomes free from impurity in a day) with Parāśara III. 8 (that for ten days on impurity due to birth or death the food of that family becomes unpartakable for others). He does not accept the idea that the period of impurity is only one day for a learned man, but explains that Parāśara III. 5 is only an *arthavāda* meant for glorifying the study of Veda and the keeping of sacred fires. Among later commentators it is stated that the narrowing down of the periods of impurity on the ground of Veda study is forbidden in the Kali age. As this explanation is not offered by Viśvarūpa it is not unreasonable to infer that Viśvarūpa was not aware of the passage on this point quoted from the Ādityapurāṇa. Medhātithi¹⁷⁹⁵ also (on Manu IX. 112) refers to the opinion of some that the smṛti passages about niyoga and uddhāra-vibhāga were applicable only in bygone ages, since smṛtis are restricted to certain ages (vide Manu I. 85); but he refutes that view and explains Manu I. 85 by saying that the meaning is that the dharmas (i.e. qualities or natures of things) change from age to age as they do from season to season. From this it is clear that he did not accept that certain practices current in one age were forbidden in others. Vyāṇeśvara¹⁷⁹⁶ quotes a single verse which condemns the practice of niyoga, the giving of a special share to the eldest son and the killing of a cow in a sacrifice as not allowable in the Kali age. That

1794 संस्कार्यो विधिवच्चोक्तौ मुनिभिः कुण्डगोलकौ । शुभान्तरे स धर्मः स्यात् कलौ निन्द्य इति स्मृतः ॥ परिविच्छया मुतः कुण्डो व्यभिचारसहजः । गोलको विधवायां च निषिद्धः स्यात्कलौ स्मृतः ॥ लघ्वाश्वलायन 21 14-15.

1795 Vide n. 1197 above for मेधातिथि's remarks ह्यसुखद्वारनियोग ... तदे-तदपेक्षालम् । Then मेधा continues . न द्वैविध . कालनियमः कश्चिदपि श्रूयते साध्यातः-पर्वोदितनियमादुत्पन्नः । यच्चान्ये कृतपुने धर्मा इति तदयम एव व्याख्यातम् । मेधा on मनु IX 112 On मनु I 85 अन्ये कृतपुने धर्माः he says धर्मज्ञात्वा न यागादिवचन एव किं तदि पदार्थगुणमात्रे वर्तते । . . यथा वसन्तेऽन्यः पदार्थानां स्वभावोऽन्यो ग्रीष्मेऽन्य एव सर्वा-स्वेव शुश्रेयसि

1796. Vide above p. 628 n. 1198 for the verse यथा नियोगधर्मो नो.

verse is said by the Sm. C II p 266 to have occurred in the Sangraha (i.e. the work called Smrtisangraha). The Sm. C quotes a verse of Kratu which forbids four acts in Kali, viz. *niyoga*, remarriage of a married girl, killing a cow in sacrifices and the taking of a jar.¹⁷⁹⁷ The Nāradya-mahāpurāṇa contains four verses about Kalivarjya stating that certain practices which were once allowed are forbidden in the Kali age, viz. sea voyage, the carrying of a jar of water, marrying a girl of a class lower than one's own, *niyoga*, killing of an animal in Madhuparka, offering of flesh in śrāddhas, the stage of a forest hermit, remarriage of a married girl when the marriage was not consummated, perpetual student-hood, human sacrifice, horse sacrifice, starting on the great journey, the sacrifice of a cow¹⁷⁹⁸. Aparārka (pp. 15, 63) quotes one verse and a half from the Brahmapurāṇa about certain Kalivarjyas viz. perpetual student-hood, the carrying of a *kamandalu*, marriage with a sagotra or sapinda girl, the killing of a cow, human sacrifice, horse sacrifice, drinking intoxicating liquors¹⁷⁹⁹. This could not be traced to the Brahmapurāṇa, but the Prāyaścitta-tattva (p. 520) ex-

1797. ऋतुरपि । देवराज्यं सुतोत्पत्तिः दत्ता कन्या न दीयते । न यज्ञे गोवधः कार्यः कलौ च न कमण्डलुः ॥ १ ॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 12, भट्टोजि's टीका on चतुर्विंशतिमत p. 49 कलिवर्ज्यवि. folio 1, समयमकाश p. 261

1798. ससृष्ट्यान्नास्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम् । द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यादूषणमस्तथा ॥ देवराज्यं सुतोत्पत्तिर्मनुष्यैः पशोर्वधः । मासादनं तथा आग्ने वानमस्याश्रमस्तथा ॥ दत्ताक्षतायाः कन्यायाः पुनर्दानं वरस्य च । नैष्ठिकं ब्रह्मचर्यं च नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ ॥ महाप्रस्थानमनं गोमेधश्च तथा मखः । एतान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ नारदीयपुराण, पूर्वार्ध, 24. 13-16. These are quoted as from the बृहदारण्यकपुराण in the उद्वाहतरङ्ग p. 112, the निर्णयसिन्धु p. 367 (reads ससृष्ट्यान्नुस्वीकारः), कलिवर्ज्यवि. folio 2 (reads मासदानं and ससृष्ट्यान्नुस्वीकारः), the स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 2 contains the half verses ससृष्ट्यान्ना . धारणम्, दत्ता परस्य च, and महाप्रस्थानमनं गोपशुश्रूष हराग्रहः (but without name). The मद् पा p. 16 has the first half (without name) and also the half दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ

1799. दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं धारणं च कमण्डलुः । सगोत्राद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा विवाहो गोवधस्तथा । नराश्वमेधौ भयं च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभिः ॥ इत्यादिना मया देवर्षिपुराणादीं सामान्यतो वर्ज्यत्वेनाभिहितत्वात् । अपरार्क p. 15, स्मृतिच. I. p. 12, परा मा I. part I p. 133. The स्मृतिच., हेमाद्रि III 2 (p. 666), मदनरत्न and निर्णयसिन्धु (p. 367) read गोत्रान्मातुः सपिण्डाच्च विवाहः which means 'marriage with a daughter of the paternal aunt or with a girl who is a sapinda of one's mother i. e. maternal uncle's daughter'. The स्मृतिच. attributes these verses to आदित्यपुराण while निर्णयसिन्धु p. 286 ascribes them to आदित्यपुराण. The कलिवर्ज्यविनिर्णय reads गोत्रान्मातृसपिण्डात्, notices also the reading गोत्रान्मातुः सपिण्डाच्च and has a long note on this, citing and refuting various views. According to the मांसतत्त्वविवेक of विश्वनाथ p. 27 even the कल्पतरु quoted this ब्रह्मपुराण passage (reading गोत्रान्मातृसपिण्डाद्वा)

pressly states that these were cited from the Brahmapurāṇa in the works of Halāyudha, Śūlapāṇi and in the Gṛhastharatnākara (i. e. from about the 12th century onwards). Aparārka (p. 98) quotes another passage from the Brahmapurāṇa¹⁸⁰⁰, which condemns remarriage of women, niyoga, independence of women, on the ground that men in the Kali age are sinners. Aparārka (p. 233) quotes two verses from a smṛti (without name) the first of which prohibits six acts, viz. killing a cow in sacrifice, niyoga (of husband's brother), the performance of *sattras*, taking a water jar, use of wine (in *sautrāmaṇi*), being an ascetic (of the *paramahansa* type) and the second prohibits five, viz. human sacrifice, cow sacrifice, the taking of a *kamaṇḍalu*, niyoga, and the remarriage of a girl whose marriage has not been consummated. Aparārka (p. 233) quotes a passage from the Mārkaṇḍeya recommending the offering of a golden vessel in place of the cow in Madhuparka and stating that Bhṛgu laid down that no animal was to be sacrificed in Kali. The Sm. C. (I. p. 12) quotes a Purāṇa passage that 'the remarriage of a married woman, special share to the eldest son, the killing of a cow, niyoga and the taking of a *kamaṇḍalu*—these five are to be avoided in Kali'¹⁸⁰¹. Hemādri and the Sahyādrī-khaṇḍa state, 'Agnihotra, the killing of a cow, *sanmyāsa*, offering of meat in śrāddha and raising of a son by the husband's brother—these five were¹⁸⁰² to be avoided in Kali. Hemādri in Dānakhaṇḍa quotes a passage from the Garudapurāṇa in which seven matters are mentioned as forbidden in Kali, viz. Āśvamedha, Gosava, human sacrifice, Rājasūya, remarriage even of a girl whose first marriage was not consummated, the carrying of a *kamaṇḍalu* and procreation of a son on a widow by her husband's brother. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 2) mentions twenty-six Kali-varjyas without expressly citing the name of any work. In the Sm. C., the Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri (III. part 2 p. 666), the Par. M. I. part 1 pp. 131-137, the Madanapārijāta (pp. 15-16),

1800. कृषिा पुनर्विवाहस्तु देवरात्र्युत्सन्ततिः । स्वातन्त्र्यं च कलिखगे कर्तव्यं न कदाचन । यद पातकिनो लोके नरा. सन्ति कलौ युगे । ब्रह्मपुराण q by अपरार्क p. 98

1801. दुष्पणेभि । ऊढाया. पुनरुद्वाहं व्येष्टांशं गोवधं तथा । कलौ पञ्च न कुर्वीत आत्जायां कमण्डलुम् । स्मृतिच. I p. 12 This is quoted from the आदिपुराण in the 'सद्गुनरत्न. Vide n, 1700 above and कलिचर्योदि, स्मृतिषु. (वर्णाश्रम) p. 13 quotes it as from पराशर.

1802. आग्निहोत्रं गवालम् संन्यासं पलपैतृकम् । देवरात्रि सुतोत्पत्तिं कलौ पञ्च विवर्जयेत् ॥ स्मृतिषु. (वर्णाश्रम p 176), यतिधर्मसंग्रह p 2, सद्भाद्रिकण्ड (उत्तरभाग chap. V. 64-65) The first two read अग्न्याधियम्. The निर्णयसिन्धु p. 370 quotes the verse as a निगम

Madanaratna (samayoddyota), the Udvāha-tattva (p 112), the Samaya-mayūkha, the Samayaprakāsa of Mitraniśra (pp. 261-263), the Nirnayasinḍhu (III, pūrvārdha at end), Bhattoji on Caturvimsati-mata, the Smṛtiumuktāphala (varnāśrama p. 13), the Smṛtikaustubha, the Dharma-sinḍhu (pp. 357-358) and some other works quote long passages from a purāṇa (which in some of them is specified as the Ādityapurāṇa) that mentions about 50 Kalivarjyas¹⁸⁰³. There is a work called Kalivarjyavinirnaya or Kalivarjyanirnaya composed by Dāmodara elder brother of Nīlakantha (first half of 17th century A. D.), who in his Samaya-mayūkha refers to it. It quotes the Ādityapurāṇa, Brahmapurāṇa and other texts that are quoted here from Hemādri and other older digests¹⁸⁰⁴.

In the passage quoted the several Kalivarjyas are not arranged on any systematic basis. Here, first of all a few Kalivarjyas that have a bearing on law will be mentioned and then the rest will be taken up one after another in the order in which they appear in the extract and lastly those that do not appear in that extract will also be dealt with. The first verse states that certain actions were discarded by the wise though this was unauthorized (by śruti or smṛti) after arriving at a convention among themselves through fear of the loss of dharma (if they were persisted in), because in the Kali age there is absence of good men. The last verse and a half again state that at the beginning of the Kali great men arrived at certain conventions and discarded certain actions in order to guard the people (against harm and sin) and (it is well known) that the conventions of good men are authoritative like Veda¹⁸⁰⁵.

1. Giving a larger share of ancestral property or the whole of it to the eldest son (this is called *jyesthāṁśa* or *uddhāra* or *uddhāravibhāga*). Vide pp. 624-631 above for this.¹⁸⁰⁶

1803. Vide Appendix for the passage.

1804. A ms. of this work existing in the Central Library at Baroda was very kindly lent to me through the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona. There are eleven folios with ten lines on each side and about 40 letters in each line.

1805. Compare Āp Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 2-3 'धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणम् । वेदाश्च' and Vas. I 4-5.

1806. The earliest reference in English to Kalivarjya matters is found in a translation of the passage of the Samayoddyota section of the Madanaratna contained in Sir William Jones' Works vol. VIII (ed of 1807), General Note, vide also Strange's Hindu Law, vol. II pp 164-174 for reference in a modern work on Hindu Law to several topics of Kalivarjya.

2. Appointing the husband's brother (or a sagotra &c.) to raise issue on the wife of a sonless man. This is called *niyoga* and has been dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 599-607. It may be added here that in the K. V. N. there is a long discussion on the question whether an elder brother of the deceased could have been appointed to raise issue on his younger brother's widow and gives it as the opinion of some that he could not be so appointed, but that only a younger brother could be appointed to raise issue on his elder brother's widow. They rely on the Mit. on Yāj. I. 68 where 'devara' is paraphrased as 'kaniyān bhrātā'. The K. V. N. (folio 5 b and 6 a) relying on Manu IX. 62 and the words of the Mit. on Yāj. II. 127 (where Manu IX. 69-70 are cited and explained as 'devaras-tasya iyesthah kanistho vā') holds that any brother whether elder or younger than the husband could be appointed.

3. The admission of several kinds of secondary sons other than the aurasa and the dattaka. For this vide above pp. 647-653.

4. Remarriage of widows. This subject has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 608 ff. Some texts such as Vas. 17. 74 make a distinction between the remarriage of a woman whose marriage was not consummated and of a woman whose marriage was consummated, remarriage being allowed in the first case but not in the 2nd. The Kalivarjya texts forbid remarriage in both cases.¹⁸⁰⁷

5. Intercaste marriages. This subject has been treated of in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 447-451. It has been shown by me above (pp. 599-600) that the decisions in 46 Bom. 871 and 55 Bom. 1 are based upon a misunderstanding about the real views of Nīlakantha.

6. Marriage with sagotra girls or with girls that are sapindas of the mother (such as the maternal uncle's daughter). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 452-478 for prohibition on the ground

1807. पाणिग्रहे मृते बाला केवलं मन्त्रसंस्कृता । सा चेदक्षतयोनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कार-
मर्हति ॥ वसिष्ठ 17. 74. The half verse बालिकाक्षतयोन्योस्तु वरेणान्येन संस्कृतिः
refers to both kinds of widows viz बालिका (whose marriage is not consum-
mated) and क्षतयोनि (whose marriage is consummated). The reading of
देमादि and कलिबर्षति. (folio 1) 'बालिकाक्षतयोन्यास्तु (or—न्याश्च) is to be
understood as referring only to the first kind (बालिका चाक्षतयोनिश्च).
The निर्णयसिन्धु (p 368) reads बालायाः क्षतयोन्यास्तु

of sapinda relationship, pp. 497 ff. for prohibition on the ground of gotra and pp. 458-463 for marriage with maternal uncle's daughter. The custom of marrying the maternal uncle's daughter has persisted to this day in many castes in spite of the inclusion of it among Kalivarjyas. An inscription at Nāgārjunikonda (3rd century A. D.) shows that Virapurusa-datta, son of Śāntamūla, married three daughters of his paternal aunts (E. I. vol XX p. 1).

7. Slaying a brāhmana who comes as an ātatāyin in a properly conducted fight Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 148-151 and p. 517 above for this subject.

8. Awarding of fines against witnesses who depose in disputes between father and son¹⁸⁰⁸ It has already been seen (p 299) how ordinarily suits between husband and wife, father and son were not encouraged in ancient India. But when such a dispute came to the king's notice he could take action *suo motu*, as Nār. includes 'pitāputra-vivāda' among the miscellaneous matters (prakīrnaka verse 3) which the king was to set in motion. Even in ancient times this rule must not have been strictly enforced. As time went on and separation of father and son became frequent the rule must have appeared to be unreasonable. Vide Mit. on Yāj. II. 32 referred to above in n. 418. Yāj. II. 239 (= Matsya 227. 198) prescribed a fine of 3 panas for those who (instead of composing the quarrel between father and son and being able to do so) undertake to be witnesses. Viśvarūpa read 'a fine of two hundred panas'. Viṣṇu Dh. S V. 120 prescribes a fine of ten panas. This shows that at the time of the Matsyapurāṇa this act was probably not included among Kalivarjyas.

9. Taking (or stealing) of corn even from one whose actions are lowly (i. e. even from a śūdra), when a brāhmana has been without food for six times (i. e. three days). Gaut. 18. 28-29, Manu XI. 16 and Yāj. III. 43 provide that when a brāhmana cannot earn his maintenance in a season of distress even in any one of the ways indicated in Yāj. III. 42 and has been hungry for three days he may steal or take away one day's food even from a low person such as a śūdra. It should be noted that this Kalivarjya text pointedly repeats the very

1808. पितापुत्रयोर्विरोधे साक्षी न विद्वत्। यस्तिष्ठेत्स दण्ड्यस्तीव कार्षापणान्यश्चान्तरे तिष्ठेत्सोऽप्यद्वयं दण्ड्यः। काङ्कलिखितौ प. by अपरार्क p. 824.

words of Manu XI. 16 'bhaktāni sad-anaśnatā .. hartavyam hinakarmanah). In ancient times theft of such a minor nature was permitted when the brāhmana was famished. But later times took a stricter view of the matter.

10. 'The admission to intercourse of a brāhmana who undertakes a sea voyage, even though he may have performed the penance prescribed for the same' (I. 7 in the appendix) Here the word used is 'dviṣasya'. It may mean either any person of the three higher castes or a brāhmana. If a man who has made a sea voyage took prāyaścitta he expiated only the sin, but did not become fit, according to this dictum, to be associated with by others. Whether the Vedic Aryans knew the sea has been doubted. Vide 'Vedic Index' on 'samudra', vol. II. pp. 431-433. The Nirukta II. 10 refers to the fact that a doubt arises whether the word 'samudra' in a particular vedic verse refers to the sea or to the sky. In some verses as in Rg. X. 98. 5 'he discharged divine rain waters from the higher to the lower samudra' both the meanings of 'samudra' (viz. sea, sky) are pointedly brought out. Vide also Rg. VII. 6. 7 (ā samudrād-avarād-ā parasmāt). In Rg. VII. 95. 2 Sarasvatī is mentioned as going from the mountains to the sea. In Rg. X. 136. 5 the two seas, Eastern and Western, are mentioned (ubhau samudrāvā kseti yaśca pūrva utāparah). In Rg. VIII. 6. 4 it is said, 'all people bend down to him, as the sīndhus (rivers) flow to the Ocean.' Rg. I. 116. 4-5, X. 39. 4 and X. 143. 5 refer to the story that Aśvins saved Bhuyyu from the waters of the sea.¹⁸⁰⁹ The Atharvaveda XI. 2. 25 refers to eastern sea and northern sea. There is no doubt that in the Brāhmanas the sea was well-known. The Tai. Br. II. 2. 5. 6 remarks, 'there is no end to desire and also to samudra' (neva hi kāmasyāntosti na samudrasya). The Ait. Br. (40. 2) remarks 'just as the sea stands surrounding the earth' (tābhi rājānam parigrhya tisthati samudra iva bhūmim). It has already been seen that among the five practices peculiar to the north the Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 22) enumerates sea voyage (samudra-samyāna) as the last and condemns it. Baud. (II. 1. 51) places sea voyage at the head of grave sins (pataniyām) along with misappropriating a brāhmana's wealth kept as a deposit. The Mit.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Vide 'Vedic Hymns' by Max Muller (S B E vol 32 pp. 57-62) for a note on the question whether the Indians of 'the Vedic age' knew the surging sea (terrestrial).

on Yāj. III. 288 quotes the sūtra of Baud. Manu (III. 158 and 166-167) provides that a brāhmana who had been on a sea voyage was sinful and was not to be invited at a śrāddha. But it is clear that Manu does not say that such a brāhmana altogether loses caste or that he becomes altogether unfit to be associated with; all that Manu provides is that such a brāhmana became unfit for invitation at a śrāddha. The *Aśvanasasmṛti* (IV. pp. 525-526) declares that those who sell the Veda, who marry a widow, who undertake a sea voyage are *pāṭa* and are not to be invited at a śrāddha. These passages show that the prohibition against sea voyage affected only brāhmanas and even then they did not apparently become altogether unfit to be associated with. That brāhmanas crossed the ocean and went to such distant countries as Siam, Cambodia, Java, Sumatra and Borneo can be easily proved¹⁸¹⁰. E. I. vol. 17 p. 314 gives references to inscriptions from Borneo to show that brāhmanas from India migrated to that country about 400 A. D. That kings and merchants undertook sea voyages is also clear from several considerations. The *Bāveru Jātaka* (vol. III No 339, Fausboll) tells us that merchants from Benares went to Babylon in order to sell Indian goods. The 'Questions of Milinda' S. B. E. vol. 36 p. 269 refers to a ship-owner voyaging by sea to distant countries¹⁸¹¹. The *Rājataranginī* refers to the sea voyage of an envoy of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir to Ceylon (IV 503-506). Manu VIII. 157 prescribes that the king should allow that rate of interest which those who are adepts in sea voyages and land journeys and who understand what is required to be the interest at certain times and in certain

1810. Vide Dr. R. C. Majumdar's 'Champa' (1927) and 'Savarna-dvīpa' (1937 and 1938): 'Indian influence in the Literature of Java and Bali' by Himansu Bhusana Sarkar, 'India and Java' by Dr. Bijan Ray Chatterjee (1933), G. Gorier's 'Bali and Angkor'; 'Sanskrit texts from Bali' edited by M. Sylvain Levi in G. O. S., Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, vol. IX. pp. 39-50. The standard writings of Brandes, Bergaigne, Kern, Krom, Parmentier and other scholars on Java, Champa and other countries of the Eastern Archipelago are not mentioned here, as they are not in English. They are referred to by Dr. Majumdar and others.

1811. The whole passage is interesting and may be set out here: 'Just as a shipowner, who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high seas and go to Vanga or Takkola or China or Sovira, Surat or Alexandria or Coromandel coast or Further India or any other place where ships do congregate' &c (S. B. E. vol. 36 p. 269).

places determine to be the proper one. Yāj. II. 38 provides for very high interest (20 per cent per month) from those who engage in trade by sea. Nār. IV. 179 says that a trader (*samudra-vanik*) who makes sea voyages is not a proper witness. The Vāyu (45. 78-80) and other purāṇas state that Bharata-varṣa¹⁸¹² has nine divisions called *dvīpas*, all of which are separated from each other by the sea and are not (easily accessible, that Jambudvīpa (India proper) is the 9th dvīpa and the other eight are Indra, Kaseru, Tāmraparnī, Gabhastimat, Nāga, Saumya (Siam?), Gandharva, Vārūna (Borneo?). Therefore Bharatavarṣa according to Paurāṇic Geography included modern India and also Greater India. None of the ancient works at least says anything against śūdras undertaking sea voyages; but now even śūdras, probably in their desire to emulate the brāhmaṇa and rise higher in social esteem, think that sea voyage is forbidden to them also.

When during the latter half of the 19th century some brāhmaṇas went to England on a political mission or for study and returned to India, the question whether after taking the appropriate *prāyaścitta* those brāhmaṇas could be associated with fully as before was referred to many orthodox and learned *Pandits* (such as the late Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati) and it is creditable to the *Pandits* and gratifying to note that many of them came to the conclusion that they could be associated with by others. The two principal texts referred to were those of the Brhan-Nārada-purāṇa (note 1798 above) and the one from the Ādityapurāṇa translated at the head of this particular Kalivarjya. Very interesting and hairsplitting arguments and explanations were advanced by the learned *Pandits* in 1872. Some of them may be noted here. As regards the Nāradya passage, it is argued that only that seavoyage is forbidden in the Kālī, which was a righteous act (*dharma*) in former times. In Parāśara-smṛiti XII. 58 the following *prāyaścitta*¹⁸¹³ is prescribed for brāhmaṇa murder: 'the sinner should

1812. भारतवर्षस्य वर्णस्य नवभेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः । समुद्रान्तरिता ज्ञेयास्ते त्वग्म्याः परस्परम् ॥ इन्द्रद्वीपः कसेरुश्च ताम्रपर्णी गमस्तिमा ॥ नागद्वीपस्तथा सोम्यो गन्धर्वस्त्वथ वारुणः । अयं तु नवमस्तेषां द्वीपः सागरसङ्गतः । वायु 45. 78-80. The same verses (except the half verse समुद्रान्तरिता &c) occur in मत्स्य 114. 7-9 and Brahma-purāṇa 19. 6-7.

1813. एतेषु खयापयन्नेन पुण्यं गत्वा तु सागरम् । वृक्षायोजनविस्तीर्णं ज्ञतयोजनमायतम् ॥ रामचन्द्रसमादिष्टं बलसञ्चयसाञ्चितम् । सेतुं दृष्ट्वा समुद्रस्य ब्रह्महरया व्यपोहति ॥ पराशर-स्मृति XII. 69-71.

be directed to perform the penance of going to the *setu* on the ocean; he should beg for alms on the road to the *setu* from men of the four classes that are free from improper acts, should walk barefooted and without umbrella, should declare his sin in all towns, villages and hamlets of cowherds on the way while resting there or in forests, sacred places and rivers and after reaching the sea and on seeing the *setu*, 100 *yojanas* long and 10 *yojanas* broad, constructed with heaps of stones at the bidding of Rāma by Nala he will get rid of the sin of brāhmana murder'. Here brāhmana murder being a most heinous offence it cannot be supposed that a mere sight of the *setu* from land would absolve the sinner and the words about the length and breadth of the *setu* would be otherwise meaningless. Therefore what is meant is that he must undertake a sea-voyage and go along the whole length and breadth of the *setu* in a vessel. Such a voyage was religious conduct in former ages, but in Kali this is forbidden. The word 'holding a *kamandalu*' (which also was prescribed as *dharma* in former ages) conveys that a similar or analogous practice is referred to in the immediately preceding words. The words '*dvijasyābhdhau* &c.' are to be interpreted as follows: '*nauyātuh*' is the genitive singular of '*nauyātr*'. The affix '*tr*' is not the ordinary '*tr*' but it is '*trn*' used in the sense of 'one who habitually does a thing', according to Pāṇini III. 2. 134-135.¹⁸¹⁴ Therefore the words of the *Ādityapurāṇa* apply only to a *dvija* who habitually engages in a sea voyage either as a trader or as a helmsman or sailor. When Nārada (*Dāyabhāga* 21) states that even an *aurasa* son who is hostile to his father or who is *patita* (guilty of one of the five great sins) or is impotent or is '*apayātrita*' he does not get a share of ancestral wealth, the *Vyavahāramayūkha* explains the last word as 'one who goes to another continent (other than *Jambudvīpa*) through mid ocean by means of a vessel for purposes of trade' and relies on this passage (*dvijasyābhdhau* &c.) for support. So according to the author of the *V. Mayūkha* only that *dvija* who constantly undertakes sea voyages for trade is here declared to be unfit for social intercourse though he may have taken a *prāyaścitta*, and not one who casually or once in a life undertakes a sea voyage. No text prescribes a *prāyaścitta* merely for going in a vessel on the sea. If that were intended in this passage the text would have read differently viz. '*samudre naugamanābhāve* &c.' Even *sīstas* have been

1814. आक्रेस्तच्छीलतर्द्धनतत्साधुकारिषु । वृत् । पाणिनि III. 2. 134-135.

crossing the sea to Ceylon for purposes of trade. In dramas like the *Ratnāvalī* (where the *kañcukān* Bābhavya undertakes a sea voyage and a merchant from Kausāmbī is said to have gone to Ceylon) and in romances like the *Daśakumāracarita* frequent references are made to sea voyages to Ceylon and other countries. What is aimed to be hit when *prāyaścitta* for sea voyage is prescribed is the fact that on such voyages a man may give up for long such daily duties as the performance of *sandhyā* and may have come in very close contact with *mlecchas* as regards food etc. If he has done these two, then only he is not fit for intercourse even though he may have undergone a *prāyaścitta*. If he performs his daily duties wherever he may dwell and does not come in too close a contact with *mlecchas* he may have to perform no *prāyaścitta*, much less would he become unfit for social intercourse. The view of Medhātithi on Manu II. 23 that any country by itself is not unfit for the residence of an *ārya*, that if *mlecchas* overrun a country in India and permanently reside there it may become a *mlecchadesa*, that even a *mleccha* country, if it be conquered by an Indian king and if the system of the four *varnas* be introduced therein, would be a fit one for the performance of Vedic sacrifices, has already been noted (in H. of Dh vol. II p 16). It has to be remembered that the *Ādiparva* (85. 34) states that *mlecchas* and *yavanas* sprang from Anu and Turvasu, sons of Yayāti. The *Sabhāparva* notes that Bhīma made *mlecchas* dwelling beyond the seas and in *Anūpa* bring tribute (30. 25-27) and that *mlecchas* came to see the *Rājasūya* sacrifice along with Bhagadatta of *Prāgyotisa* (*Sabhā* 34. 9-10). The following propositions follow from the above discussion : (1) As the word '*dviija*' is used a *śūdra* or a person of the mixed castes (*sankīrna-jāti*) does not become unfit for social intercourse even by habitually undertaking a sea voyage, but he may have to undergo a *prāyaścitta*, (2) a *dviija* who casually undertakes a sea voyage to a place outside India either at the king's bidding or for any other purpose has to undergo a *prāyaścitta*, but if he does so he becomes fit for social intercourse; (3) a *dviija* habitually undertaking a sea voyage for trade or as a sailor would become unfit for intercourse even after undergoing *prāyaścitta*. Manu IX. 314, when enlarging upon the devastating power of *brāhmanas*, mentions that the sea was made undrinkable by *brāhmanas*, which, according to Medhātithi and other commentators, has in view the story in *Sānti* 343 60-61. It is difficult to say whether this story had any influence in leading to the prohibition against sea voyage.

The Smṛtikaustubha explains that 'samudrayātrā' means 'tīrthayātrā' i e. pilgrimage to holy places beyond the sea and that is forbidden here. But this seems to be wrong, as stated by Kṛsnabhāṭṭa on the Nīr. S. The latter says that expiation is to be undergone only where a sea voyage is undertaken from worldly motives, but where a sea voyage has to be undertaken for reaching a holy place like the Śāṅkhoddhara-tīrtha, it is an inseparable part of the pilgrimage and therefore there is no necessity to undergo a prāyaścitta.¹⁸¹⁵

11. 'The initiation for a *sattra*' (1. 8) Sattras were sacrificial sessions the duration of which varied from 12 days to a year, 12 years or even more. Only brāhmanas could perform them (Jai. VI 6 16-23). Acc. to Śābara on Jai. VI. 2. 1 persons who engaged in them must not be less than 17 nor more than 24 All of them were both sacrificers (yajamāna) as well as priests. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 1239-1246 for sattras. The prohibition against engaging in sattras is a clear indication that people had become tired of the ancient Vedic sacrifices, of the great demands they made on time and wealth and had begun to prefer other and easier modes of worship.

12. 'Carrying a jar of water' (1. 8). The Baud. Dh. S I 4 devotes numerous¹⁸¹⁶ sūtras (1-27) to the subject of carrying an earthen or wooden jar full of water. Every snātaka was always to carry a jar of water from which he was to take water for *śauca*. He was to wash it with water and rub it with his hand. This was declared to be equal to *paryagnikarana* (encircling with fire for purification, vide H. Dh. vol. II p. 1120 n. 2501). He was not to go to another's house or to the village boundary or on a journey without the jar. Vas. 12. 14-17, Manu IV. 36, Yāj I. 133 contain similar provisions. Viśvārūpa explains that the snātaka himself need not carry it and that it may be carried for him by another. It was an encumbrance, gave rise to unhygienic and unclean habits and so gradually it came to be dispensed with. This practice was regularised by declaring that in the Kali age a water jar was

1815 एतच्च मायश्चित्तं रागमते समुद्रयान एव । शङ्कोद्धारादितरिष्ये यात्राविधिनान्तरी-यकं समुद्रयानमती दोषाभावाच्च मायश्चित्तमित्यप्यत्र विस्तरः । कुण्डभट्ट on नि. सि p 1238.

1816. अथ कमण्डलुचर्पास्तुपविशन्ति । ... तस्माच्छौचं कृत्वा पाणिना परिवृजितं पर्याशिकरणं हि तत् । ... अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । कमण्डलुद्विजातीनां शौचार्थं विहितं पुरा । ब्रह्मणा सुनिश्चयैश्च तस्मात् धारयेत्सदा ॥ ततः शौचं ततः पानं सन्ध्योपासनमेव च । निर्विहाङ्गेन कर्तव्यं यदीच्छेच्छ्रेय आत्मनः । ... पितृदेवाशिकार्यं तस्मात् परिवर्जयेत् । तस्माद् विना कर्म-ज्वरानां नाभ्यान् ब्रजेच्च सीमान्तं न गृह्णाद् गृहम् । बो. घ. सू. I, 4, 1, 3, 18-19, 24, 25.

not to be carried at all. The Madanapārijāta (p. 16) explained that 'kamandaluvidhāraṇa' refers to perpetual studenthood, but this explanation cannot be accepted, because in the Nāradyapurāṇa (note 1798 above) both are mentioned separately. The K. V. N. (folio 3 a) notes that some explained 'kamandaluvidhāraṇam' as standing for 'dirghakālam brahmācāryam' (studenthood for long periods).

13. 'Starting on the Great Journey' (1.9). The Brāhmanāradya-purāṇa (pūrvārtha 24. 16) also forbids this. According to Manu VI 31 and Yāj. III 55 a forest hermit, when he suffered from an incurable disease and could not perform the duties of his order, was allowed to start towards the north-east on the Great Journey (mahāprasthāna) till the body fell down to rise no more. Similarly, a man guilty of brāhmana murder was allowed to meet death at the hands of archers or to throw himself head foremost into fire. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 924-928 for Mahāprasthānagamana Aparārka¹⁸¹⁷ (p. 877-879) quotes long passages from the Ādipurāṇa to the effect that if a man suffering from an incurable disease starts on the Great Journey in the Himālaya or commits suicide by entering fire or water or by falling from a precipice, not only does he not incur sin, but on the contrary he goes to heaven. It is rather inconsistent that the Ādipurāṇa (or Ādityapurāṇa) should in one place extol the starting on the Great Journey and in another place should forbid it in the Kali āga. The K. V. N. cites the instance of the Pāṇḍavas that are said to have started on the Great Journey. This makes one suspicious about the authenticity of the passages on Kalivarjya quoted from the Ādityapurāṇa by some and from Ādipurāṇa by others.

14. 'The killing of a cow in the sacrifice called Gosava' (1.9).

There were various occasions on which in ancient times a cow was sacrificed. The Anūbandhyā cow killed at the end of the Udayaniyā istī in Agnistoma has been referred to above (on p. 627 n. 1196). In the Madhuparka which was offered

1817. तथा आदित्यपुराणम् । दुश्चिकित्स्यैर्महारोगैः पीडितस्तु पुमान्यदि । मविकोज्ज्वलनं दीपं करोत्यनश्नं तथा ॥ अगाधतोयराशिं वा भृशुप्रपतनं तथा । मच्छेत्तन्महापथं वापि तुवार-गिरिमादरात् ॥ मयागवशशास्त्रार्थं देहत्यागं करोति वा । स्वयं देहविनाशस्य काले प्राप्ते महामतिः । उत्तमान्यामुपाहोकाक्षान्मवाती भवेत्कचित् । q. by अपरार्क p. 877 and by परा. ना. I. 2. 228 (as from आदित्यपुराण) अपरार्क (p. 879) further quotes 'महाप्रस्थानयात्रा च कर्तव्या तुहेनोपरि । आजित्य सख्यं यैर्दे च सद्यः स्वर्गमद्वा च सा ॥'

to an honoured guest a cow was either killed or let loose at the desire of the guest. Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 543-545. A cow was killed in one of the three or four *astakā śrāddhas* (vide Khādira gr. III. 41, Gobhila gr. III. 10. 16). Āp Dh. S. II. 7. 16. 25 states that if cow's flesh is offered in *śrāddha* for the *mītr*s, the latter are gratified for one year. There was a sacrifice called Gosava or Gomedha, that was an Ukthya in which the fees were ten thousand cows and which according to some could be performed only by a *vaiśya* (Kāt. Śr. 22. 11. ¹⁸¹⁸ 3-8). A bull was killed as an offering in the rite called *sūlagava* (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 831-832). As flesh-eating came to be looked down upon, cow sacrifice became most abhorrent and Kalivarjya texts only register a prohibition which had been acted upon centuries before.

15. 'The employment of cups of wine in the Sautrāmani' (I. 10).

The Sautrāmani is not a soma sacrifice but it is a combination of an *isth* with an animal sacrifice. It was so called from 'sutrāman' (an epithet of Indra). Its peculiar characteristic was the offering of *surā* in cups. In modern times milk is offered in its place and Āp Śr. allowed it even in ancient times ¹⁸¹⁹. It was included among the seven *havyayānas* by Gaut. (VIII. 20). At the end of the Rājasūya it was performed or in Agnicayana or for one who suffered vomiting or purging from the excessive drinking of soma. For sautrāmani and the preparation of *surā* in it, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 1225-1228. Bhattoji (in com. on Caturvimsati-mata p. 53) and the Nirṇaya-sindhu construe this to mean 'having social intercourse with one who employs *surā* in Sautrāmani' but this is not satisfactory. The Dharmasindhu explains as above (III. pūrvārdha p. 357) ¹⁸²⁰.

1818. ऋषभगोसवौ । . . उक्थ्यो गोसवो अयुतदक्षिणः । वैश्ययज्ञ इत्येके । सरा-
जानो विशो यं पुरस्कुर्वीरन् । कात्या औ. 22. 11. 3, 6-8.

1819. चात्वाले मार्जयित्वापरस्मिन् खरे सुराग्रहात् गृह्णन्ति । ... पयोमदा वा स्युः ।
आप. औ. 19. 2. 7, 13.

1820. सुराग्रहणस्य सुराग्रहणकर्तुः समग्र. व्यवहारः । भट्टोजि om चतुर्विंशतिमं
p. 53, सोत्रामण्यादियज्ञेपि सुरापात्रग्रहस्तथा । धर्मसिन्धु III p. 357 The कलियर्ग्यवि
(folio 6b) remarks, 'सुराग्रहणस्य समग्रः प्रयोगविधिनाल्लघ्यायनम् । यत् समग्रपदस्यार-
स्याल्लसारेण सुराग्रहणस्येत्यनेन सुराग्रहणकर्तारं विवक्षित्वा तस्य संग्रहे व्यवहार इति
व्याख्यात तत्र । अस्मद्भुक्तमार्गेण गतिसम्भवे लक्षणाश्रयस्य जघन्यत्वात् । किं चैनं सति सोत्रा-
मण्या सुराग्रहस्य निषेधो न स्यात्तत्कर्तुः परं व्यवहारनिषेधः स्यात् । तच्च समाचारविज्ञम् ।'

16. 'The licking of the Agnihotrahavani and the use of it even after it was licked' (1. 11). In the Agnihotra the *sruva* ladle is held in the right hand and the *sruca* called agnihotrahavani is held in the left and the milk is poured into the latter from the milk pot with *sruva*. After the Agnihotra homa is offered the agnihotrahavani is licked twice in order to take out the remnants of the milk and after wiping it with darbha blades it is used again. Ordinarily a vessel when it is once licked by a man cannot be used again in a religious rite unless proper purification is resorted to. But this did not apply to the Agnihotrahavani and *camasas* of soma. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1002, n. 2663 for agnihotrahavani, p. 1005 for its licking and p. 1177 (n. 2598) for the drinking of soma from the same *camasa* by the several priests. The licking of the agnihotrahavani and its use constitute really the subject of the prohibition.¹⁸²¹

17. 'Entering on the stage of forest hermit as laid down in the texts about it' (1. 12). Gaut. III. 25-34, Āp. Dh. S (II. 9. 21. 18 to II. 9. 23. 2), Manu VI. 1-32, Vas IX 1-11, Yāj. III. 45-55 lay down elaborate rules for the stage of forest hermits. Vide H. of Dh. vol II pp. 917-929 for a description and remarks on *sannyāsa* to be made later on.

18. 'The narrowing down or curtailment of the periods of impurity depending upon the Vedic learning and the mode of life of a person' (1. 13). 'Agha' means 'āśauca'; 'vr̥tta' (mode of life) refers to tending sacred fires or maintaining oneself in the way described by Manu IV. 7-10. The general rule about the period of impurity for a brāhmana on the death of a sapinda was stated by Gaut. 14. 1, Manu V. 59 and 83 to be that it was ten days and Angiras quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 22 prescribes impurity for ten days for all varnas, but Manu V. 59 also spoke of the period being four days, three days or one day, which, acc to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 28-29, refers respectively to kumbhidhānya, one who has collected food for three days or one who collects nothing for the morrow. Dakṣa VI. 6 and Parā-

1821. प्राग्दण्डयोद्दण्डया वा शुचि द्विराचामति द्विश्च निर्लेदि । सरया श्री III 7
19. लीढाया उच्छिष्टदोषशुद्धयुपाय विना परिग्रहो यस्मिन् विहितत्वेन निर्दोषत्वावित्याशयः ।
ततश्च न पुनर्द्विनिषेधः परित्यक्त्य । स्मृतिकौस्तुभ p 471, अग्निहोत्रं कृत्यते यया शुचि सा
वैकङ्कती अग्निहोत्रहवनी तस्याश्च होमानन्तरं हुतावशिष्टमतिपक्षिभूतमज्ञानार्थं लेहो जिह्वया-
स्वादनं कथञ्चिद्दीयावास्तरयाः पुनः परिग्रहो विनान्तरे होमसाधनता । कलिवर्ग्यदि, folio 7a.

sara¹⁸²² III. 5 both state that a brāhmana who keeps the Vedic fires and has studied the Veda becomes free from impurity in a day, one who has only studied the Veda (but does not tend sacred fires) becomes free in three days, while one devoid of both becomes free after ten days. Aparārka (p. 894) and Haradatta on Gaut. 14. 1 quote Bṛhaspati to the same effect. The Mit. remarks¹⁸²³ (on Yāj III. 28-29) that the curtailment of the period of impurity is not absolute but is restricted only to certain special matters viz. the receiving of gifts, the performance of Agnihotra, the study of the Veda and such matters in which distress would be caused if the period were not curtailed. This explanation clearly proves that Viññāneśvara (end of 11th century) was not aware of the prohibition of the curtailment of the periods of impurity or treated it with scant respect. The curtailment of the period of impurity was laid down probably because curtailment led to confusion, since a person may claim to be learned, while his neighbours may not concede that claim.

19. 'Prescribing death as the penance for brāhmanas'.
(1. 14)

Manu XI. 89 provides that if a person intentionally murders a brāhmana there is no expiation for it. Manu XI 90 prescribes death by drinking boiling wine for the sin of drinking *surā*, while Manu XI. 146 provides¹⁸²⁴ that if a man knowingly drinks wine there is no expiation for it, but only death. The Viṣṇu-dharmaśūtra (chap. 34) states that incest with the mother, daughter or daughter-in-law is *atpātaka*, such sinners have to

1822. एकाहं ह्युच्यते विमो योऽपि विवस्मन्वितः । अथ हात्केवलवेत्सु द्विहीनो दशभिर्द्विजैः । दश VI. 6 and पराशर III 5, quoted by विश्वरूप on या. III, 30, त्रिरात्रेणैव शुष्येच्च विमो वेदाग्निसेयुतः । पञ्चभिर्वाग्निनिस्तु दशाहाद् ब्राह्मणमुच्यते ॥ शिलो-च्छायाचित्तैर्जीवन् सद्यः शुष्येद् द्विजैस्तमः । गायत्रीमावसारोपि तिस्रः सन्ध्या उपोसि च ॥ न करोति श्वहृतिं च षडहः सप्तकं भवेत् । बृह. ५. ५ by अपरार्क p. 894.

1823. अथ चाज्ञौ च सङ्कोचो येनैव प्रतिग्रहादिना विनाशितस्तद्विषयो न सर्वत्रैव यत्नतः स्यात् । ... अतः क्वाचित्कमेवेदमाज्ञौ च सङ्कोचविधानं न पुनः सर्वत्रैव यद्विनाशितोऽपि चरितव्य-लभति यत्पञ्चन । मिता. on या III. 28-29

1824. मतिपूर्वमनिर्द्देश्यं प्राणान्तिकमिति स्थितिः । मनु XI 146 Most of the commentators of Manu explain this half differently as meaning 'a penance destructive of life should not be prescribed'. But this explanation is opposed to Gaut 21. 7 (त्रीणि प्रथमान्यनिर्द्देश्यानि मनु.) and to Medhātithi Vide कलिवर्णने folio 7a 'यत् केचिद् व्याख्यात मतिपूर्वं .. स्थितिरिति मनुस्मृत्यादौ रोधाद् सम्यैर्विषयो मरणान्तिकं नोपदेष्टव्यं तैस्तु एहसमायश्चित्तवधधाकर्णचित्तदुष्टेयमिति तन्मन्वं मनुस्मृतेरैव दुर्गवियस्ये मनाणाभावाद् ।'.

enter fire and there is no other penance for this sin. Vide Gaut. 21. 7 also. Some smrtis held that there was no-prāyaścitta for certain grave sins except falling from a precipice or into fire. As a brāhmana's person became more and more sacred with the march of time, death ceased to be a penance for a brāhmana sinner, however grave the sin might be. But this did not apply to a ksatriya or any one else (other than a brāhmana).

20. 'Pollution through contact with a sinner' (1. 15). Manu XI. 180 (= Śānti 165. 37 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 88),¹⁸²⁵ Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35. 2-5 provide that if a person continues for one year in close association (*samsarga*) with one guilty of the grave sins (enumerated in Manu XI. 54), in respect of occupying the same conveyance or seat with him or dining in the same row with him he becomes *patita*; but he becomes *patita* immediately if he officiates as a priest for such a sinner or performs his upanayana for teaching him the sacred Gāyatri and the Veda or if he enters into a matrimonial alliance with him. Parāśara (I. 25-26) states that in the Kṛta age a person became *patita* by speaking with a *patita*, in Tretā by seeing him, in Dvāpara by partaking of food prepared in his house, but in Kali by actually committing a (sinful) deed and that when a grave sin was committed by a man, in the Kṛta age the whole district in which he lived was to be abandoned, in Tretā the village, in Dvāpara his family alone and in Kali only the perpetrator.¹⁸²⁶ Parāśara (XII. 79) no doubt¹⁸²⁷ says that 'sins (i. e. pollutions are caused) are transferred, as a drop of oil (spreads) on water, by sitting or sleeping together or by using the same conveyance, by speaking with or by dining in the same row with a sinner'; but this only means that to associate with a sinner is bad, but it does not mean that to associate with a *patita* immediately makes the associator himself a *patita*. The Mit. on Yāj III. 261 quotes Devala¹⁸²⁸ and Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati to the effect

1825. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । याजनाध्यापनाद्यौनाञ्च तु यानासनाशनात् । मनु XI. 180, बौ ध. सू. II. 1. 88.

1826. रथजेद्देशं कृतदुगे त्रेतायां ग्राममुत्क्षेजेत् । द्वापरे कुलमेकं तु कर्तारं च कलौ शुभे ॥ कृते सम्भाषणात्वाप त्रेतायां चैव दर्शनात् । द्वापरे चाश्रमादाय कलौ पतति कर्मणा ॥ पराशर I. 25-26.

1827. आसनाच्छयनाद्यानात्सम्भाषात् सहभोजनात् । संकामन्ति हि पापानि तैल-बिन्दुरित्याम्भसि ॥ पराशर XII. 79, which is the same as कण प by परा ना II. 1 p. 28 (where सलापात् is read for सम्भाषात्).

1828. सलापस्पर्शनि. आससहयानासनाशनात् । याजनाध्यापनाद्यौनात्पापं संक्रमते चणाम् ॥ देवल p. by मित on या. III. 261, अपरार्क p. 1087

that *samsarga* arises in nine ways viz. by talk, by touch, by breathing the same air (i. e. by being in the same room), by being in the same conveyance or on the same seat or bed, by dining in the same row, by being a sinner's priest or vedic teacher or entering into matrimonial alliance with him. The Par M. says that Parāśara held the view that there was no *pāṭhya* by the various kinds of contact in Kali and so provided no *prāyaścitta* for *samsarga*. The Nirayasindhu¹⁸²⁹ and Bhattoji make similar remarks. The Udvāhatattva says that Parāśara I. 25 is to be interpreted in this way that merely speaking or touching a *patita* or receiving money from him does not make another liable to any *prāyaścitta*, but that if the association with a *patita* goes quite beyond these, then sin may be incurred by association. So almost all the digests are agreed that the rigour of the very strict rules about *samsarga* in Manu and Baud. was modified by declaring that speech with or sight of a sinner involved no sin in Kali.¹⁸³⁰

21. 'Undergoing (secret) expiation for the grave sins (*mahāpātakas*) except theft' (I. 15). Hārta (q by Par. M. II¹⁸³¹ part 2, p 153) prescribes secret expiation for a *brāhmana* who has studied *dharmasāstra* and committed a sin without anyone knowing it. Gaut. (chap. 24) prescribes certain expiations to be undergone secretly (without any third person knowing of such performance) for even *mahāpātakas* such as *brāhmana* murder, drinking *surā*, incest and theft of gold. Vas. (chap. 25) also does the same and states (25. 2) that only those who have kept the sacred vedic fires, who are disciplined and old or learned are entitled to secret expiations for sins and not other people. The Visnu Dh. S. 55 deals with secret expiations. Parāśara IX. 61 (last verse) laid down¹⁸³² the general rule that one should openly

1829 आचार्यस्तु कालिद्युगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिधेयं संसर्गमायश्चित्ता नान्यथात्
अत एव स्मृत्यन्तरे काली वर्णानामनुक्रमेण संसर्गदोषः पारेषु हृत्युक्तः । परा मा II part
2 p 90, it may be noted that the धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय (p 132) quotes this passage
and criticizes it ; कलौ कर्तेव लिप्यते—इति व्यासोक्तः पतितसंसर्गं दोषसत्त्वेन पतित्यं
नेत्यर्थः । निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 368.

1830. कलौ कर्तेव लिप्यते — इत्यनेन संभाषणदर्शनादिजन्यपातित्यस्यैव निषेधः ।
समयमयुक्तः ।

1831. अथ ब्राह्मणस्य श्रुतधर्मज्ञानस्य रहस्यमनुक्रमिष्यामः । रहस्यं रहस्ये प्रकाशं
प्रकाशम् । परा मा II part 2, p. 153.

1832. तस्मात्प्रकाशयेत्पापं स्वधर्मं सततं चरेत् । श्रीबालमुद्रागतोविशेषातिकोप विवर्न-

declare one's sin. The Kalivarjya text provides that secret expiation is allowed as regards only theft among the mahāpātakas in the Kali age, though in earlier ages it was allowed as to other mahāpātakas also. The Nirnayāsindhu says that secret expiation is allowed only to brāhmanas. According to the Dharmasindhu, in the Kali age if a man is guilty of the murder of a brāhmana or of other mahāpātakas he does not avoid the consequences of falling into Hell when he undergoes an expiation but he becomes only fit for social intercourse, while as regards theft of gold (a mahāpātaka) by undergoing prāyaścitta he avoids the fall into hell and also becomes fit for social intercourse. The Kalivarjyavinirnaya appears to hold that all secret expiations are forbidden in Kali.¹⁸³³

22. 'The act of offering an animal with the recital of Vedic mantras to the bridegroom, to a guest and in honour of pitrs' (1 16)¹⁸³⁴ Madhuparka was offered in ancient times on several occasions and to several persons such as to *ritviks* at sacrifices, to the king, to a *snātaka*, to one's ācārya, father-in-law, paternal or maternal uncle and to a bridegroom. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 542-546 for details about Madhuparka. Originally a cow or a bull was killed for an honoured guest, later on when the cow came to be extremely sacred the flesh of some other animal was offered; when flesh-eating itself came to be looked down upon then only *pāyasa* and other vegetarian eatables came to be prescribed. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 777-782 on flesh-eating. This half line forbids the offering of flesh to a bridegroom or to an honoured guest (in madhuparka) and the feeding of

1833. The कलिवर्ज्ये (folio 8a) notes, 'अत एव बृहन्नारदीयविष्णुपुराणादि-पु-द्यादयस्ति प्रयत्नेन स्वर्गदोषं पापकर्मिणः । रहस्यमेव कुर्वन्ति प्रायश्चित्तकार्या कलौ ॥ मन-शुद्धिविहीनानां निष्कृतिर्न ततो भवेत्—इत्यादि तत्र तत्र निन्दामक्रमे रहस्यव्रतमेव निन्दितम् ।' It should be noticed that the Nirnayāsindhu and a few others read ससर्गदोषस्तेन्यमहापातकनिष्कृति as one word meaning 'secret expiation for mahāpātakas other than theft and other than association with those guilty of grave sins'. The स्वरस्यसार (p 2), मद पा p. 16 and उद्गाहसत्र (p. 112) read this half line as ससर्गदोषः पापेषु मधुपर्कपशोर्यः. 'ब्रह्महत्यादि-महापातकेषु प्रायश्चित्तेन नरकनिवृत्तिर्न भवति किं विह लोके व्यवहार्यतामात्रं कलौ भवति । स्वर्गस्तेषादिषु तु प्रायश्चित्तेन नरकनिवृत्तिर्यवहार्यता च । धर्मसिन्धु III, पूर्वार्ध p. 358.

1834. उपाकरण has a technical sense. It means 'touching the animal to be sacrificed with several mantras'. Mann V 7 employs the word in that sense and Kullūka comments, 'पशुयागादौ मन्त्रचटुलेन पशोः स्पर्शनमुपाकरणम्'. The कलिवर्ज्ये. (9a) quotes देवतामादिशेद्धुष्मे त्वा जुष्टमुपाकरोमि. With reference to śrāddha the word upākaraṇa is used in a secondary sense and not in the literal sense. For the upākaraṇa mantra अहुष्मे करोमि, vide आश्व य. I 11. 2

brāhmanas with flesh at śrāddhas. Comparatively so late a writer as Yāj (L 258-259) extols the high gratification that the *Manes* feel when flesh of various animals is offered in śrāddhas. This one prohibition includes in itself several prohibitions that are separately mentioned in other texts such as 'govadha' (in notes 1797 and 1799), the killing of an animal in a Madhuparka (in n. 1798), 'gavāmbha' and 'palapaitrka' (in note 1802). It is noteworthy that even so late as the first half of the 17th century Viśvanātha, a great logician, takes up the cudgels on behalf of flesh-eating by brāhmanas in sacrifices, śrāddha, madhuparka, in danger to life and when ordered by a brāhmana and charges those who totally forbid flesh-eating with being the followers of the doctrines of Bauddhas, while the latter at the same time prescribe expiations for even murderers of brāhmanas through greed of money and marry their maternal uncle's daughters or other sapindas of their mother, though both of these latter are forbidden by the Kalivarjya texts. ¹⁸³⁵

23. 'Association with those that are guilty of intercourse with women who are not of the same varna, even though the former may have undergone proper expiation for the lapse' (I. 18). There was great divergence of views as regards the *prāyaścitta* for adultery by a male with a female of the same class, of a higher class or of a lower class. Further the ancient sūtras were rather hard on the guilty parties, the harsh rules being relaxed by later *smṛti* writers. For example, Gaut 23 14-15 and Vas. 21. 1-3 prescribe for a male of a lower caste having intercourse with a woman of a higher caste death in various ways. If a brāhmana had sexual intercourse with a *cāṇḍāla* or *śvapāka* woman Parāśara (X. 5-7) prescribes that he has to undergo a fast for three days, tonsure of the head together with the top knot, three *Prājāpatyas*, *Brahmakīrca*, feeding brāhmanas, constant recital of the *Gāyatrī*, gift of two pairs of cows and then he becomes pure, while a *śūdra* doing the same had to undergo the expiation of one *Prājāpatya* and had to make a

1835 तस्माद्यज्ञे आर्द्धे मधुपर्के माणात्पये ब्राह्मणाज्ञायां च भोक्तव्यं तद्व्यतिरेकेणापि भृत्यभरणावशिष्टं देवपितृर्चनावशिष्टं च चतुर्णामपि वर्णानामवशिष्टेण भक्षयेत् । मांसतत्त्व-विशेषक of विश्वनाथ (Sarasvatībhavana series, Benares, 1927), ये तु कलिवर्ज्य-तया मांसआर्द्धे विवदन्ते स्तेयान्यमहापातकानिष्कृतिरिति कलिवर्ज्यतयाक्रमणि ब्रह्महत्यातर्क-सर्गमायश्चित्तं धनलोभादुपदिशन्ति मातुसर्पिण्डानयने (सर्पिण्डापरिणयने ?) च न विवदन्ते रामरोषद्वयितच्चेतसो देवाना मिवास्ते केन शिक्षणीया इत्यलं मांसविद्विपात्रैः सौम्यतमाउ-सतिभिः सह अमेयेति । *ibid.* pp. 28-29.

gift of two cows. If a person of a low caste has intercourse with a woman of a higher caste (e g. a śūdra has intercourse with a brāhmana woman) Samvarta (verses 166-167) prescribes the expiation of subsisting for a month on cow's urine and yāvaka (barley gruel) for him. If a brāhmana commits adultery with a śūdra or cāṇḍāla woman Samvarta (verses 169-170) prescribes the expiation of cāṇḍāyana, while Parāśara (X. 17-20) prescribes a far more severe expiation. The present text prescribes that, even after undergoing expiation, men guilty of intercourse with women of castes other than their own cannot be allowed to have social intercourse with their castemen. The Dharmasindhu¹⁸³⁶ says that śūdras that have intercourse with brāhmana or other women of a higher caste are hereby declared to be unfit for social intercourse even after they undergo expiation. This no doubt made for strictness in morale, but it also led to the preservation of caste exclusiveness.

24. 'Abandonment of a mother (or other woman who is to be honoured owing to relationship) because she has had sexual intercourse with one of low class' (l. 19).

The provisions of the sūtras and smrtis on the subject of expiation for adultery by women varied from time to time. Gaut 23. 14 and Manu VIII. 371 prescribe that a woman who has intercourse with a man of low caste is to be punished by the king with being devoured by dogs. But other smrtis and Manu himself (XI. 177) are not so harsh, but are rather humane in their treatment of adulteresses. Manu XI. 176 says that the husband should keep confined to one apartment his corrupt wife and compel her to perform the expiation which is prescribed for males in cases of adultery. Manu XI. 59 and Yāj III. 235 regard adultery by a male (pāradārya) as an upapātaka and Manu XI. 117 and Yāj. III. 265 prescribe cāṇḍāyana as an expiation for all upapātakas. Vas. XXI. 12 prescribes that the wives of men of the three higher castes who are guilty of adultery with a śūdra may be purified by an expiation if no child is born of the intercourse but not otherwise. Yāj I. 72 provides that a woman becomes free from the taint of adultery when she has her monthly illness after the adultery but if she conceives in adulterous intercourse she may be abandoned. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 72 states that both Yāj. and Vas. are to be

1836. विवादिसिन्धोर्गेन भ्रष्टानां शूद्रादीनां प्रायश्चित्तेषु संसर्गो निषिद्धः । धर्म-
सिन्धु III. पूर्वार्धे p. 358.

understood in the same sense and abandonment does not mean driving out of the house but only not allowing her to participate in religious acts and not having sexual intercourse with her. Vas. XXI. 10 states that only four kinds of women are to be abandoned, viz. one who has intercourse with the husband's pupil or with the husband's *guru*, one who attempts to kill her husband or one who commits adultery with a man of a degraded caste. Yāj. (III. 296-7) provides that to women that are *patita* the same rules apply as to men, but they should be given food, raiment and protection and that intercourse with a man of low caste is one of the three gravest sins for women. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 297. The present text states that a woman (such as a mother) who is entitled to honour from a person because of her relationship (as mother, elder sister etc.) is not to be abandoned and cast on the street by him, although she may be guilty of adultery with a degraded or low caste man, in spite of Vas. XXI. 10 and other texts (such as Br.),¹⁸³⁷ That is, this text was more humane to such women than ancient texts. Kṛṣṇa-bhatta explains that 'gurustriyāḥ' means 'of a brāhmana woman'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 571-573 for further remarks on adulterous women. Āp. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 9 requires the son always to serve and wait upon the mother even though she may be *patita*. Atri¹⁸³⁸ (195-196) and Devala (50-51) contain two verses (almost in the same words) which are lax as compared with other ancient texts. They say: 'If a woman conceives through intercourse with a male who is not of her caste, she becomes impure till her delivery. When she is delivered or she has her monthly illness after the intercourse she becomes like pure gold'. Atri (197-198) further provides that whether a woman willingly has sexual intercourse or is deceived or is enjoyed against her will or in secret, she should not be abandoned; one should wait till the monthly illness and she becomes purified by that illness'. This comparative laxity of

1837. अनिच्छन्ती तु वा सुक्ता सुतां तं वासयेद् गृहे । मलिनाङ्गीमथ स्यात् पाण्ड-
माङ्गोपजीविनीश्च । कारयेच्छिष्टं कृच्छ्रं पराकं वा सन्ने यताश्च । हीनवर्णापि सुक्ता वा त्याज्या
वक्ष्यापि वा भवेत् । बृहस्पति q. by विवादरत्नाकर p. 400 and by प्रायश्चित्तविवेक
p. 360 (last half).

1838. असवर्गैस्तु यो गर्भो ज्ञीर्णो योनौ निषिध्यते । अशुद्धा सा भवेत्कारी यावद्गर्भं न
सृजति ॥ विहृक्ते तु ततः शल्ये रजश्चापि महश्चरते । तदा सा शुध्यते नारी विमलं काञ्चन सया ॥
स्वयं विमतिपक्वा वा यदि वा विमता रिता । बलाकारी मशुका वा चौरशुका तथापि वा ॥ न
त्याज्या इतिता नारी न कामोऽस्या विधीयते । ऋतुकाल उपासीत शुष्पकालेन शुध्यति ॥
अत्रि १०५-१०८.

the later smrtis of Devala and Atri is remedied by this Kalivarjya text which forbids abandonment of only such women as the mother, but allows the abandonment of others when guilty of intercourse with a male of low caste. Devala prescribes expiation by *sāntapana* in the case of those women that are raped by *mlecchas* and oonceive (verses 47-49) Vide also Atri 201-202 The Sm Kau restricts this half verse to the mother alone. Parāśara (X 24-25) prescribes that if a woman be raped once she becomes free from pollution by undergoing *Prājapatya* after she has her monthly illness and in other cases of rape she has to undergo *Sāntapana*.

25. 'Sacrificing one's life for the sake of another' (I. 20). The Visnu Dh. S III. 45 states ¹⁸³⁹ that those who are killed in saving the life of a cow, a brāhmana, the king, a friend, one's wealth and one's wife go to heaven and XVI. 18 provides that even those (untouchables) who are outside (the pale of the four varnas) and sacrifice their life for brāhmanas, for cows and for women and children attain heaven The Ādityapurāna quoted in Rājadharmakāṇḍa (p. 91) has a similar verse. The Samayamayūkha and Bhattoji quote a smṛti, 'one should at once sacrifice one's life for cows and brāhmanas'.¹⁸⁴⁰ This text forbids self-sacrifice of one's life simply for the promised reward of heaven in the cases specified. The K. V. N. (folio 9b) offers two more (rather far-fetched) explanations of this phrase, one of which is 'offering one's services as a serf to another'. This is prohibited to members of the three twice-born classes in Kali, but not to the śūdras, acc to K. V. N.

26. 'Offering (of food) to another that remains after one has partaken of it' (I 20). In the Madhuparka the honoured guest used to partake of a part of the offering of honey, milk

1839. गोब्राह्मणवृषतिमित्रघनदारजीवितरक्षणाद्ये हतास्ते स्वर्गभाजः । विष्णुधर्म-
सूत्र III 45; ब्राह्मणार्थे गवार्थे वा देहत्यागोऽनुपाकृतः । स्त्रीबालाशुपपत्तौ च बाह्याना
सिद्धिकारणम् ॥ *ibid* XVI 18, आदित्यपुराणे- . ब्राह्मणानां गवा चैव रक्षार्थं हन्यते यदि ।
स शूरो जीवितं हित्वा इन्द्रुलोकं प्रपद्यते ॥ राजधर्मकाण्ड p 91.

1840. परेषां गोब्राह्मणरुषादीनामुद्देशेन तदापत्तिमोक्षार्थं प्राणत्याग 'गवार्थं ब्राह्म-
णार्थं वा सत्यं प्राणान् परित्यजेत्'-इत्यादिनाक्तं । भट्टोजि on चतुर्विंशतिमत p. 54 Almost
the same words 'परेषां ... सुद्देशेन निमित्तेन तदा... मोक्षार्थं बुद्धिपूर्वं . इत्याद्युक्तः'
occur in कलिवर्णने. folio 9a We find in the पञ्चतन्त्र (I, verse 205) this verse
quoted, 'गवामर्थं ब्राह्मणार्थं स्वाम्यर्थं स्त्रीकृते तथा । स्थानार्थं यस्त्यजेत्प्राणास्तस्य लोका-
सनातनाः ॥' and I 420 is 'गवार्थं ब्राह्मणार्थं च प्राणत्यागं करोति यः । सूर्यस्य मण्डल-
मिष्य स पाति परमां गतिम् ॥'

and curds and was to give the remainder to a brāhmana (or a son or a younger brother) This is prohibited by this Kalivarjya text Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 544 for this practice. Āp Dh. S. (I 1. 4. 1-6) provides that the pupil may partake of the leavings of his teacher's food, but the teacher should not give him honey or meat or other food which will be opposed to the observances of a vedic student The Nirnayasinḍhu reads 'uddistasyāpi varjanam'¹⁸⁴¹, which means 'not accepting what has been donated.' Yāj. I. 213 says that if a person worthy of accepting a gift does not keep it for himself (but passes it on to others), he secures the highest worlds obtained by those who make generous gifts Bhattoji gives another explanation, Vas (14. 21) forbids a man to eat the remnants of his own food or to eat food that comes in contact with the leavings of food. This Kalivarjya text sets aside for the Kali age the prohibition contained in Vas. 14. 21 (acc to Bhattoji) The K. V N. (folio 10 a) states that this is the explanation given by some, but does not approve of it. The Sm Kau. gives yet another but extremely far-fetched explanation.¹⁸⁴² These several explanations of the same half verse indicate how some of the Kalivarjya texts are comparatively recent and have no settled meaning even according to comparatively late writers of digests.

27. 'The resolve to offer worship (throughout life) with various details to a certain idol (1. 21)

It is not easy to see why such a resolve should have been prohibited. Therefore this explanation given by Bhattoji, K. V. N. (folio 10 a), the Samayamayūkha and others is not satisfactory. It is better to accept the explanation of the Nir S. that this forbids the undertaking of the worship of a particular image for wages Aparārka (pp. 450 and 923) quotes a smṛti text defining a *devālaka* as a brāhmana who performs the worship of an image for wages for three years and who thereby becomes unfit

1841. उच्छिद्यस्यापि वर्जनमिति । स्वमुच्छिद्यमुच्छिद्योपहतं चेत्यादिवसिष्ठायुक्तम् । भट्टोजि on चतुर्विं p 54, उच्छिद्यस्य त्यक्तस्य वर्जनं प्रतिग्रहसमर्थोपीत्युक्तम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 368

1842. वस्तुतस्तु उदित्यव्ययेनोक्त्येन पित्रादिनोदितं निर्दिष्टं शिष्टमित्येक एवार्थः । तादृशस्यापि (पि?) वर्जनं मायपाठाद्विहितव्रतान्तर्गतत्वम् । अपेति पाठेपि तादृशस्य वस्तुन. परस्मै समर्पणं तन्निमित्तमेतत् । . तथा च कलौ शुश्रूष्ये चनाहरोधेन व्रतविरुद्धाचरणे न केवलं व्रतहानिदोषाभावः प्रत्युत तद्वचनोक्त्यैव दोषाधिक्यमपि । तथा च ब्रह्मवैवर्ते कलिब्रह्मसंवादे शुद्धभजनमीश्वरभजनाद्व्यावृत्तीयुक्तम् । स्मृतिकौ. p. 477.

to officiate at śrāddhas.¹⁸⁴³ Manu III. 152 declares the devalaka to be unfit for being invited for śrāddhas or rites in honour of gods and Kullūka quotes Devala to the effect that one who maintains himself on the treasury of a shrine is called devalaka. It is remarkable that Vṛddha-Hārīta (VIII. 77-80) says that only the worshippers of Śiva for wages are called devalaka and those of Viṣṇu are not. Acc. to the Sm. Kau. what is forbidden is the resolve to worship an image for securing a direct vision of the Deity.¹⁸⁴⁴ This is rather pedantic and far-fetched.

28. 'Touching the bodies of those (who are impure on the death of a relative) after the collection of the bones' (1. 22). The day on which the bones were to be collected after the body was cremated differed greatly according to various writers. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 17 notes that according to Samvarta¹⁸⁴⁵ (verse 38) the bones may be collected on the first, third, seventh or 9th day, that the Viṣṇu Dh. S (19. 10-11) prescribes the 4th day for it and recommends the casting of them into the Ganges, that some did it on the 2nd day and that therefore everyone should follow his own Grhyasūtra. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 18 quotes Devala to the effect that, after the lapse of one-third of the period of impurity prescribed for members of the four varṇas (as in Yaj. III. 22), persons who lost relatives become touchable, that members of the four varṇas become touchable in three, four, five and ten days respectively. Samvarta (verses 39-40) states that, after the collection of bones, touching those who are under pollution due to death is allowed on the 4th, 6th, 8th and 10th day respectively in the case of brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas and sūdras. The present Kaliyarjya text forbids this and becomes stricter as to the rules about impurity.

29. 'The performance by a brāhmana of the duties of the killer of the victim in a sacrifice' (1. 23).

1843. स्मृत्यन्तरम् । स्मृद्धा देवलकं चैव सवासा जलमाविशेत् । देवार्चनपरो विप्रो वित्तार्थं वत्सरत्रयम् । असौ देवलको नाम हन्यकस्येष्टु गदितः । अपराकं p. 923 : देवकोशोपजीवी च नाम्ना देवलको भवेत् । अपाङ्ककेय. स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मसु सर्वदा ॥ देवल q. by अपराकं p. 450 and कुल्लूक on मनु III. 152 (first half).

1844. प्रतिमत्पर्यं भिन्नद्वोऽपरोक्षज्ञानपरः । ... ततश्च देवतासाक्षात्काररूपो य. प्रति-मार्चनार्थः पूजाफलमिति यावत् तदुद्देशकः सङ्कल्पो निविध्यते । प्रसक्तश्चासौ पूजाफलत्वेन देवतासाक्षात्कारस्य पौराण्यमुवादिगोचरानेकवचसिद्धत्वात् । स्मृतिको. p. 473.

1845. प्रथमेहि तृतीये च सप्तमे नवमे तथा । चतुर्थेऽहनि कर्तव्यमस्थिसञ्चयनं द्विजैः ॥ ततः सञ्चयनादूर्ध्वमङ्गस्पर्शो विधीयते । चतुर्थेऽहनि विप्रस्य षष्ठे वै क्षत्रियस्य च ॥ अष्टमे वृश्ने चैव स्पर्शः स्याद्द्विषष्टयुयोः । संवत् 38-40.

The animal in a *srauta* sacrifice was to be killed by choking it and strangling it. The person who did so was called *samitr*. Different views were entertained as to who was to be the *samitr*. Acc. to Jai. III. 7. 28-29¹⁸⁴⁶ the *adhvaryu* himself was to be the *samitr*; the usual opinion was that he was to be some one other than the *ritviks*. The *Asv. Śr.* (XII. 9. 12-13) shows that he may be a *brāhmana* or a non-*brāhmana*. For further details vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 1121-22, n. 2504. As animal sacrifices themselves came to be looked down upon or even forbidden, this text forbids a *brahmana* from being a *samitr*.

30. 'The sale of the soma plant by *brahmanas*' (1. 23).

Soma beverage was to be drunk only by *brāhmanas*. The *soma* plant had to be purchased and there was a symbolic haggling for it. The vendor of *soma* in ancient¹⁸⁴⁷ times was, acc. to *Kāt. Śr.* VII. 6. 2-4 and *Āp Śr.* X. 20. 12, either a *brāhmana* of *Kutsa* gotra or any *brāhmana* or a *sūdra*.¹⁸⁴⁷ In later times, though *Manu* XI. 7 (= *Śānti*. 165. 7) and *Nār.* (*dattāpradānika* 7)¹⁸⁴⁸ allow a *brāhmana* who has wealth sufficient for the maintenance of himself and his dependents for three years or more to perform a *soma* sacrifice, yet *Manu* III. 158, *Yāj* I. 165 and *Vas* 14. 3 hold that a *brāhmana* who sells the *soma* plant is unfit to be invited at a *śrāddha* and that one should not partake of food at his house. *Manu* X. 88 forbids a *brāhmana* to sell water, arms, poison, *soma* &c. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 1141-1143 for purchase of *soma* and the dramatic haggling for it.

31. 'Allowing a *brāhmana* householder to eat food at the houses of four classes of people among *sūdras* viz his slave, his cowherd, a hereditary family friend and one who cultivates his fields on the basis of paying a half or other portion of the produce to him' (II. 25-26).

Gaut. 17. 6, *Manu* IV. 253 (= *Visnu Dh. S.*¹⁸⁴⁹ 57. 16), *Yāj* I. 166 and *Parāśara* XI. 19 say that a *brāhmana* may eat the

1846 शबर on जै. III. 7. 29 remarks, 'ज्ञानिन्नमपि आध्वर्यवे समान्नानादध्वर्युः कर्तव्यम् । तस्माच्छ्रमनादध्वर्युः शमिता ।'

1847. कौत्साद्वाजानं ऋणीयादप्यस्माद्वा ब्राह्मणादित्युक्त्वाहाप्यब्राह्मणादिति । अप्यौ X. 20. 12.

1848. यस्य त्रैवार्षिकं वित्तं पर्याप्तं भृत्यवृत्तये । अधिकं वापि वित्तं स सोमं पातु-मर्हति ॥ नारद (दत्ताम 7). This is the same as मनु. XI. 7, but नारद reads वित्तं for भक्तम्.

1849. अधिकं कुलमित्रं च दासगोपालनापिताः । एते ह्येतेषु भोग्यान्ना यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 57. 16.

food of these four and of his own barber. Haradatta on Gaut. 17. 6 and Aparārka (p. 244) remark that a brāhmana can take the food of these persons among śūdras only in the event of extreme calamities. From this it appears that up to the 12th century A. D. the peremptory prohibition contained in this text was either unknown or was not much respected. The exclusiveness of caste in matters of food and marriage was made more strict by the Kalivarjya texts. Vide above (pp. 869 and 885) as to how Parāśara himself was overruled by this text.

32. 'Pilgrimages to very distant holy places' (1. 26).

A brāhmana was called upon to tend his Vedic or grhya fires. If he went to distant places on pilgrimage this duty would be interfered with. It is provided by Ap.¹⁸⁵⁰ Sr. IV 16. 18 that even when on a journey the *agnihotrīn* has, after turning his face in the direction of his fire altar, to go mentally over the whole procedure of his daily fire worship and the Darśa-pūrnāmāsa. The Gobhila-smṛti II. 157 says the same. The Smṛtikaustubha¹⁸⁵¹ says that this prohibits pilgrimage to holy places beyond the sea or on the borders of Bharatavarṣa. This text prohibits a brāhmana from going to distant places on pilgrimage, but it does not prevent him from undertaking a journey for earning wealth for performing sacrifices. K. V. N. (folio 10a) quotes a text of Satyavrata to this effect.

33. 'The rule that a pupil should habitually observe the same behaviour towards the wife of the guru as towards the guru himself' (1. 27). Ap. Dh.¹⁸⁵² S. I. 2. 7. 27, Gaut. II. 31-34, Manu II. 210, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 1-2 prescribe that a student should perform the same acts of honour and obedience towards the wife or wives of his teacher as towards the teacher (except holding her feet in doing obeisance and eating the leavings of the food). As students were often grown-up young men and the teacher's wife might often be a young lady, Manu II. 212,

1850 अथर्वविद्वानभिमुखो याजमानं जपति । आप. श्रौ. IV. 16 18, मनसा नैत्यर्कं कर्म भवसंज्ञयतश्चित् । उपविश्य ह्युच्चि. सर्वं यथाकालमहृदयेत् । गोभिल II. 157.

1851 या च प्रत्यस्तदेशगततीर्थयात्रा पौराणी सा कलौ नेति । स्मृतिकौ. p. 478 ; धनान्यर्जयितुं युक्तं प्रयासो ह्यग्निहोत्रिणः । धनैर्यत्सम्भवेदिज्या तीर्थार्थं न तु ब्रजेदिति सत्यव्रतस्मरणात् । कलिचर्यादि. folio 10a

1852. अन्यत्रोपसह्यहणादुच्छिष्टाशनास्त्राचार्यवदाचार्यद्वारे वृत्तिः । आप. घ. I. 2, 7. 27, तद्धार्याहुनेषु चैवम् । नोच्छिष्टाशनरनापनप्रसाधनपादप्रक्षालनोन्मर्दनोपसंग्रहणानि । विमोक्षोपसंग्रहणं युक्तमार्याणां । नौ. II. 37-39.

216, 217 (that are the same as Visnu Dh. S. 32. 13-15) provide that a pupil full twenty years old should not show honour to the young wife of his teacher by clasping her feet, but that he may prostrate himself on the ground before the teacher's young wife in performing obeisance and that he may hold her feet in obeisance only (once) when he returns from a journey. This text accepts the principle underlying the special rules laid down by Manu and Visnu and prohibits the daily touching of the feet of the guru's wife on the part of the pupil. The Sm ¹⁸⁵³ Kau. and Dharmasindhu (III p. 353) hold that this sets aside the rule laid down in Yāj I 49 that a perpetual student may stay till his death with his teacher or with the teacher's son or (in default of both) with the teacher's wife.

34. 'The modes of maintenance conceded to brāhmanas in times of distress (or calamity)' (I. 28).

The special modes of maintenance prescribed for brāhmanas were receiving gifts, teaching the Veda and officiating as priests (Gaut. X. 2, Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 5, Manu X. 76, I 88, Vas. II. 14, Yāj. I. 118). But it was recognised from very ancient times that if a brāhmana could not maintain himself by following the above modes of earning wealth he could in a season of distress pursue the avocations peculiar to a ksatriya or vaiśya (Gaut. VII. 6-7, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 77-81, Vas II. 22, Manu X. 81-82, Yāj. III 35)¹⁸⁵⁴. Vide H. of Dh vol. II. pp. 118-133 for detailed treatment of this matter and for the restrictions imposed even when brāhmanas were allowed to follow the avocations of ksatriyas and vaiśyas. The Kalivarjya prohibition is merely one on paper. From ancient times till now brāhmanas have pursued all sorts of avocations and hardly any importance has been attached to this dictum.

35. 'Not accumulating any wealth (or grains) for the morrow ' (I. 28). Manu IV. 7 and Yāj. I. 128 provide that brāhmanas are of four kinds, viz. those who accumulate grain of the capacity of a *kusāla*, those who accumulate grain of the capacity of a *kumbhī*, those that accumulate grain enough to satisfy

1853. गुरुपत्नीसमीपे गुरुपुत्राभावे चिरस्थितिर्विहितं सा निषिध्यते । न तु गुरुवत्पति-
... इति मन्त्रा पूजा ' वृत्तिशीलतेति पदेन पूजानभिधानाद् । स्मृतिकौ. p 478, but
कलिवर्ज्येति. folio 10a asays, क्षिप्रस्य गुरुपत्न्यां गुरुवद् वृत्तिः—गुरुवत्पतिपूजयास्तु सर्वार्था
गुरुयोजित इत्यादि मन्त्रा '

1854. क्षात्रेण कर्मणा जीवेद्विंश वाप्यापादि द्विजः । निस्तीर्य तामथालान पाव-
यित्वा न्यसेत्पथि ॥ या. III. 35.

their needs for three days and those who do not collect grain even for the next day. The *smṛtis* prescribe that each later one is superior in merit to each preceding one. The commentators differ as to the meaning conveyed by *kusūladhānya* (some holding that it means one who has accumulated grain for three years, while others say it means one who has grain for 12 days) and *kumbhidhānya* (a person accumulating grain for a year, or grain for six days). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 110, note 234 and p. 641 note 1502. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 128 says that the advice not to accumulate corn even for three days or one day is not addressed to all *brāhmanas*, but to those only who are called *yāyāvara*¹⁸⁵⁵. This explanation of the Mit. indicates that the Kaliyarjya text on this point was either not known to the Mit. or was not much thought of by it. The Kaliyarjya text provides that the ideal of extreme poverty and absence of acquisitiveness for *brāhmanas* was not to be insisted upon in the Kali age.

36. 'The acceptance of the kindling of a log of wood (i. e. setting up sacred Vedic fire) at the time of the *homa* of Jātakarma for the purpose of securing long life to the child born to a person' (I. 29). The *aranis* are two logs of *Asvattha* tree from which fire is produced by attrition, which (fire) is used for kindling the *gārhapatya* fire. In certain *śākhās*, it is the practice to kindle fire from *aranis* and to use it for the *homa* in the Jātakarma rite. This fire was to be used in the subsequent rites for the child such as *cūdā*, *upanayana*, marriage. It was supposed that this enabled the child to live long.¹⁸⁵⁶ The Sam K. quotes a *pariśista* text to this effect.¹⁸⁵⁷

37. 'Constant journeys by *brāhmanas*' (I. 30). The *Mahābhārata* (Śānti 23. 15)¹⁸⁵⁸ says, 'As a snake swallows mice hiding in holes, the earth swallows two persons viz. a king who does not fight (an invader) and a *brāhmana* who does not engage

1855. For the two kinds of *brāhmanas*, viz. *śālina* and *yāyāvara*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 641-42 n. 1502-1505.

1856. कश्चित्कालाया जातकर्महोने मजाजीवनार्थमरणपरिग्रहो विहितः । कृष्णमहो न नि. सि. pp. 1299-1300.

1857. परितिशदान्तरे तु कुमारस्य जातस्य अरणीं बोधशास्त्रमुल्लाम् । आहृत्य चोत्तरा-मणीं ताम्यामदिं तु मन्थयेत् । . . . तस्मिन् कुमारकर्माणि विवाहान्तानि कारयेत् । स कौ under जातकर्म.

1858. धूमिरेतौ निगिरति सपौ बिलशयानिव । राजानं चाविरोद्धारं ब्राह्मणं चाप्रवा-सिनम् ॥ शान्ति 23. 15. Vide also *Sabhā* 55. 14 Śānti 57. 3 and *Annāsana* 36. 16 for almost the same words.

in travel' (for acquiring learning from famous teachers) This text only forbids taking aimlessly to long journeys but not those for study or for religious purposes.

38. 'Blowing on fire with the mouth' in order to kindle it into flames (I. 30). Gaut. IX. 32, Manu IV. 53 and Brahmapurāṇa 221. 102 forbid the blowing on fire with the mouth (as in doing so it is likely that drops of saliva from the mouth may fall into the fire and pollute it). Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 20 notices that in the Vajasaneya Śākha it is said that fire should be kindled into flames by blowing upon it with the breath from the mouth since it sprang from the mouth of the Creator (as stated in the Purusasūkta, Rg. X. 90. 13). Therefore, acc. to Haradatta and the Gobhila-smṛti (I. 135-136)¹⁸⁵⁹ the *śrauta* fire could be kindled by blowing upon it with the mouth, but *smārta* fire or ordinary fire should not be kindled in that way (but only by using a fan or a bamboo cylindrical piece). The Kalivarjya text forbids blowing with the mouth even on *śrauta* fire.

39. 'Allowing social intercourse to women who have become polluted by rape and the like (when they have performed *prayaścitta*) as prescribed in the sūtras' (I. 31).¹⁸⁶⁰ Vas. 28. 2-3 state, 'when a woman is polluted by being raped or kidnapped by a thief, she should not be abandoned; one should wait till her monthly illness (making her undergo certain expiations till then) and she becomes pure after it.' Ātri (V. 2-3) has the same verses, which are quoted (from Vas.) by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 256 (p. 133, Tri. ed.) and explained at great length. The *Matsyapurāṇa* 227. 126 is liberal enough to say that the man who commits rape should be punished with death but the woman raped incurs no blame. Parasara (X. 27) provides that if a woman is raped by an evil-doer only once she becomes pure by undergoing the Prajapatya expiation and after the following monthly illness. Even so late a smṛti writer as Devala provides that if a woman of any class is raped by *mlecchas* and she conceives she can be purified by the expiation of *Sāntapana*.

1859. शुक्लेनैके घमन्त्यादिं शुक्लादभ्येष्टोद्यजायत । नाग्निं शुक्लेनेति च पशुलौकिके योजयन्ति तत् ॥ गोमिलस्तुति I. 136. This is q. by the स्तुतिच. I. p. 212. नाग्निं शुक्लेन इत्यु IV 53.

1860. योषा गर्भं विधत्ते या श्लेष्ठात्कामादकामता । नाह्वणी क्षत्रिया वैश्या ब्रह्म वर्जिता च या । अमह्यमक्षणं कुर्यात्क्षत्र्याः क्षुद्रिः कथं भवेत् । कुर्ध्वं सान्तपनं क्षुद्रिर्धर्म-भोजिश्च पाचनम् ॥ देवल 48-49.

But this text is harsher on such innocent and unlucky women when it says that they cannot be restored to social intercourse even after undergoing expiation.

40. 'Begging of food by a *sannyāsin* from members of all varnas (including śūdras) according to the rules of the śāstra' (l. 32). The Sm. M. p. 201 (on *varnāśrama*) quotes Kāthaka Brāhmaṇa,¹⁸⁶¹ Aruṇi Up., Parāśara (in prose) to the effect that a *yati* may beg for food from members of all varnas. Baud. Dh. S. II 10 69¹⁸⁶² also quotes a verse which allows the begging of food from all varnas to a *yati*. Vas. X. 7 requires a *yati* to beg at seven houses not selected beforehand and in X. 24 states that he should subsist on what food he gets at the houses of brāhmanas.¹⁸⁶³ The present text requires even the *yati* to observe caste rules as to food.

41. 'Not using for ten days fresh rain water' (l. 33). Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2, Bhaṭṭoji on Catur. (p. 54), Sm. Kau. p. 479 quote a verse, 'she-goats, cows, she-buffaloes and brāhmaṇa women become free from impurity (due to delivery) after ten nights and so does fresh rain water accumulated on the ground'. According to this the long period of ten days in the case of rain water is set aside. But Bhaṭṭoji notes that according to another *smṛti* 'rain water falling at the proper season is pure, but it is not to be used for drinking for three days; when rain falls at an unusual season rain water is impure for ten days and if a man drinks it within that period he should abstain from food for one day and night'. Bhaṭṭoji remarks that the Kaliavarjya text only sets aside waiting for ten days, but does not set aside the rule against drinking it for three days.

42. '(Payment of) the fee demanded by the teacher' at the end of the period of brahmacharya (l. 33).

1861. काठकब्राह्मणे 'चतुर्वर्णेषु भैक्ष्यचर्यं चरेत् पाणिपात्रेणाशनं कुर्याद्दोषघटना-
श्रीयात्पाणधारणार्थं यथा भेदोद्भिर्न जायते । स्मृतिश्च (वर्णा.) p. 201.

1862. भैक्ष्यं वा सर्ववर्णस्य एकाहं वा द्विजातिषु । अपि वा सर्ववर्णस्य न चेकाहं
द्विजातिषु । औ. घ. सू. II 10. 69.

1863. सवागाराण्यसङ्कल्पितानि चरेद्भिक्षाय । ब्राह्मणकुले पावहमेत तद्वृत्ति
सायं प्रातर्मधुनासर्वजम् । वसिष्ठ X. 7 and 24.

1864. अजा गावो महिष्यश्च ब्राह्मणी च भक्षिका । दशरात्रेण क्षुण्णानि भूमिर्न च
नवोदकम् ॥ q by हरदत्त on आप. घ. सू. I. 5. 15 2; 'काले नवोदके शुद्धं न पिबेच्च
शुद्धं च तत् । अकाले तु दशाहं स्यात्पीत्वा नाद्याददभिक्षाय ॥ इति स्मृत्युक्तस्य दशाहमति-
वेधस्यैव प्रतिपत्तौ न तु व्यहमतिवेधस्येति दर्शयति । भट्टोजि on चतुर्वि p. 53.

The ancient practice was to make no agreement as to fees for teaching. Vide Br. Up. IV. 1, 2. Gaut. (II. 54-55) prescribes¹⁸⁶⁵ that at the end of his studies the student should request the teacher to accept the wealth that he could offer or ask the teacher what should be given and after paying or doing what was required by the *guru* or if the teacher permitted him to go without demanding anything the student should take the ceremonial bath. Vide Manu II 245-246 and H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 360-361 for details. Yāj. I. 51 provides that at the end of his studies the student may give to the teacher what he desires (or a cow) according to his ability or may with his permission take the ceremonial bath (without paying anything). On account of these provisions we have stories in the ancient literature that very rarely teachers or their wives made fanciful demands. This Kalivarjya text only sets aside the requirement of paying what the *guru* demands, but does not prohibit the voluntary gift of a fee by the student.¹⁸⁶⁶

43. 'The engagement of a *śūdra* for such acts as cooking and the like in the houses of *brāhmanas* and the rest' (1. 34). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 3 1-8) requires that¹⁸⁶⁷ the food for *Vaiśva-deva* should be prepared by pure men of the first three *varnas* and also optionally allows a *śūdra* to be a cook for an *ārya* provided he is under the supervision of men of the first three *varnas*, provided he sips water whenever he touches the hair, any limb or his garment, provided he cuts the hair (on his head and his body), the beard and nails every day or every 8th day of the month or on the new and full moon day and provided he bathes with the clothes on. It is this permission that is set aside by this Kalivarjya text.

44. 'Suicide of very old people by falling into fire or from a precipice' (1. 35).

This is analogous to No. 13 above. Atri did not condemn suicide in certain cases. He states,¹⁸⁶⁸ (verses 218-219) 'if one be

1865. विद्यान्ते गुरुर्धनं निमज्ज्यः । कृत्वा ह्यज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । गौ II. 54-55.

1866. विद्यान्ते गुरुमेरणया वृक्षिणादानं यथा सान्दीपनये श्रीकृष्णेन दत्तपुत्रस्य । न तु गुरवे वृक्षिणामात्रं चोदितेतिपदवैयर्थ्यापत्तेः । स्मृतिकौ P 479.

1867. आर्याः भयता वैश्वदेवेऽलसंस्कर्तारः स्युः । ...आर्याधिष्ठिता वा ह्यज्ञाः संस्कर्तारः स्युः । तेषां स एवाचमनकल्पः । अधिकमहरहः केशश्मश्रुलोमनखवापनम् । उद्वकोपरपर्जनं च सह वाससा । अपि बाह्वीश्वदेव पर्वसु वा वपेरत् । आप ध. सू II 2. 3. 1-8.

1868. वृद्धः शौचस्सुतेर्लुप्तः मृत्यारुपावभिषङ्गक्रियः । आत्मानं घातयेद्यस्तु श्रुतमन्य-
नहानाम्बुभिः । तस्य त्रिरात्रमाशौचं द्विवीये त्वस्थिसञ्चयम् । तृतीये नृदकं कृत्वा चतुर्थे
आहूमाचरेत् । अत्रि 218-219 q by मेधातिथि on मनु V. 89, निता. on या. III 6,
अपराकौ p. 942

old (beyond 70), if one cannot observe the rules of bodily purification (owing to extreme weakness), if one is so ill that all medical help is discarded, and if one in these circumstances kills himself by throwing himself from a precipice or into fire or water or by fasting, mourning should be observed for him for three days and śrāddha may be performed for him.' Aparārka (p. 536) quotes several smrtis to the effect that a very old man or one suffering from very serious illness, one who has no desires left and has carried out his tasks may bring about his death by entering fire or water or falling from a precipice and he will incur no sin. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 926-927 for further details. This text may also be taken as forbidding suicide by falling from a precipice or into fire as an expiation in the case of those that are guilty of mahāpātakas knowingly committed. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 226 quotes a smṛti to this effect¹⁸⁶⁹ The Śuddhitattva holds (pp. 284-285) that suicide by entering water and the like is allowed in Kali only to śūdras and forbidden to brāhmaṇas and others.

45. 'The performance of ācamana (purificatory sipping of water) by śistas in as much water as is sufficient for slaking the thirst of a cow' (1. 36).

Manu V. 128, Vas. III. 35, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 65, Yāj. I. 192, Visṇu 23. 43 provide¹⁸⁷⁰ that water collected on the ground is pure (and may be used for ācamana) provided it is sufficient in quantity to slake the thirst of a cow. But this text forbids on hygienic grounds the use of small quantities of water collected on the ground for sipping and similar purposes.

46. 'The residence of an ascetic in the house near which he happens to be in the evening' (1. 38).

Acc. to Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 10 and Manu VI. 43, 55-56, an ascetic was to kindle no fire, was to be houseless and was to beg only once a day in the afternoon or evening when no smoke ascends from the kitchens of people, when the embers have been extinguished, when people have finished their meals &c. Vas. (X.

1869. यः कामतो महापापं नरः कुर्यात्कथंचन । न तस्य निष्कृतिर्हृष्टा शुग्वाग्निपत-
नाहते ॥ q. by नितर. on या. III. 226. जलमवेशादिकं तु कालौ शुद्ध्यैव । ब्राह्मणादीनां तु
अद्विष्टश्राणेन सगुणाद्यशौचमकरणैकेन निषेधात् । शुद्धितत्त्व pp. 284-285.

1870. छात्रि गोतृसिद्धन्तोयं ऋतिस्यं नहीयतम् । या. I. 192; मन्त्रावपि या
गोत्तरपणसमर्था. स्युः । बसिष्ठ III. 35; आपः पवित्रं धूमिगता गोतृसिर्वास्तु जायते ।
नौ. घ सू. I. 5. 65

12-15) provides¹⁸⁷¹ that a *sannyāsin* was to change his residence frequently, was to stay at the boundary of the village or in a temple, or in an empty house or at the bottom of a tree and should constantly live in a forest. Śāṅkha (VII. 6) states that an ascetic should stay in an empty house or he may stay wherever he may be when the sun sets. This provision of Śāṅkha is set aside by the Kalivarjya text. Another meaning of the words, according to Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭa on the Nir. S. (p. 1310), is that this runs counter to the recommendation of Manu VI. 56 that an ascetic should go for begging to the houses in a village in the evening when all smoke from kitchens has ceased i. e. by this text he is allowed to beg in the noon. In a way this appears to be a better explanation.

The above is a complete list of all Kalivarjyas quoted from the Ādityapurāṇa (except one or two). Some of the Kalivarjyas not included here, but included in other texts cited above will also be now set out for the sake of completeness of treatment.

47. 'Resorting to *sannyāsa*'. Vyāsa quoted above (n. 1793) forbade *sannyāsa* in the Kali age after 4400 years of it had elapsed, but then Devala¹⁸⁷² made an exception to this extent that as long as the division of society into four varṇas existed and as long as the Veda was studied *sannyāsa* could be resorted to even in Kali. The Nir. S. explains that what is forbidden is the *sannyāsa* with three *daṇḍas* and not the *sannyāsa* with one *daṇḍa*. Baud II 10. 53 (*ekadaṇḍī vā*) gives an option that a *sannyāsin* may carry three staffs or one, while Yāj III 58 speaks of a *yati* as only *tridaṇḍī*. *Daṇḍa* means a staff and also 'restraint, curbing'. Manu XII 10 (same as Dakṣa VII 30) declares that that man is called *tridaṇḍī* who has restraint over his body, speech and mind. Dakṣa¹⁸⁷³ also says that a *yati* is not called *tridaṇḍī* by carrying three bamboo staffs, that he is called *tridaṇḍī* who has

1871 अनित्यं वसति वसेद् । आश्रान्ते देवगृहे शून्यागारे वा इवमुले वा । अरण्य-
नित्य । वसिष्ठ X. 12-13 and 15, शून्यागारनिकेतः । शून्यागारसायंपृष्ठो मुनिः । शङ्ख
VII 6 The words शून्यागारसायंपृष्ठो मुनिः occur also in वनपर्व 12. 11. गृहशब्दो
गृहस्थवेग्नपरः सायंपृष्ठो भद्रोदवाचकः । ... भिक्षापर्यं प्रविष्टस्य तत्र काले गृहवासो न युक्त
इति तात्पर्यम् । अत एव श्रुतिः । आश्रान्ते प्रविशेद्वासायमिति । स्मृतिकौ. p. 479.

1872 यावद्दर्शनविभागेति यावद्देवः प्रवर्तते । तावन्त्यासोऽपि होत्रं च कार्यं न तु कर्तुं
शुभे ॥ देवल p. by नि. सि III पूर्वार्धे p. 370, स्मृतिषु (वर्णश्रम p. 176 quoting
it as from व्यास), यतिधर्मसंग्रह pp. 2-3.

1873. वैणवेन त्रिवृण्डेन न त्रिवृण्डीति कथ्यते । अथालनवृण्डयुक्तो यः स त्रिवृण्डीति
कथ्यते । दृष्ट VII 29 Several verses of दृष्ट VII are quoted by अपरार्क on p. 953.

the spiritual restraint in him (v. 29) In l. 12-13 Dakṣa says that just as a girdle, deer skin and a wooden staff are the outward signs of a vedic student, so three staffs are the peculiar sign of a yati. Vide H. of Dh vol II. pp. 937-938 for further details. If the Kalivarjya text were meant to forbid sannyāsa altogether, it must be said that it was never honoured and even now thousands become sannyāsins every year. If, as the Nir. S. says, this text only forbids the carrying of three dandas, it is a meaningless prohibition, giving importance only to outward symbols and not to the substance of the matter.

48. 'The observance of *agnihotra*' or 'the acceptance of three fires'. Vyāsa (n. 1793) forbade the performance of śrauta *agnihotra* along with *sannyāsa* in Kali, but an exception was made by Devala in favour of its observance as also of resort to sannyāsa on the grounds stated above (in No. 47). Some digests and authors such as the *Nirnayasindhu*¹⁸⁷⁴ and Bhaṭṭoji explain that *agnihotra* of the *sarvādhāna* type is forbidden in Kali, but that of the *ardhādhāna* type is allowed. *Agnihotra* means '*ādihāna*', that is, setting up of the śrauta fires. When a man consecrates the three śrauta fires he may do so with half of his *smārta* fire and keep up the other half of the *smārta* fire. This is called *ardhādhāna*. If he does not keep the *smārta* fire separate, it is *sarvādhāna* Laugākṣi quoted by the Nir. S. (III. p. 370), Bhaṭṭoji and others states this. The Mit. on Yaj. III. 45 mentions these two modes. Therefore, according to these explanations, *sarvādhāna* was allowed in former ages (and acc. to one interpretation up to 4400 years of Kali), while in Kali (or at least after 4400 years of Kali) only *ardhādhāna* is allowed.

49. 'Human sacrifice' (vide note 1798 giving extract from *Nārada-purāṇa*).

The Tai. Br.¹⁸⁷⁵ (III. 4 1-19) contains a description of the procedure of human sacrifice. The oldest texts even do not show that a human being was killed. The whole procedure is

1874 अर्धाधानं स्मृतं औत्तस्मार्तान्योस्तु पुण्यकृतिः । सर्वाधानं तयोरैक्यकृतिः पूर्व-
युगाश्रया । लौगाक्षि १. 11 स्मृतित्त्वं. acc. to निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 370. अत्र पूर्वयुगा-
श्रितेति लौगाक्षिवाक्ये पूर्वयुगानि कृतादीनीत्येकार्थं । अन्ये तु युगस्य पूर्व कले. पूर्वो भागः
स चत्वार्यब्दसहस्राणीति पूर्वोक्तवाक्यात्तत्तु श्रुत्वा रिशच्छतवर्षावाच्छतः तस्मिन् भागे सर्वाधानं
कार्यं तदुत्तरं तु यावद्वर्णविभागोस्तीति वाक्यात् वर्णविभागपर्यन्तमर्धाधानमित्याहुः । नि. ति

1875. ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमालभते क्षत्राय राजन्यम् । मरुद्भ्यो वैश्यम् । तपसे शूद्रम् ॥
तै. ब्रा. III. 4. 1.

symbolical. The Vāj. S. (XXX. 5 ff.) has many passages in common with the Tai. Br. The Tai. Br. III. 4. 1 (= Vāj. S. 30. 5) begins, 'the brāhmana should be offered to brahman (spiritual power), the ksatriya to ksatra (military power), the vaiśya to the Maruts' &c. Acc. to Āp. Śr. XX. 24, a brāhmana or ksatriya performs this sacrifice, whereby he attains power and valour and all prosperity. There are eleven sacrificial posts and eleven animals to be offered to Agni and Soma. After the rite of *pariyagnikarāṇa* is performed on the brāhmana and others, they are presented to the several deities and then discharged from the sacrificial posts, eleven goats are killed and oblations of their flesh and limbs are offered. Acc. to the com. on Vāj. S., it is begun on the 10th day of the bright half of Caitra and goes on for 40 days, which are occupied with 23 *diksās*, 12 *upasads* and five *sutyas* (days on which soma is extracted). After this *yāga*, the *yajamāna* usually resorted to a forest as a *sannyāsin*.¹⁸⁷⁶

50. 'Aśvamedha' (n. 1798). The Tai. S. V. 3. 12. 2 states,¹⁸⁷⁷ 'he who performs the Aśvamedha becomes free from (the sin of) brāhmana murder'. In spite of this Vedic authority the Brhan-Nāradya and other purāṇas prohibited it. But no one heeded this prohibition and numerous historic kings performed this sacrifice from at least 200 B. C. to Jayasing in the 18th century A. D. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 1238-1239 and pp. 70-71 above for numerous historical performers of Aśvamedha.

51. 'Rājasūya' (acc. to the Garudapurāṇa, p. 929 above). This was a very complex rite extending over two years and could be performed only by a ksatriya. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 1214-1223 for a brief description. The Rājasūya was performed by the Kalinga Emperor Khāravela as he proclaims in his Hāthigumpha Inscription (E. I. vol. XX p. 71 at p. 79) and by queen Nāyanikā as stated in the Nānāghāt Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. V. p. 60).

52. 'Perpetual studenthood' (n. 1798). Vedic students were of two kinds, *upakurvāṇa* (who offered some return or fee at the time when they returned home) and the *naisthika* (who remained students till death). Vide p. 764 n. 1471 above.

1876. वैधातवीययोद्वसाय पृथग्दण्डीव्यग्निसनारोप्योत्तरनासायणेनावित्वयुपस्थाया-
रण्यमवतिष्ठेत । यान् पा मविश्य वैधातवीयया यजेत । आप. औ. XX. 24. 16-17.

1877. तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योन्वमेधेन यजेते । तै. सं. V. 3. 12. 2.

Hārta, Dakṣa¹⁸⁷⁸ (I 7) and others mention these two varieties, while Yāj. I 49, Vedavyāsa I 41 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 46 name and describe the *naisthika*. Manu II. 243-244, Yāj. I. 49-50, Vas. VII. 4-5 provide that a perpetual Vedic student should stay with his teacher till his own death, that on the teacher's death he should stay with the teacher's son or the teacher's wife or should tend fire, that if he curbs his senses till his death, he reaches the world of *brahma* (immortality) and is not born again. This was a very difficult mode of life, there were great temptations as the flesh is weak and therefore the Brhan-Nāradya and others prohibited perpetual studenthood. Some works such as the Madanapārijata (p. 16), the Kalivarjyavinirnaya of Dāmodara, and the Nir. S. read 'dirgha-kālam brahmacaryam' in place of 'naisthikam brahmacaryam' in the Brhan-Nāradya.

53. 'Brahmacarya for long periods' (n. 1799). The Baud. Dh. S. (I.2.1-5) declares, "the term of studentship for Veda study as observed in ancient times lasted for 48 years, or 24 years, or 12 years for each Veda or at least one year for each *kāṇḍa* (of the Tai.S.) or it lasted till the Veda was committed to memory, as life is evanescent and as the Veda ordains 'let him kindle the sacred fires while his hair is still black'." The Āp. Dh. S. (I.1 2. 11-16) provides that the student's stay with the teacher's household should be 48 years, 24 years or 12 years at the lowest. Manu III. 1 also states that the vow of studying the three Vedas under a *guru* must be observed for 36 years or for half of that time or for a quarter of it or until the student has mastered (the Veda). These long periods of 48 years, 36 or 24 years for Veda study (before a man could become a householder) are here forbidden in Kali. This was nothing new. Yāj. I. 36 had allowed 12 years for each Veda or five and if a man did not want to study all vedas but only one he could finish his studenthood in five years. Only an extremely small number could have spent 48 or 36 years in Veda study. Śābara on Jai. I. 3. 3 held that this text of Baud. was opposed to the *śruti* about kindling fires when a man was a young householder with black hair and was to be discarded. Vide pp. 832-834 above for a

1878 द्विविधो ब्रह्मचारी उपकुर्वाणो नैष्ठिकश्च । तयोरुपकुर्वाणको न्याख्यातः । निष्ठो चेद्व्योदा शरीरनिपाताद् गुरावासीत । हारीत q. by अपरार्क p. 71 ; द्विविधो ब्रह्मचारी स्यादाद्योत्पुर्वाणकः । द्विविधो नैष्ठिकश्चैव तस्मिन्नेव व्रते स्थितः ॥ दक्ष I 7 q. by स्मृतिच I. p 64.

discussion of this. The authors of the Samayamayūkha and the Sm. Kau. both of whom had before them the reading 'dirghakālam brahmacāryam' held that this prohibition was aimed at the words of Āp. and Baud. and that the vow of perpetual studentship which was undertaken with a special purpose in view (viz. realization of *brahma* and non-return to *saṃsāra*) was not prohibited by the Kalivarjya text and that there was nothing wrong in the practice of perpetual studentship among the Dravidas.

54. 'Animal sacrifice.' In the Mārkaṇḍeya as quoted in Aparārka p. 929 above animal sacrifice was forbidden in the Kali age. Though popular feeling had gradually veered round to the view that meat should not be offered in *śrāddhas*, in *madhuparka* (No. 22 above), yet animal sacrifices were performed at all times and are even now performed, though very rarely.

55. 'Intoxicating drinks (*madya*)'. There were startling vicissitudes in the attitude to intoxicants.

In Vedic times *soma* was a beverage drunk by the priests and *surā* was a beverage for common men and usually not meant to be offered to the gods. Soma and sura are sharply distinguished (vide Tai. S. II 5. 1. 1, Vāj. S. 19. 7, Sat. Br. V. 1. 5. 28). The Śat. Br. (V. 1. 5. 28) has the striking antithesis 'For, Soma is truth, prosperity, light; and surā is untruth, misery, darkness'. In the Sautrāmanī *śiṣṭa* a brāhmana had to be hired for drinking the dregs of surā offered in it and if a brāhmana could not be found the surā was poured on an ant-hill (Tai. Br. I 8. 6 and Śābara on Jai. III 5. 14-15). It appears from the Kāthaka-saṃhitā XII 12 that¹⁸⁷⁹ brāhmanas had by that time come to regard the drinking of surā as sinful. From Chān. Up. V. 10.9 it appears that a drinker of surā was enumerated among five grave sinners. In the Āśv. gr. II 5. 3-5 it is said that in the rites of the Anvastakā day when pindas are offered to the male ancestors, the female ancestors viz. the mother, the paternal grandmother and great-grandmother are offered surā and the scum of boiled rice in addition¹⁸⁸⁰. The Nir. S. (III.

1879. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरा न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्संयुज्या इति । काठकसं. XII 12, quoted by the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै I. 3. 7 p. 210 and by कङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्त-सूत्र III. 4. 31.

1880. पिण्डपितृयज्ञकल्पेन । ह्रस्वा मधुमन्थवर्जं पितृभ्यो दद्यात् । श्रीमथ सुरामात्रा-भक्षित्यधिक्य । आश्व. गृ II. 5. 3-5.

p. 367) refers to this passage of the Āśv. Gr. and holds that the Kalivarjya text against intoxicants forbids this also.

Madya is a generic term applicable to all intoxicating drinks; *surā* is said to be of three kinds, viz that prepared from molasses, that from honey (or madhūka flowers or from grapes) and that from corn flour (Manu XI. 94, Visnu Dh. S. 22. 82 and Saṁvarta 117). The Visnu Dh. S. (22. 83-84) specifies ten kinds of *madya*, all of which a brāhmana was not even to touch. Gaut. II. 25¹⁸⁸¹, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 21, Manu XI. 95 forbid all kinds of *madya* to brāhmanas at all stages of life. Āp. I. 7. 21. 8, Vas. I. 20, Manu XI. 54, Visnu Dh. S. 35. 1 hold that the drinking of *surā* is one of the five grave sins (mahāpātakas), while Yāj. III. 227 employs the word 'madya' in place of *surā* in this connection. Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 22 however notes that among the five practices peculiar to the brāhmanas of the north was that of drinking rum and Baud. condemns it. The verses of Manu XI. 93-94 about the three kinds of *surā* have been the subject of frequent and varying interpretations. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 222, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 253, Aparārka p 1069 and others establish that the word 'surā' primarily applies to *paistī* (liquor prepared from flour) alone, that *paistī* is forbidden to all brāhmanas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas, that it is the drinking of *paistī* alone that constitutes a mahāpātaka, that all intoxicating drinks are forbidden to brāhmanas in all ages, but intoxicants other than *paistī* (such as those prepared from molasses or madhūka flowers) are not forbidden to ksatriyas and vaiśyas. Manu XI. 93 says that *surā* is the refuse of cooked food (rice); therefore members of the three higher castes should not drink *surā*. This clearly shows that Manu took *surā* as meaning only *paistī* (liquor prepared from rice flour). The Visnu Dh. S. (22. 84) expressly says that ksatriyas and vaiśyas are not polluted by touching the ten kinds of *madyas* specified by it. In the Udyogaparva (59. 5) both Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) and Arjuna are described as intoxicated by drinking the liquor prepared from honey and the Tantravārtika establishes that there was nothing wrong in this as both were ksatriyas. Intoxicants were not forbidden to śūdras. Brahmacārins of whatever varṇa had to abstain from intoxicants of all kinds. Aparārka¹⁸⁸² (p 63)

1881. मद्यं नित्यं ब्राह्मणः । गौ. II. 25, सर्वं मद्यमपेयम् । आप. घ. सू. I. 5. 17. 21.

1882. मद्यं नित्यं ब्राह्मणः । नित्यमिति वचनान्मद्यं कृतशुद्धादावपि ब्राह्मणेन वर्ज्यं सन्निपदैरपाम्नां तु कलावेव । यद् ब्रह्मपुराणं ... नराश्वमेधौ मद्यं च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभिः अपरार्क p. 63

after quoting the Brahmapurāṇa states that intoxicating drinks were forbidden to the three varṇas in Kali and to brāhmanas in all yugas (ages). But this is opposed to tradition. The Ādiparva (chap. 76) narrates¹⁸⁸³ that Śukrācārya prohibited for the first time brāhmanas from drinking intoxicants (vide H. Dh. vol II. pp 792-799 for detailed discussion of this topic). The Kalivarjya text forbids the drinking of intoxicants to all the three twice-born classes. But ksatriyas and vaiśyas pay scant attention to this prohibition and even some brāhmanas in these days have taken to drink as a fashionable indulgence. The K. V. N. (folio 5a), Kṛsnabhāṭṭa¹⁸⁸⁴ and Sm. Kau. note that in the śākta treatises (called Vāmāgama) madya is allowed to be offered to the idol for all the three varṇas and to ksatriyas in the propitiatory rites for Vināyaka and for birth on the Mūla constellation but this kalivarjya text forbids all that.

An analysis of these 55 kalivarjyas yields very interesting results. About one-fourth out of the above 55 relate to Śrauta matters. There are several texts forbidding Agnihotra, Asvamedha, Rājasūya, Purusamedha, sattras, Gosava, animal sacrifices, while a few others are concerned with matters of detail in sacrifices (vide No. 11, 14-16, 29-30, 38, 48-51, 54). The first nine of these 55 are concerned with legal matters and relations. Some prohibitions are due to growing caste exclusiveness (No 5, 10, 31, 40, 43). Others again spring from ideas of greater insistence on the sacredness of the marriage tie, a stricter morality and a demand for greater decency and purity, particularly in women (No. 2, 3, 4, 9, 15, 23, 24, 33, 39, 55). A few are based on notions of compassion, justice and equity (No 1, 8, 24, 25, 42). Some owe their origin to the growing sacredness of the brāhmana's person and his high social position (No. 7, 10, 27, 29, 30). Some must have been suggested by hygienic considerations (No. 12, 16, 28, 38, 41, 45), some arose from strict ideas of sin, expiation and ceremonial purity and impurity (No 13, 18-21, 28, 44). Two of these, when they

1883. यो ब्राह्मणोऽयमष्टीह कश्चिन्मोहात्सुरां पास्यति मन्दबुद्धिः । अथेतर्धमा ब्रह्मदा चैव स स्यादस्मिन्लोके गहितः स्यात्परे च । आदिपर्व 76. 67 = मत्स्यपुराण 25. 62.

1884. यद्वा वामागमादौ त्रैवर्णिकपुरस्कारेणोक्तं देववैवेद्यादौ मया विधानं तदिह निषि-
यते । अथवा विनायकशान्तौ मूलजातशान्तौ च — हुष्ये (हुष्यं ?) चित्रं सुगन्धं च सुरा च
त्रैविधमपि । तथा — सुरापोलिकर्मासाद्यैर्नैवैर्भोजनादिभिः — इत्येताभ्यां यन्मया प्राप्तं तच्च यथापि-
मद्यमाससुरादीनि ब्राह्मणं (ब्राह्मणो ?) विनिवर्जयेदित्यनेन ब्राह्मणानां निषिद्धं तथापि
कात्रियादिपुरस्कारेणापि कलौ निषिध्यत इति । कलिवर्णवि. (folio 5a). कृष्णमह p 1291
ives a summary of this.

prohibit the stage of forest hermit and of sannyāsa, strike at the very root of the ancient scheme of āsramas.

The chapter on Kaliyarjyas can be employed as a very effective answer to those who trot out the theory of the 'unchanging East'. Social ideas and practices undergo substantial changes even in the most static societies. Many of the practices, that had the authority of the Veda (which was supposed to be self-existent and eternal) and of such ancient smritis as those of Āp, Manu and Yāj, had either come to be given up or had become obnoxious to popular sentiment. This fiction of great men meeting together and laying down conventions for the Kali age was the method that was hit upon to admit changes in religious practices and ideas of morality. The Kaliyarjya texts are also a complete answer to those who hold fast to the notion that dharma (particularly *ācaradharmā*) is immutable and unchangeable (*aparivartaniya*). This chapter on Kaliyarjya unmistakably shows how the most authoritative dicta of the Veda and of ancient sages and law-givers were set aside and held to be of no binding authority because they ran counter to prevailing notions and furnishes a powerful weapon in the hands of those who want to introduce reforms in the incidents of marriage, inheritance and other matters touching modern Hindu society. One can further see how some practices still persist in spite of the prohibitions in the Kaliyarjya texts viz. marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter, sannyāsa, agnihotra and even srauta animal sacrifices (rarely).

Some works add two more to the Kaliyarjya verses which mean, 'imprecations, omens, dreams, palmistry, listening for supernatural voices or messages, promises to make presents to a deity if a certain prayer were granted, prophetic replies by astrologers to questions, may rarely turn out to be true. One should not, however, resort to these through the desire to secure results from them. Similarly there are other actions also (that have to be abandoned) in the Kali age, because they have come to be included (by people) under improper acts (*adharma*)' 1885

1885. अत्र शपथः, काशीस्थलोलकतीर्थस्नानादयः । शकुनः पूर्णकुम्भादयः । स्वमाः
वृषभं कृष्णं कृष्णदन्तं पश्यति स एन इन्तीत्यादिस्तुतिस्मृतिसिद्धिः । उपश्रुतिः सन्ध्याया निर्जे-
जकादिग्रहेऽक्षतमक्षेपपूर्वकं स्वेष्टादिस्वकतत्रस्थशब्दाकर्णनम् । उपयाचितमस्मिन् कार्ये
सिद्धे भैरवाय सततं कुसराक्षं वास्यामीत्यादिसङ्कल्पः । आदेशः मन्त्रवशेन ज्योतिर्विद्भिर्भ-
विष्यत्कथनम् । एतत्सूचितस्यापीडादेः मतिबन्धकादृष्टभावाभावाभ्यां संवादलाभनियमाभावात्
शकुनादिलाभनात्रेण जयापुद्गेश्चकविबादादिमहसिचित्तेति हट्यार्थकार्यनिषेध एव क्रियते

(Continued on the next page)

From the fact that no ancient *smṛti* speaks of Kalivarjya, that the ancient commentaries of Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and even Vijñāneśvara do not cite long lists of Kalivarjyas, that such lists first make their appearance in the *Smṛtyarthasāra*, the *Sm. C.* and Hemādri (works and authors of 12th and 13th centuries), the most probable inference is that these lists of Kalivarjyas were first put together at the earliest in the 10th or 11th century A. D. ¹⁸⁸⁶

(Continued from the last page)

न त्वद्वृत्तार्थस्य ज्ञानत्यादेः । स्मृतिकौ. p 477. The passage 'युरुषं कृष्ण ... हन्ति' is quoted by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 2 4. The कलिवर्ज्यवि. (folio 11b) explains 'शकुना. काकपोतादिचेष्टाविशेषाः । . . उपश्रुतिश्चैलघावादिगृहपार्श्वे स्थित्वा चिन्तितार्थ-सूचनज्ञान्दार्क्यनम् । . . आदेशः आशीर्वादः प्रश्ननेन भविष्यकथन वा . . एते च निषेधा इति वार्तिकानुसारिणः । निबन्धानुसारिणस्तु (निबन्धनाह ?) धर्मविह्वलापत्तेरेते पर्युदासा एवेति मन्यन्ते ।' वार्तिक means here the तन्त्रवार्तिक of कुमारिल and निबन्ध refers to the work of Prabhākara, who was called निबन्धनकार by the शास्त्रदीपिका on जै. II 1. 1.

1886 An attempt at a systematical collection of the Kalivarjya texts and elucidation thereof was made by me in a paper submitted to the 8th All India Oriental Conference held at Mysore in December 1935. The paper was published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 12 pp 1-18 (New Series), 1936. Recently (1943) Mr Batuknath Bhattacharya has published a book which contains a full treatment of Kalivarjyas. He states in the preface that it is 'an exact reprint of the thesis for Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for 1933', that the subject is 'comparatively fresh and unexplored' and that the treatment is on lines marked out by the writer himself. He claims that his work is 'original as a whole except one section on secondary sons'. He does not state exactly in what year the thesis for a prize of 1933 was submitted to the Calcutta University. Presumably a thesis for a prize of 1933 should have been submitted in 1934 or 1935 at the latest. No satisfactory explanation is given why the thesis was published in 1943, so long after the year of the prize, nor does he mention my paper published so far back as 1936. It appears from quotations in the book as printed that it was probably retouched, if not actually written, after 1937. For example, on p 76 he quotes a passage from the *Smṛtimuktāphala* (section on Varnāśrama p. 201), which was published by Principal J. R. Gharpure only in 1937 in Devanāgarī. If the original thesis was written or revised in or after 1937 my paper published in 1936 should have been mentioned. Mr Batuknath Bhattacharya in his paper 'the sources of dharma and their comparative authority' published in the Proceedings of the 10th Oriental Conference at Tirupati held in 1940 refers to my paper on Kalivarjyas (p. 160) as 'brief and compact'. This shows that he knew my paper years before he published his work in 1943. The claim of the subject being 'unexplored' and the thesis being 'original' is hardly admissible.

CHAPTER XXXV

CUSTOMS IN MODERN INDIAN LAW

Though an elaborate treatment of customs in modern Anglo-Indian Law is far beyond the scope of the present work, yet a few words on customs in modern times may not be altogether out of place here. When the British began to acquire political domination in India they realized the importance attached to customs by all persons in India and the Charter of the Mayor's court at Bombay in 1753, unconsciously following the ancient dicta of Manu (VII. 203) and Yāj (I. 343), contains the earliest trace in British royal charters of a reservation to the peoples of India of their laws and customs.¹⁸⁸⁷ The British Parliament and the Indian Legislatures have allowed customs to occupy a very high place in the administration of law and justice. The preamble to 21 Geo. III chap. 70 (1781 A. D.) recited that one of the purposes for which the Act was passed was that the inhabitants of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa should be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of all their laws, usages, rights and privileges and sec. 17 of that Act provided among other things that, in the case of the inhabitants of Calcutta, their inheritance and succession to lands, rents and goods and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party shall be determined in the case of Mahomedans by the laws and usages of Mahomedans and in the case of Gentus by the laws and usages of Gentus¹⁸⁸⁸ and, where only one of the parties shall be a Mahomedan or Gentu, by the laws and usages of the defendant. 37 Geo. III chap. 142 (1796 A D), sec. 13, Bombay Regulation IV of 1827, sec. 26, the Government of India Act of 1915 (5 and 6 Geo V chap. 61, sec. 112), Government of India Act 1935 (25 Geo. V chap. 2, sec. 223), the

1887. Vide *Lopes v Lopes* 5 Bom. H. C. R. (O C J.) 172, 183.

1888. The word 'Gentu' (or Gentoo) was the Portuguese word for 'Gentile' and appears to mean a pagan inhabitant of Hindustan who is not a Mahomedan. Its use in a judicial document first occurs in the judgment of Lord Chief Justice Willes in *Omichand v. Barker* (Durnford's Reports of cases, 1737-1769, p. 538) Vide on the word Gentoo 'Khojas and Memons case' in Perry's Oriental cases 110, 123 and *Lopes v Lopes* 5 Bom. H. C. R. (O. C. J.) 172, 185-186.

Madras Civil Courts Act (III of 1873, sec 16), the Bengal, North-west Provinces and Assam Civil Courts Act (XII of 1887 sec. 37), Central Provinces Laws Act (XX of 1875, sec 5), the Oudh Laws Act (XVIII of 1876, sec. 3), the Bengal Laws Act (XVI of 1872, sec 5) enact that the custom of the parties or of the defendant shall be the rule of decision in matters of succession and inheritance, marriage, caste, religious institutions and the like.

The burden of proving a custom opposed to the general law or in derogation of the ordinary rights of another lies heavily on the person alleging it.¹⁸⁸⁹ The decided cases lay down several essentials of a valid custom. In order to make a particular custom valid it must be proved to be immemorial or ancient, uniform, certain, reasonable, obligatory and it must not be immoral or opposed to public policy or to any express enactment of the Legislature. What antiquity must be proved before a custom can be accepted as valid depends upon the circumstances of each case.¹⁸⁹⁰ When it is said that a custom must be ancient it is not meant that the antiquity must be carried back to a period beyond the memory of man. According to the Mit. on Yāj. II. 27 *smārta-kāla* (time within living memory) in relation to possession means a period of one hundred years, while according to Kātyāyana and Vyāsa it is only a period of sixty years.¹⁸⁹¹ On evidence of the prevalence of a custom even for 20, 30, 80 or 90 years the Courts have held that a presumption may arise that the custom is ancient and that if the presumption is not rebutted the Court may accept it as a valid and ancient custom.¹⁸⁹² Many instances have generally to be adduced for proof of a custom. No hard and fast rule can be laid down about the number of instances required to prove a

1889. *Neelkanta Deb v Beer Chunder* 12 Moo. I A. 523, 542; *Shiba Prasad v Prayagkumari* 59 I. A. 331, 345; *Baba Narayan v. Sabooza* 46 Bom. L. R. 312 (P. C.), 314.

1890. *Subham v. Nawab* 68 I A. 1, followed in *Panchanon Roy v. Fashur Rahman* 76 C. L. J. 479.

1891. सुखा पैतामही शुक्ति पैठकी चाँ-समता। विभिरेतैरविदुष्ठा। विपग पट्टा मित्रकी मता। कात्या. q. by अपरार्क p. 636; वषाणि विंशति शुक्ता स्वाग्निनापाहता सती। शुक्तिः सा पौरुषी द्युमेदिशुणा द द्विपौरुषी। विपौरुषी च विदुष्णा न ततोमेव आगमः। व्यास q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 75.

1892. *Mahamaya Debi v. Haridas* 42 Cal. 455, 472. *Garurud'hwaja v. Sagarandhwaja* 27 I. A. 238. *Basant v. Brijaraj* 62 I. A. 180, 193. *Parshottam v. Venichand* 45 Bom. 734, 767.

custom.¹⁸⁹³ In certain cases it has been held that specific instances are not absolutely necessary, but the opinions of persons likely to know the existence of the custom is entitled to great weight, even though they may not be able to cite specific instances.^{1893a} Customs once prevalent, particularly family customs, may come to be discontinued on account of accident, *change* in popular sentiment or by the concurrent will of all the members concerned.¹⁸⁹⁴ Customs must be strictly construed and cannot be extended by analogy or parity of reasoning. Because in a particular caste marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter is allowed by custom it does not follow that marriage with a maternal aunt's or paternal aunt's daughter will necessarily be valid. Vide H. of Dh. vol II p. 467 notes 1095-6. The evidence about a custom should be such as to prove the uniformity and continuity of the usage, the conviction of those following it that they were acting in accordance with law and the consciousness of obligatoriness and the custom should not spring from mere habit, imitation and ignorance or mutual arrangement.¹⁸⁹⁵ A custom must not be unreasonable. A custom of excluding daughters from inheritance was held to be not unreasonable according to the ideas of the Hindu community.¹⁸⁹⁶ A custom that only members of certain castes (and not of others) were entitled to make use of a temple and to worship therein was held not unreasonable in India, though it may appear obnoxious to cultured people at the present day.¹⁸⁹⁷

Customs must not be immoral. Whether a custom is immoral is to be judged by the sense of the whole community¹⁸⁹⁸,

1893. Vide *Ratilal v Motilal* 27 Bom L R 880; *Chandika v. Muna* 29 I. A 70.

1893a. Vide *Ahmed Khan v. Channi Bibi* 52 I A, 372; *S. K. Wodeyar v. Ganapati* 37 Bom. L. R 584; *Ajay Verma v. Vyas Kumari* 41 Bom. L. R. 700 (P. C.); *Madhavrao v. Raghavendrarao* 48 Bom. L. R 196.

1894. *Vannia Kone v. Vannichi* 51 Mad. 1 (F. B.). *Rajkishen Singh v. Ramjoy* 1 Cal 186, 195-96.

1895. *Mathura v. Esu* 4 Bom 545, 557. *Gopalayyan v. Raghupatayyan* 7 Mad. H. C. R 250 (F. B.), 254; *Ramrao v. Yeshvantrao* 10 Bom. 327.

1896. *Bhau v. Sundrabai* 11 Bom H. C R, 249, 277.

1897. *Anand Rao v. Shankar* 7 Bom. 323; *Sankaralinga v. Rajeshwar* 31 Mad 236 (P C); *S. K. Wodeyar v. Ganapati* 37 Bom L R 584; but vide *Narhari v. Bhimrao* 39 Bom. L R 1295 (about a tank).

1898. *Deivanayaga v. Muthu* 44 Mad. 329, 333.

A custom which authorizes a woman of the lower castes to contract a second marriage without divorce on payment of a certain sum to the caste was held to be immoral¹⁸⁹⁹ and the Bombay High Court refused to recognize the authority of the caste to declare a marriage void or to give a woman permission to remarry without a release from the husband.¹⁹⁰⁰ The adoption of girls by dancing girls (*nauts*) has not been recognized by the Bombay High Court,¹⁹⁰¹ though the Madras High Court would recognize such an adoption if there was no intention to make it for purposes of prostitution.¹⁹⁰² Dagger marriages are practised among certain castes. The Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 111. 15 and 44-46) states that among ksatriyas there are several forms of marriage such as forcibly carrying away the bride (which is the form called *rāksasa*) or marriage with the weapons (of the bridegroom). In modern times dagger or sword marriages have not been held valid by the courts even among *śūdras*; vide *Maharaja of Kolhapur v. Sundaram* 48 Mad. 1, *Ram Saran v. Mahabir* 61 I. A. 106.

Many customs and usages have been expressly forbidden by the Central Indian or Provincial Legislatures e. g. *Sati*¹⁹⁰³, female infanticide,¹⁹⁰⁴ slavery,¹⁹⁰⁵ marriages of children under a certain age,¹⁹⁰⁶ the dedication of women as *devadāsīs* to temples or idols.¹⁹⁰⁷ This being so, no court will allow a party to plead a custom against these positive enactments. It was recognised in a number of cases that in the Bombay Presidency¹⁹⁰⁸ a *vatandar joshi* had the right to recover by suit from

1899. *Reg v. Karsan* 2 Bom. H. C. R. 117, 125; *Uji v. Hathi* ? Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) 133.

1900. *Keshav v. Bai Gandi* 39 Bom. 538, 543.

1901. *Mathura v. Esu* 4 Bom. 545, *Hira v. Radha* 37 Bom. 116; *Girimallappa v. Kenchava* 45 Bom. 768, 784-5; *Ghasih Umrav v. Umrav Jan* 20 I. A. 193.

1902. *Venku v. Mahalinga* 11 Mad. 393; *Kamalakshi v. Ramasami* 19 Mad. 127; *Duggirala Veeranna v. Duggirala Saraswathnam* 71 M. L. J. 53, *Gangamma v. Cuddappa Kuppmamal* I. L. R. (1938) Mad. 789.

1903. Vide Regulation XVII of 1829 and sec. 306 of I. P. C.

1904. Vide the Female Infanticide Prevention Act (VIII of 1870).

1905. Vide Act V of 1843 and sections 370 and 371 of I. P. C.

1906. The Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929 as amended by Act XIX of 1938).

1907. Bombay Act X of 1934, sections 3-5.

1908. Vide *Vithal v. Anant* 11 Bom. H. C. R. 6; *Dinanath v. Sadashiva* 3 Bom. 9; *Raja v. Krishnabhat* 3 Bom. 232, *Waman v. Balaji* 14 Bom. 167.

a *yajaman* who had employed another priest to perform religious ceremonies the amount of the fees which would properly be payable to the *vatandar joshi* if he had been employed to perform such ceremonies and also the right to recover damages from a person who intrudes upon his office. But Bombay Act XI of 1926 (the Invalidation of Hindu Ceremonial Emoluments Act) now enacts (by sec. 4) that no person shall be entitled to claim as a matter of right any ceremonial emoluments from any Hindu who does not call in the services of the person claiming those emoluments. Therefore, suits of the nature described above cannot be brought now in Bombay by a *vatandar joshi*.

How customs and practices once prevalent may come to be discontinued or abrogated is well illustrated in the section on *Kalivariyas*. Some of those that have a legal bearing have been already discussed above.



APPENDIX

NOTE 191

Long lists of high functionaries and other officers occur in several inscriptions. Vide E. I. vol. VII at p. 91 (Kahla plate of Sodhadeva), E. I. vol. XII at p. 40, E. I. vol. XIV at p. 327 (grant of Mahīpāla). There are about 40 titles in some inscriptions. They are generally arranged in order of dignity and importance, the highest coming first. Sometimes several offices are held by the same man. For example, in the Jesar plate of Śīlāditya (dated in Valabhi year 357) the high officer Mammaka is styled 'sandhivigrahādhikṛta, divirapati, mahā-pratīhāra, sāmanta' (E. I. XXII at p. 120). It is not claimed that the following is a thoroughly exhaustive list. It is, however, exhaustive enough. Titles and dignitaries in South Indian languages have been generally omitted. Vogel stands for Dr. Vogel's work on 'Antiquities of Chamba State' where, on pp. 120-136, he furnishes informing notes on some officers. There is difference of opinion among scholars about the exact meaning of certain office names. The individual functions of several officers are not quite clear. The references given here as to where an office occurs are not exhaustive. Chronologically older references alone are generally given and they are mostly taken (so far as inscriptions are concerned) from the *Epigraphia Indica* (E. I.) and the *Indian Antiquary* (I. A.). Many official titles have the word 'mahā' prefixed without any change in meaning in some cases. Vide India Office Plate of Lakṣmanasena in his 27th year (E. I. XXVI. p. 1 at p. 7) for many official titles beginning with 'mahā'.

अक्षपटलिक—Vide Mahāksapaṭālika below. 'Aksapaṭāla' means 'Account office' (Stein) or 'Record office' (Fleet). There is 'grāmaksapaṭālika' mentioned in the *Harsacarita* (VII, para 2). Vide Chandela plate dated *saṃvat* 1108 (E. I. XX at p. 128) and Candrāvati plate of Candradeva dated *saṃvat* 1148 (E. I. IX at p. 305). Kauṭilya has a section on the superintendent of 'aksapaṭāla' (II. 7).

अक्षपटलाधिकृत—This is synonymous with 'aksapaṭālika'. This word occurs in Gupta Ins No. 60 p. 257 and in *Rājataran-gini* V. 301, 397-398.

अक्षपटलाध्यक्ष—Superintendent of records and accounts Vide Kautilya II. 7 and p. 143 above for his duties.

अक्षशालिक or अक्षशालिन्—Officer in charge of the gambling-hall. Vide Komanda plate of Nettiabhañja in E. I. XXIV p. 172 at p. 173 (about 4th century A. D.)

अक्षवाप—Superintendent of gambling. He was one of the 'ratnins' mentioned in the Tai. S and Śat Br. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1216 and above p. 112

अट्टपति—'Market-master'. Vide Rājat. V. 167.

अधिकरणलेखक—Official recorder or scribe (who drew up deeds of sale and the like after having the land sold measured in his presence). Vide Rājat. VI. 38 and note 436 above where Visnu Dh. S. VII. 3 is quoted.

अन्तपाल—Officer in charge of boundaries. Vide Kautilya I 12 (one of the 18 *tīrthas*), II. 21, V. 1. and Kāmandaka XII. 5. The word occurs in the Mālavikāgnimitra, Act I.

अन्तपुरमहामात्र—Officer in charge of the inner apartments or of the harem. Vide Masulipatam plate of Ammarāja II in E. I. XXIV p. 268 at p. 276.

अन्तःपुरिक—Officer in charge of the king's inner apartments or harem of the king. Vide Candrāvati plate of Candradeva of Kanoj (in *samvat* 1148) in E. I. IX. at p. 305.

अन्तरङ्ग—A class of royal servants very intimate with the king (probably same as *ābhyanantara*) Vide Parikuṭ plate of Madhyamarājadeva of Śailadanta family in E. I. XI at p. 286 and grant of Laksmanasena in E. I. XII p. 91 (of 1122 A. D.).

अन्तर्वेशिक—Officer in charge of the inner apartments or harem. Kautilya I. 12 mentions this officer among the 18 *tīrthas*. The word occurs in the Kādambarī (para 88), the Daśakumāracarita III. p. 71 and is defined by the Amarakośa.

अमित्वरमाणक—A messenger. The word occurs in the Nālanda plate of Devapāladeva in E. I. XVII at p. 321 (the words are 'dūtapraīsanika-gamāgamika-abhitvaramānaka') and in the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla (E. I. vol. IV p. 243 at p. 250). Vide also Chamba Ins. No. 15 p. 166 for the same and Vogel (pp. 125-126).

अमच—(Prākṛit for अमात्य). Vide Naṣik Ins. Nos. 4 and 5 in E. I. VIII pp. 71, 73)

अमात्य—Minister. Vide p. 104 and note 150 above.

अश्वघास-कायस्थ—A petty officer in charge of the fodder for horses. Vide *Rājat.* III. 489.

अश्वपति—A cavalry officer. Vide Gupta Ins. No 61 at p 259 (in the Gupta year 106).

आक्षपटलिक—Officer in charge of the account or record office. Vide E. I. vol. I pp 316, 318 (grant of Karna I dated *saṃvat* 1148).

आग्रहारिक—Officer in charge of an *agrahāra* or *agrahāras*. Vide Gupta Ins. No. 12 (Bihar stone Ins. of Skandagupta) p. 47 at p. 52 and Mallasarul plate of Vijayasena in E. I. XXIII p. 155 at p 159 The word may also be 'agrahārika' or 'agrahārin'. Vide E I XXIV at p. 127 for a note on 'agrahāra'.

आज्ञप्ति—One who communicates at the order of the king the details about a landgrant to local officers (probably the same as *dūtaka*). This word occurs in some of the earliest Ins. of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (in E. I. VI p. 84 at p. 88). Vide also E I VIII at p. 146 (plates of the great Pallava queen Cārudevi), JBBRAS vol. X p 365 of *śake* 532 (where the *ājñapti* is Durgapati), E I XII p. 3, E. I. XV p. 70 (plate of Sundara Cola) In the grant of the eastern Cālukya king Amma II we have 'ājñaptih katakādhiśo bhattadevasca lekhakah' (E. I. VII at p. 188). Vide p. 184 of the same for a discussion of the meaning

आज्ञा—a synonym of आज्ञप्ति. Vide Parle plate of Indravarman in E I. XIV p 360 at p. 362 (of the Ganga year 149) where the words are 'ājñā mahāmahattara-Sivavarmā'. When in the Gupta Ins. No 25 at p. 115 (of Mahārāja Sanksobha) or in the plate of Dronasimha in the Valabhi year 183 in E. I. XVI at p. 19 the words at the end are 'svayam-ājñā' the meaning is that the king employed no *dūtaka* to convey the details of his grant to the local officers but that he gave the details in person.

आज्ञादापके—Probably the same as 'ājñapti' or 'dūtaka'. Vide I A. 14 p. 161 in the record of Vākpatirāja of Dhārā dated *saṃvat* 1036.

आटविक—Officer in charge of forest tracts. The word occurs in Kautilya I. 12 among the 18 *tīrthas*

आधिकारिक—Officer. The exact function cannot be indicated. Vide grant of Dhārāvārsa in *śake* 702 (E. I. XXIV p. 176

at p 184), Cambay plates of Govinda IV in *śake* 852 (E I VII p. 26 at p. 40), Kautham plate of Vikramāditya V in *śake* 930 (I. A. 16 p 15 at p. 24).

आभ्यन्तर—Officers specially intimate or in close contact with the king. Vide Rājat. VIII 426.

आयुक्त—An officer. The exact duties are not clear. Pānini II. 3 40 indicates that he knows the word in the sense of a servant or officer. Vide Gupta Ins. No. 1 p. 1 at p. 8 (Allahabad Stone pillar Ins. of Samudragupta) which has 'āyukta-purusa'.

आयुक्तक—Same as आयुक्त. The word occurs in Kāmasūtra V. 5. 5 and Kāmandaka V. 82 (q. in note 73 above). Vide Omgudu grant of Vijayaskandavarman (E. I. XI at p. 250), Paharpur plate (E I XX p. 59 at p 61 in Gupta year 159), plate of Dronasimha in Valabhi year 183 (E. I. XI p. 17), grant of Dharasena II in Valabhi year 252 (in I. A. vol. 15 p. 187), the Maitraka plate in Gupta year 252 (E. I. XI p 83).

आर्यपुत्र—(Prākṛit अर्यपुत्र)—occurs in Brahmagiri Rock Inscription of Aśoka (in Corpus I I vol. I p 175)

आज्ञापक—lit. guardian of quarters. Acc to Sukra I 192 he is a chief ruling over 10000 villages

उपयुक्त—A subordinate officer Kautilya II 5 has that word The duties cannot be specified

उपयुक्तक—Probably the same as 'upayukta'. The word occurs in Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III dated *śake* 880 (E I IV p 278, at p 285), the Cambay plates of Govinda IV in *śake* 852 (in E. I. VII p 26 at p 40).

उपरिक—A very high officer, somewhat like a Governor of a province. Vide Damodarpur plate of Kumāragupta I in the Gupta year 125 (i. e. 443-44 A. D) where an *uparika* is said to have been selected by Emperor Kumāragupta to govern Pundravardhanabhukti and where the *uparika* is said to have appointed the *kumaramatyā* Vetravarman to govern the district (*visaya*) of Kotivarsa (E. I. XV p 130). He is sometimes styled *mahārāja* and *rājaputra*. Vide also Gupta Inscriptions pp. 213, 216, the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapala (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306), the Banskhara plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p. 208 at p. 211) where *uparika* occurs after ' *kumaramatyā* ' and before ' *visayapati* ' Visvarūpa on Yāj. I. 307 quotes a prose passage from

Brhaspati where the qualities requisite in an *uparika* are set out. Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar Festschrift pp. 231-233 for note and Vogel p 123.

एकाङ्ग—The exact meaning is not certain; probably an officer belonging to a body organized in military fashion for collecting revenue or performing police duties. The word occurs in *Rājat* V 249, VII. 1604.

कटकेश or कटकराज or कटकाधीश—Superintendent of the royal camp Vide E I. VII at p. 185 (grant of Amma II who ruled from 945 to 970 A. D.).

कटुक—Exact function not known. The word occurs in two Taleśvara plates in E I XIII at p 117. Vide महाकटुक below.

कम्पनाधिपति or कम्पनापति or कम्पनेश—Commander-in-chief Vide *Rājat* V. 447, VII 1362 and 1366.

कम्पनोद्ग्राहक—An officer connected with the army Vide *Rājat*. VIII. 1430

करण—A clerk. The word occurs in the Irda plate of Kamboja king Narapāladeva in E. I. XXII p. 150 at p 155 (about 10th century A. D.).

करण-कायस्थ—A scribe of legal documents. Occurs in Chamba Ins No 25 p. 187 at p. 194. Vide Vogel p 133

करणिक—Officer in charge of a State department or office. The word occurs in the Nālandā stone Ins of Yaśovarmadeva's reign about 530 A. D. in E I XX p 37 at p 44, in the Chatsu Ins. of Guhilot Balāditya of about the 10th century in E. I XII p. 10 at p. 17, in a grant dated *samvat* 1203 of Govindacandra's son in E I VIII p 158 (where we have 'karanika-thakkura-śrīvivika'), in E I XX Appendix p 52 No. 350 of *samvat* 1228 (about the donation of a karanika-brāhmana-Chāhada)

करणिन्—Same as 'karanika'. The word occurs in the Harsacarita VII para 2 (*sakala-karam-parikarah*).

कर्मसचिव—Executive minister. The word occurs in Rudradāman's Junagadh Ins of 150 A. D. in E I. vol. VIII p 36 Vide p 105 above

कायस्थ—A scribe or writer in the revenue department of the king. The oldest references are probably those in Yaj I 322, Visnu Dh. S. VII 3 and Br. Sam 86. 12. Vide Āsvaghāsa-

kāyastha above and grāmakāyastha in Rājat. V. 175 and Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. IX p 12 (a grant of Gupta year 120 i. e. 439-40 A. D.) Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 75-77 for a note on Kāyastha.

कासीनिक—Superintendent of all mines and State manufactories. Kauṭilya I. 12 mentions him among the 18 *ūrtihas*. Kauṭilya II. 12 is headed 'ākara-karmāntappravartanam' i. e. 'conducting mining operations and manufactories'.

कुमार—A prince younger than a Yuvarāja (the heir apparent). The word 'Kumāla' occurs in the first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka at Dhauli (Corpus I I vol I pp. 93, 97). Vide also Corpus I. I. vol. II pp. 40 and 48 (Mathurā Lion Pillar capital).

कुमारमात्य—A high officer below a provincial Governor. Vide 'uparika' above. In the Allahabad *prasthā* of Samudragupta, Harisena is described as *kumārāmātya* and also *sāndhivigrahaka* and *mahādandanāyaka* (Gupta Ins. No. 1 at p. 16) Vide Gupta Ins. No. 46 p. 213 at p. 216, the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p 208 at p. 211), E. I. X at p. 72 in the reign of Kumāragupta in Gupta year 117 (a brāhmana is described as *mantrin*, *kumārāmātya* and *mahābalādhikṛta*) Vide Dr. U. N. Ghoshal's paper on 'kumārāmātya' in the proceedings of the 6th All India Oriental Conference pp. 211 ff, p 117 above and Vogel p. 123.

कुलकरणि—a hereditary clerk or officer. The word occurs in the Sūti Ins. of Śake 981 in E. I. XV p. 85 at p. 91.

कुलिक—An officer in charge of ten villages who was granted a 'kula' of land for his salary. Vide Manu VII. 119 and Kullūka thereon. In the Damodarpur plate of Gupta year 124 it is said that the head of the district was assisted by the *nagara-śreṣṭhin*, *prathama-kulika* and *prathama-kayastha* (E. I. XV at p 130). In the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva we read 'Odra-mālava-khasa-kulika-karnāta-hūna-cāta-bhātasevakādīn' (E. I. XVII at p. 321). Vide Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p. 166. Vogel says that 'Kulika' is a tribe (pp. 126-127) Probably the passage means 'officers in Orissa, Khasa and Mālva and the cātas and soldiers of Karnāta and Hūna origin'. Kulika also means 'an arbitrator as a tribunal'. Vide pp 280-282 above and Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. 19 p. 12 at p 14. Vide महापात्रकुलिक

कोटपाल—Officer in charge of a fort. The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Narayanapala (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306) and in the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva in E. I. XVII at p. 321 where the word is read as koṭapāla.

क्षत्र—Chamberlain. Vide p. 111 above. He is one of the 'ratnams'. According to Manu X. 16 and Yāj. I. 94 the offspring of a ksatriya woman from a sudra male was called *ksattr* and it is probable that such mixed offspring were employed as door-keepers or chamberlains.

क्षत्रप—A provincial chief. The word occurs in Corpus I. I. vol. II p. XXXIV and pp. 23, 28 (Taxila plate of Patika of the year 78) and in the plate of Vidagdha in 'Antiquities of Chamba', Ins. No. 15 p. 164 at p. 166. Vogel says it must be read as 'ksetrapa'. Vide 'mahāksatrapa' below. The word is probably a Sanskritized form of Persian 'satrap'.

क्षेत्रप—The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at 306).

क्षेत्रपाल—Occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. XVII at p. 321).

खण्डरक्ष—The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306), in the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. XVII at p. 321) and in the Chamba Inscription Nos. 15 and 26. In 'Antiquities of Chamba' Ins. No. 25 the form is 'khadgaraksa'. Vide Vogel pp. 127-128.

खण्डवाल—Occurs in the Kahla plate of Sodhadeva of *samvat* 1134 (E. I. VII p. 85 at p. 91). The form खण्डपाल occurs in the Panchobh plate of संप्रसन्नसुत (JBORS. vol. V p. 582 at p. 588).

खोल—Occurs in the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāladeva (E. I. vol. IV p. 243 at p. 250). The meaning is uncertain.

गजपति—Officer in charge of the elephant arm in an army. The word occurs in the plate of Jayacandra of Kanoj dated *samvat* 1225 in I. A. vol. 15 at p. 7.

गजपति—Occurs in the Talesvara plate (6th to 8th centuries A. D.) in E. I. XIII. p. 109 at 115. उत्पल on बृहत्संहिता 52. 13 says 'कोशमवतं गजः'.

गजवर—(a Persian word for 'treasurer')—occurs in the Ins. of Mahāksatrapa Sodāsa found at Mathurā (in E. I. IX p. 247). Vide Rājat. V. 177.

गमागमिक—The meaning is uncertain. It probably means some kind of messenger. It occurs in Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306), the Nālanda plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. XVII at p. 321), the Rajor Ins. of Mathanadeva in *samvat* 1016 (in E. I. vol. III p. 263 at p. 266) उत्पल on बृहत्संहिता 85. 34 explains दूत as गमागमिक. In the Khalimpur plate (E. I. vol. IV pp. 243, 250) the words दूतखोलगमागमिकाभित्वरमाण occur one after another.

गावुण्ड—Same as *grāmakūta* below. Vide Ins. from Hottur in E. I. XVI p. 74 (of śake 929)

मावुण्ड—Same as above. It occurs in the Ratta Ins. from Saundatti of śake 902 (in JBBRAS. vol. X at p. 208)

गुल्मपति—Officer in charge of a गुल्म, for which see p. 205 above. It occurs in the Panchobh plate of Sangrāmāgupta (12th century) in JBORS. vol. V p. 582 at p. 588

गूढपुरुष—Secret service men. Vide Irda plate of Kamboja king Narapāladeva in E. I. XXII p. 150 at p. 156 (about 10th century).

गोप—Officer over five or ten villages. Vide Kaut. II. 35 and p. 143 above.

गौल्मिक—‘Superintendent of woods and forests’ (Fleet). The word occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 12 p. 47 at p. 50, in the Nālanda plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321), Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306), in the grant of Lakṣmanasena (E. I. XII p. 6 at p. 9). The word is formed from ‘gulma’ acc. to Vārtika 13. (āyasthanebhyasthaka) on Pāṇini IV. 2. 104. Vogel (p. 127) boldly asserts that ‘the words śaulkika and gaulmika are unknown in Sanskrit Literature’ in spite of Buhler’s note in E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 7 that saulkikas are frequently mentioned in inscriptions. But śaulkika also occurs in Yāj. II. 173 and both words occur in the Mahābhāṣya. Gulma means a post of guards. Vide p. 141 above. The word ‘gumike’ read in the grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 5) is correctly held by Buhler to stand for ‘gaulmika’.

ग्रामकायस्थ—Village scribe. Occurs in Rājat V. 175

ग्रामकूट—Village headman. Vide p. 154 for reference from Pāṭhīnāsī. Kaut. IV. 4 has that word and the com. on Kāmasūtra V. 5. 5 explains ‘halotthavṛtti’ as ‘grāmakūta’. Vide also Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III dated śake 880 (E. I.

IV p. 278 at p. 285), the Sanjan plates of Buddha-varasa (E. I XIV p. 144 at p. 150), the grant of Karka Suvarnavarsa in śake 746 (E. I XXIV p. 77 at p. 84), Cambay plates of Govinda IV in śake 852 (E. I VII pp. 26, 39)

ग्रामकूटक—Same as above. This form occurs in Kauthem plate of Vikramāditya V dated śake 930 (I. A. vol. 16 p. 15 at p. 24).

ग्रामणी—Village headman. Vide pp. 153-154 above for ancient references Pāṇini V. 2 78 has this word.

ग्रामनेतृ—Same as above. Occurs in Śukra II. 120.

ग्रामपति—Occurs in the Mit. on Yāj. II. 271.

ग्रामभर्तृ—Occurs in Yāj. II. 271.

ग्रामाधिपति—Vide Kāmasūtra V. 5 5.

ग्रामिक—Village headman. Occurs in Manu VII. 116, Kaut. III. 10 and in Bhūmāra stone Pillar Ins. of Hastin and Śarvanātha in Gupta year 189 (Gupta Inscription No. 24 p. 112).

घट्टपति—Officer in charge of quays or landing places (*ghats*). Occurs in Kahla plate of Sodhadeva in *śamvat* 1134 (E. I VII. p. 85 at p. 91). For घट्टपाल vide JBORS vol. V pp. 582, 588.

चाट—This word has given rise to various opinions. Fleet and Buhler translate as 'irregular soldiers'. Vogel (pp. 130-132) points out that Chamba is the only place where the ancient word 'cāta' is still extant in the modern form 'chat' meaning 'head of a *pargana*'. Grants of villages are often expressed as 'acātabhatapraveśya' (not to be entered by cātas and bhatas). For example, in the Surat plate of Maitraka Vyāghrasena (E. I XI at p. 221) it is stated that the granted land was not to be entered by cātas and bhatas except for (seizing) robbers and those guilty of harm or treason to the king. Similar words occur in the Betul plates of Sanksobha in Gupta year 199 (acātabhatapraveśyam coradrohakavarjam) in E. I VIII p. 287. The words occur also in the Khoh plate of Mahārāja Hastin in Gupta year 191 (Gupta Ins. No. 23 p. 106). Yāj I 336 states that it is the duty of the king to protect people from the harassment caused by cātas, robbers and *kūyasthas* and the Mit explains cāta' as persons who deprive people of their wealth after producing false confidence in them. Three quarters of the same verse occur in the Pañcatantra I p. 72 verse 343 Aparārka (p. 792) quotes Brhaspati that 'dangers common to all are those arising from cātas and thieves'.

Prof. Pathak while editing the Abhona plates of Sankaragana dated in Kalacuri *samvat* 347 in E. I. IX p. 296 quotes the words of Śankarācārya (tārkika-cāta-bhatarājaprayasyam) in his Bhāṣya on Br Up. and Anandagiri's explanation thereon viz. *cātas* are those that transgress the rules of conduct for decent people and *bhatas* are servants telling falsehoods. Vide the Valabhi grant of Dharasana II in 252 Gupta year (I. A. 15 p 187) and the Palitana plates of the same king and of the same year in E. I. XI p. 80 at p. 83 and the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p 208, at p. 211 where we read 'bhatacāta-sevakādīn) for other early occurrences of the word In the Naihati grant of Ballālasena we have the words 'cattabhatta-jātiyān janapadān' (E. I. XIV p. 156 at p. 160)

चोरग्रह—Thief-catcher. The word occurs in Nārada (pariśista verse 18) and in Kāt. q by Aparārka p. 844

चोररज्जुक—Probably an officer whose duty it was to secure robbers with ropes. Kaut. IV. 13 mentions this officer and II. 6 refers to 'corarajjū' as one constituent of 'rāstra'.

चौरोद्धणिक—Thief-catcher or one who exterminates thieves This word occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 46 p 213 at p 216, the Valabhi grant of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252 (I. A. 15 p. 187) and the Palitana plate of the same king in the same year (E. I. XI p. 80 at p 83), the Rāstrakūta grant of Śake 697 (JBBRAS vol 16 p 105 at p 108), Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p 304 at p. 306), the grant of Laksmanasena (E. I. XI p. 6 at p 9).

चौरोद्धर्तु—Same as above The word occurs in Yāj II. 271 and in Kātyāyana quoted by Aparārka p 844

छत्रछायिक—Umbrella bearer This word occurs in 'Antiquities of Chamba', Ins. No. 15 at p 166 Vide Vogel p 128

ठक्कुर—It appears to have been a mere title and not an office whereby the holder was entitled to wield some kind of power in the State The word occurs in *samvat* 1005 (E. I. XIX p. 243), in the plate of Govindacandra in *samvat* 1186 (in E. I. XIII p 295 at p 297), the Sevadi plate of Cāhamāna Ratnapāla in *samvat* 1176 (E. I. XI p 304 at p 310) It occurs as a title in Rājāt VII. 290, 706, 738

तन्त्रपति—A Judge (dharmādhikārin) Occurs in Rājāt VIII 2422.

तन्त्रपाल—Seems to mean some officer like "Charged" affaires". The word occurs in a record at Sūdi in Ron Taluka of Cālukya Someśvara I in śake 973 (E. I. V at p. 77) and in Partabgarh Ins. of Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla in *samvat* 1003 (in E. I. XIV p. 176 at p. 185), one Mādhava being styled 'tantrapāla-mahāsāmanta-mahādandanāyaka'.

तरपति—Superintendent of all ferries. Vide Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321) and Kahla plate of Sodhadeva in *samvat* 1134 (E. I. VII at p. 91). In the Nālandā plate 'tarika' and 'tarapatika' come immediately after one another and must be distinguished as to meaning.

तरिक—Probably means 'one who plies a ferry boat'. Occurs in Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321), Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306).

तलार or तलरक्ष—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs in the Ins. of Samarasimha of Mewar in *samvat* 1330 (E. I. vol. XX. Appendix No. 579 p. 82). In Punjab a subdivision of high class *khatri*s is called Tālwar.

तलावारक—Meaning not apparent. Bhagavanlal suggested that it is the same as modern 'Talāti' (petty revenue officer). It occurs in the Deo-Baranark Ins. of Jivitagupta (Gupta Ins. No. 46 p. 213 at p. 216).

दण्डनाथ—Commander of an army. In E. I. vol. V. p. 28 at p. 31 mention is made of a Dandanātha Sahadeva under the Yādava king Jaitugi or Jaitapāla (about 1200 A. D.).

दण्डनायक—Various meanings are assigned by several scholars. Stein on Rājat. VII. 951 takes it to mean 'prefect of police'. In many cases it appears to mean a 'General or Magistrate'. In E. I. VII, Appendix No. 291, 292 and 296 Ins. of the years 1178 to 1181 A. D. there is one Keśimayya styled 'dandanāyaka' lower in rank than mahāmandalesvara. Vide also Ins. of Jayakeśi Kadamba of 1125 A. D. in E. I. XIII p. 298 and p. 317 (Dandanāyaka Lakkharasa), JBBRAS XII p. 11 in śake 1145 (Dandanāyaka Purusottama of Yādava Singhana), the Abhir Ins. in E. I. V p. 234 where one Mahādevarasa is styled mahāsāmantaādhipati and dandanāyaka and his subordinate Māyideva is also called 'dandanāyaka' (about 1153 A. D.), in several Kalacurya Inscriptions (E. I. V p. 24 at p. 28, E. I. V. p. 213 at p. 215). Lakanna and Mādanna were dandanāyakas of Devarāya II of Vijayanagara (about 1388 śake) in E. I. XV at p. 15. Vide p. 115 and n. 152 above, E. I. XIX p. 265 at p. 269 (grant of

Dharmarāja) reads 'dāndanāyaka'. In Br. Sam. 72.4 the queen, yuvarāja, senāpati and dandanāyaka are placed on the same level in the matter of the staff (danda) to be prepared for them.

दण्डपति—Commander of forces or a governor. Vide Abu Vimala temple Ins. dated *samvat* 1378 in E. I. IX pp. 148, 156.

दण्डपाल—An officer in charge of all branches of the army. Vide Kauṭ. I. 12 and p. 112 n. 147 above.

दण्डपाशिक—Officer in charge of punishment i. e. criminal justice. The word occurs in the Palitana plates of Dharasena II dated in Gupta year 252 (E. I. XI p. 83), in the Valabhi grant of the same king in the same year (I. A. 15 p. 187), in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306 which reads 'dāndapāsika') and Lakṣmanasena's grant (E. I. XII at p. 9), also in Yaśastilaka I. p. 50.

दण्डवासिक—(a prakṛit form of dandapāsika). Occurs in Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p. 166. Vide Vogel p. 129.

दण्डशक्ति—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs in Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla in E. I. vol. IV p. 243 at p. 250.

दण्डाविनाथ—Same as dandapāla. The word occurs in the Chittur plates of Kullottunga Codayeva (I. A. 14 p. 55 in *śake* 1056).

दण्डाधिप—Same as above. The word occurs in a quotation in the com. on Yaśastilaka I. p. 91 and the Abu Vimala temple Ins. dated *samvat* 1378 in E. I. IX p. 148 at p. 151. Vide note 148 above for quotation.

दण्डिक—Same as 'dandavāsika'. Vide Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p. 166.

दण्डेश—Same as दण्डनाथ. In J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 15 p. 386 (of *śake* 1160) there is a commander (dandēśa) Bhoirāya under Yādava king Singhana.

दण्डपाशिक—Same as 'dandapāsika'. This word occurs in the Pañcatantra II, *Kathā* 4 (as dandapāsaka meaning a watchman), in the grant of Mahābhavagupta I (E. I. XI at p. 94), in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321), in E. I. XIX p. 265 at p. 269. Vide Vogel p. 129.

दण्डभोगिक—Probably the same as दण्डशक्ति. The word occurs in the Wala plate of Guhasena in Valabhi year 246 (E. I. XIII at p. 339).

दाण्डिक—A police officer. The word occurs in the Gupta Ins. No. 46 p. 213 at p. 216, in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306), in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla

(E. I. XVII at p. 321). In this last 'dāndika' and 'dāndapāsika' come immediately after one another.

दापक—Appears to be the same as 'dūtaka'. The word occurs in the grant of Paramāra king Siyakadeva dated *samvat* 1026 (in E. I. XIX p. 177) and in E. I. XIX at p. 243 (dated *samvat* 1005).

दाशापराधिक—meaning doubtful. Probably an officer whose concern was with the ten *aparādhas* of which the king could take cognisance *suo motu*. The word occurs in the Nalanda plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321) and in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306). Vide p. 264 above for the ten *aparādhas*.

दिक्पाल—Probably officers in charge of the borders of a kingdom. The word occurs in Nārada (Dr. Jolly's edition, *pariśista* verse 17) q. by the Mit. on Yāj. II 271 and Kāt. (813) q. by Aparārka p. 844.

दिविर—a clerk. The Rājat. VIII. 131 makes it clear that 'divira' was distinct from the 'kāyastha'. The word occurs in the Gupta Ins. No. 27 at p. 122 of Mahārāja Jayanātha in Gupta year 177 (where one of the donees is a *divira* Sarvavādha).

दिविरपति (or दिविरपति)—chief of clerks. In the grant of Śīlāditya of the Gupta year 286 a certain officer is styled 'sandhivigrahadhikṛta-divirapati' (E. I. XI p. 174 at p. 180); vide also Jesar plate of Śīlāditya in 357 Valabhi year (E. I. XXII p. 114 at p. 117) where a person called Mammaka is styled 'divirapati' and also *sandhivigrahaka-mahāprathāra* and *sāmanta*.

दुःसाधसाधनिक—Vide दौःसाधसाधनिक below.

दुर्गपाल—Superintendent of a fort. Vide p. 112 note 147 above.

दुष्टसाधक—meaning uncertain. The word occurs in the Kahla plate of Sodhadeva of *samvat* 1134 (E. I. VII at p. 91).

दूत—Messenger, envoy. Vide Visnudharmottara II 24. 13-14, 28 for his qualifications and pp. 112, 127 above. In the 13th Rock Edit of Aśoka at Shahabazgadhi we have 'duta' (vide Corpus I. I. vol. I p. 67).

दूतक—A high officer or delegate who conveys the king's command about the grant of land to local officers. The word occurs in the Betul plate of Saṅksobha in 199 Gupta year (Gupta Ins. pp. 286-289), and in the plate of Mahārāja Jayanātha of Gupta year 174 (Gupta Ins. No. 26 p. 117 at

p. 119 where the 'dūtaka' is Uparikadiksita Sarvadatta), in the Banskhera plate of Harsa in E. I. IV p. 208 (dūtakotra mahāpramātāra-mahāsāmhanta-śrī-Skandagupta) and also in the Madhuban plate of Harsa (E. I. VII at p. 158). In the Daulatpur plate of Bhojadeva I in Harsa *samvat* 100 the dūtaka is said to be 'Yuvarāja-Nāgabhata'. Vide also E. I. VI p. 285, E. I. VIII 287, XI p. 80. In the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla (in E. I. vol. IV p. 243 at p. 250) the king states that he was requested to make a grant by Mahāsāmantādhipati Nārāyanavarman through the Prince Tribhuvanpāla as dūtaka.

दूतप्रियवर्णिक—Meaning doubtful. The word occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321) and the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306).

देशाधिकृत—(Prakrit 'desadhikata')—Governor of a Province. The Prakrit form occurs in the Ins. of Pallava Sivaskandavarman in the year 8 (E. I. vol. I at p. 5).

दोःसाधसाधनिक—Meaning doubtful. Probably means 'those who catch dangerous robbers whom it is difficult to secure'. The word occurs in the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p. 208 at p. 211). The form 'duhsādha-sāadhanika' occurs in the Sevadi plates of Cāhamāna Ratnapāla in *samvat* 1176 (E. I. XI at p. 310). Vide also E. I. XXVI at p. 206 and 'mahāsāadhanika' below.

दोःसाधिक—Probably the same as above. The word occurs in the grant of Lakṣmanasena in the 3rd year of his reign (i. e. 1122 A. D.) in E. I. XII at p. 9.

दोवारिक—Doorkeeper. Vide Kautilya I. 12, Lalitavistara p. 136, Viśnudharmottara II. 24. 30.

द्राङ्गिक—Officer in charge of a city station or watch tower for collecting customs duties. 'Dranga' means either 'a town' (as in E. I. XX, No. 810 of *śaka* 1509) or 'a watch station' (as in *Rājat.* VIII. 2010). The word occurs in Valabhi plate of Dharaśena II in Valabhi *samvat* 252 (I. A. 15 p. 187), Gupta Ins. No. 38 at p. 169, Palitana plate of Simhāditya in 255 Valabhi year (E. I. XI p. 16 at p. 18), Bhavanagar plate of Dhruvasena I in Valabhi year 210 (E. I. XV p. 257), Wala plate of Guhasena (E. I. XIII at p. 339), the Navalakhi plate of Śilāditya (E. I. XI at p. 179).

द्राङ्गेश—Guardian of frontiers. Vide Stein's translation of *Rājat.* vol. II no. 291-292 for the meaning of 'dranga'.

द्वारनाथ, द्वारपति, द्वाराधिप—Superintendent of passes leading into the kingdom (Stein). Vide *Rājat*, V. 214.

धर्ममहामात्र—Superintendent of morality. Vide *Asoka's Edicts* in *Corpus I. L.* vol. I p. 96 (first Rock edict at Girnar).

धर्माधिकरण—Judge. Vide *Visnudharmottara* II. 24. 24-25.

धर्माधिकरणिन्—Judge. Vide *Matsyapurāṇa* 215. 24 and note 167 above.

धर्माध्यक्ष—Vide p. 126 above.

धुव—Collector of the royal share of grain. The word occurs in the Bhinmal Ins. of *saṃvat* 1320 (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I part 1 p. 477).

धुवाधिकरणिन्—Probably the same as above. The word occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 38 pp. 164-166 (*Māliya* plate of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252), the Wala plate of Guhasena (E. I. VII at p. 339 of Valabhi year 246).

नगरपति—City Prefect. The word occurs in the *Silāra* grant of *śake* 1016 (I. A. vol. 9 p. 33 at p. 35).

नगरव्यावहारिक—City Magistrate. Vide *Kautilya* I. 12 for *Pauravyāvahārika* and note 147 on p. 112 above. The word 'Nagalaviyohālaka' occurs in the First separate Rock Edict of Asoka at Dhauli (*Corpus I. L.* vol. I p. 92).

नगरश्रेष्ठिन्—City Banker or guild president of the town. The word occurs in the Damodarpur plate No. 4 of the time of Budhagupta (E. I. XV at p. 115) and in the Paharpur plate (E. I. XX at p. 63).

नगराधिकृत or नगराधिप—City prefect. Occurs in *Rājat*, IV. 81, VI. 70, VIII. 3334

नरपति—Exact function doubtful. The word occurs in the plate of Jayacandra of Kanoj in *saṃvat* 1225 (I. A. vol. 15 p. 6 at p. 7) and in the Panchobh plate of Sangrāmāgupta in JBORS, vol. V p. 582 at p. 588.

नागरक—Chief Officer of the city. The word occurs in *Kautilya* II. 36, *Kāmasūtra* V. 5. 9 (the com. on which explains *nāgaraka* as *daṇḍapātika*). Vide p. 149 above for his functions.

नागरिक—Chief of the police. The word occurs in the *Vikramorvaśya* V (after verse 4), the *Daśakumāracarita* II pp. 58 and 59. The *Valjayanṭi* explains the word as 'karapati, (Jail Superintendent).

नायक—Head of (ten) villages. The word occurs in Kautilya I 12, Śukra I. 192.

नियुक्त—An officer, whose exact function is not known. The word occurs in the grant of Karka dated *śaka* 746 (E I XXIV p. 77 at p 84), in the Kauthem plate of Vikramāditya V dated *śaka* 930 (I. A. vol. 16 p 15 at p 24), in the Rajor Ins. of Mathanadeva dated *samvat* 1016 (E. I. III p. 263 at p 266).

निहेलपति—Governor of some part of a kingdom. In Chamba Ins. No 15 p 164 at p 166 we read in Vidagdha's plate 'Visaya-pati-nihelapati-ksatraps'. Vide Vogel p. 124 In Gupta Ins. No. 80 p. 286 at p. 289 the 'dūta' of the grant is 'nihila-pati' Kuśāla-prakāśa. So 'nihila' and 'nihela' probably mean the same thing.

नैमित्तिक—Probably 'soothsayer or astrologer'. The word occurs in the plate of Candradeva of Kanoj of *samvat* 1148 (E. I. IX p. 302 at p. 305).

पाञ्चकुल—An officer over a certain number of villages. The word occurs in the grant of Arjunadeva of Anahillapataka in Vikrama year 1320 (I. A. vol. 11 at p. 242, where we read 'Sri-Abhayasihaprabhrti-pañcakulapratipattau'), in the Bhinmal Ins. No. 12 dated *samvat* 1333 (Bombay Gazetteer vol. I part I p 480) where we read 'tan-niyukta-mahā-Gajasiha-prabhrti-pancakula-pratipattau'). In E. I. XXIV at p. 89 (in an Ins. from Udaipur) we have a Pañcoli of the Gughāvata family. Here, it appears that 'pañcakula' was a board of officers of whom Gajasimha was one (or the chief). Vide महापाञ्चकुलिक below.

पञ्चमण्डली—A board of five officers or a *panchayat*. The word occurs in the Sanchi Stone Ins. of Candragupta II in Gupta year 93 (vide Gupta Ins. No. 5 at p. 31)

पट्टकिल—Village headman The word occurs in the Malva plates of Vākpatirāja in *samvat* 1031 and 1078 (I. A. vol. 6 at pp. 51 and 53), in the Māndhātā plate of Jayasimha of Dhārā in *samvat* 1112 (E. I. vol. III p. 46 at p. 48), in the plate of the Paramāra king Udayavarman of *samvat* 1256 (I. A. vol. 16 p. 252 at p. 254). Vide p. 154 above for other references.

पट्टोपाध्याय—Recorder of official documents. Vide Rājat. V. 397.

पण्डित—Vide note 150 above.

पिडनवेत्रिक—probably means 'an officer who drives away undesirable persons with a cane'. The word occurs in the plate of Mahābhavagupta I (E I. XI p 93 at p 94).

पीठिकाविति—Meaning uncertain The word occurs in the Belava plate of Bhojavarmadeva (E I. XII p 37 at p. 40).

पुत्र—means 'inferior servant' (as in Kautilya II 5) or a bailiff attached to a Court of justice (as in Br.). Vide p. 278 above.

पुरोहित—Vide pp. 111-112 and 117 above. The purohita occurs in the list of functionaries in the Candrāvati plate of Candradeva of Kanoj in *śaṃvat* 1148 (E I. IX at p. 305) and in the grant of Lakṣmanasena (E I. XII p 6 at p. 9).

पुस्तपाल—Keeper of land records The word occurs in the Damodarpur plates dated Gupta year 124 and 129 (E I. XV p. 113, at p. 130) and in the Paharpur plates (E. I. vol XX. p. 61).

परव्यावहारिक—Vide p. 112 note 147 above. Compare 'nagala-viyohālaka' above under 'nagara-vyāvahārika'.

प्रतिनर्तक—Herald This word occurs in Gupta Ins No. 39 p 171 at p. 190 dated 766-67 A. D (The words are 'tan-niyukta-pratinartaka-kulaputrāmātya-Guhena').

प्रतिनिधि—Vide note 150 above.

प्रतिहार—Chamberlain or 'inditer of grants'. In Nasik Ins. No. 5 the word *pratihāra* (pratihāra) occurs (E I. VIII p. 73). Brhaspati quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 307 states the qualifications of a 'pratihāra'. Vide Ādiparva 85, 28-29, Viśnūdharmottara II. 24, 12, Śukra I. 121 for definitions. In the grant of Dhruvasena dated Valabhi year 206 the *dūtaka* of the grant is *pratihāra* Mammaka.

प्रतीहार—Same as above. The form occurs in the Vasantagadh Ins. of Varmalāta (E I. IX p 187 at p 192), in the Candrāvati plate of Candradeva of Kanoj in *śaṃvat* 1148 (E I. IX at p 305); in E I. IX p 117 at p. 119 Paramāra king Jayavarma II causes *pratihāra* Gaṅgadeva to give a village to three brāhmanas (in *śaṃvat* 1317).

प्रथमकायस्थ—Chief scribe The word occurs in the Damodarpur plate 1 of Kumāragupta in Gupta year 124 (E. I. XV at p 130).

प्रदेष्ट—Police Magistrate. Vide Kautilya I. 12, IV. 1, IV. 10 (last verse). The word occurs in the Irda plate of the

Kamboja king Nayapāladeva (of about the 10th century) in E. I. XXII. pp. 150 at p. 156.

प्रधान—Vide note 150 above. The word occurs in the Śīlāra plate of Mahāmandalesvara Anantadeva (I. A. 9 p. 33 at p. 35 where 'mantrin', 'amātya' and 'pradhāna' are mentioned)

प्रमातर—Vogel (pp. 122-123) holds that this officer was concerned with the administration of justice. The word occurs in the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p. 208 at p. 211).

प्रमातृ—Probably 'civil judge'. The word occurs in the Nālanda plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321) and in the grant of Dhruvasena III in the Gupta year 334 (E. I. vol. I p. 85 at p. 88). Vide also E. I. vol. I at p. 115

प्रवेशभागिक—Meaning doubtful. Stein conjectures that he is a subordinate officer of the treasury who received cash payments. The word occurs in Rājat. VIII. 278.

प्रशास्तृ—Probably chief magistrate. The word occurs in Kaut. I. 12; vide p. 112 n. 147 above.

प्राणान्तर्य—Medical adviser to the king. Vide Visnudharmottara II. 24, 33-34 for his qualifications.

प्राह्विवाक—Chief Justice. Vide Manu IX, 234 and p. 272 above.

प्रातिसारक—Meaning doubtful. The word occurs in the Valabhi grant of Dharasena II dated Gupta year 252 (I. A. 15 p. 187)

प्रादेशिक—(प्रादेशिक)—An officer under Aśoka, probably the same as the mahāmātra. The word occurs in the 3rd Rock Edict of Aśoka at Girnar (Corpus I. I. vol. I pp. 4-5).

प्रान्तपाल—Governor of a Province or guardian of the frontiers. The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. vol. 15 p. 304, at p. 306) and in 'Antiquities of Chamba' Ins. No. 15 at p. 166. Vide Vogel p. 124.

प्रायोपवेशाधिकृत—Officer who watched those that had resolved to fast unto death. Vide Rājat. VI. 14.

बलाधिकृत—Commander of an army. The word occurs in the Kādambari (para 74) of Bāna (where Balāhaka is so called) and in the Rāstrakūta (Gujerat branch) grant of śaka 679 (J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 16 p. 105 at p. 108 where 'balādhikṛta' follows 'senāpati').

बाह्य—A class of royal servants (as distinguished from 'antaranga'. Vide Rājat. VIII. 426, 680, 1542.

बृहदुपरिक—Great Governor of a province. The word occurs in the grant of Laksmanāsena (E. I. XII p. 6 at p. 9). See 'uparika' above.

भट—The word occurs very frequently in conjunction with 'cāta' for which see above. Vide also Dudia plates of Pravara-sena II in E I III p. 258 at p. 261 and Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p. 208 at p. 211), grant of Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I. p. 2 at p. 5) where 'bhata' stands for 'bhata'.

भागदुघ—Vide p. 112 above.

भागहार—He who recovers the king's share of the produce of land; one of the six officers of each village, acc. to Śukra II. 120

भागिक—Meaning uncertain. The word has something to do with 'bhāga' and 'bhoga' which frequently occur in the Gupta Inscriptions (e.g. 'bhogabhāgam' in Gupta Ins. No. 40 at p. 194 and No. 41 at p. 198). Vide two Taleśvara plates (E. I. XIII, p. 109 at p. 115) and 'Antiquities of Chamba' (Ins. No. 15 p. 166) where both 'bhāgika' and 'bhogika' are found. Mr. Y. R. Gupta renders it as 'owner of land'. Vide Vogel p. 130.

भाण्डागारप्रथम—The chief of the royal store-house or treasury. The word occurs in the Ambarnath Ins. of Mamvāni in sake 782 (J B B R A S. vol. 9 p. 219).

भाण्डागारिक—A storekeeper or keeper of royal treasury. The word occurs as 'bhandākarikaya' ('bhāṇḍāgārikasya', of a store-keeper) in Nasik Ins. No. 19 (E I VIII p. 91) and in the Candravatī plate of Candradeva of Kanoj dated *śamvat* 1148 (E. I. IX p. 302 at p. 305).

मिषड्—King's medical adviser. Vide E. I. IX p. 302 at p. 305.

भोगपति—Head of a district. It occurs in the Mitaksarā on Yāj. I. 320, in E. I. IX p. 296 at p. 298 plates of Śankarkagana where we read 'anyairvāgāminṛpati-bhogapatibhih', as contrasted with a king and in 'Antiquities of Chamba' Ins. No. 45 at p. 166

भोगिक—Head of a district or Collector of the State share of land produce taken in kind (Bombay Gazetteer I part 1 p. 82). The word occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 21 p. 93 at p. 96 and No. 22 p. 100 at p. 104 (of the Gupta year 163), No. 23 p. 106 at p. 108 (of the Gupta year 191), in the Kavi grant of

Jayabhata about the beginning of 5th century A. D. (I. A. vol. V at p 114), in the Taleśvara plates (E. I. XIII p 109 at p. 117)

भोगोदरणिक्—The same as 'bhogika' above

भोजक—A village headman or 'freeholder' (Buhler). The word occurs in the Deo Baranark Ins. of Jivitagupta II (Gupta Ins. No. 46 p. 213 at p. 216) and in the grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol I p 2 at p 5)

मण्डलेज—'Lord of a mandala', a provincial governor Vide Rājat VI 73, VII 996, VIII 1228, 1814, 2029.

मण्डलेवर—Same meaning as above. The word occurs frequently in the inscriptions of the Rāṭas of Saundatti. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 21 p 354 and 'mahāmandalesvara' below

मतिसचिव—Councillor. The word occurs in the Inscription of Rudradāman. Vide p 105 above.

मन्त्रिन्—Minister or councillor. The word occurs in Kaut I. 8, Yāj. I. 312 and in Candrāvati plate of Candradeva of Kanoj dated *saṃvat* 1148 (E. I. IX p. 302 at p. 305). Vide pp. 105-106 and n. 150 above.

महतक—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs as Mahāmahattaka in the Bodhi Gaya Ins. dated in the 74th year of the Lakṣmana-sena era (i. e. about 1194 A. D.) in E. I. XII p 27 at p. 30.

महतम—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. vol. 15 at p. 306) and the Rajor grant of Mathanadeva in *saṃvat* 1016 (E. I. III p 263 at p 266 where both 'mahattara' and 'mahattama' occur one after another) and in Rājat VII 438.

महतर—lit meaning 'elder' (of a town or village). Stein on Rājat VII 659 translates it as 'chamberlain' The word occurs in the Kavi plate of Jayabhata of the beginning of the 5th century A. D. (I. A. vol. V p 114, 'rāstragrāma-mahattara'), Gupta Ins. No 38 p 164 at p. 169 (the Mahiya plate of Dharasena II), Abhona plates of Śāṅkaragana (595 A. D.) in E. I. IX p. 297, Palitana plates of Śimhāditya in the Gupta year 255 (E. I. XI pp. 16, 18), Valabhi grant of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252 (I. A. 15 p. 187). Vide also E. I. VIII p 26 at p. 39 (śake 852), E. I. IV p. 278, 285 (śake 880), E. I. III p. 263, 266 (Vikrama year 1016), I. A.

vol. 16 p. 15 at p. 24 (śake 930) In the Daśakumāra-carita III p 77 there is 'janapada-mahattara'. Vide note 148 above.

महाकरणिक—Vide 'karanika' above. The word occurs in the Benares plate of Cedi king Karnadeva in Cedi era 793 (i.e. 1042 A. D.) in E. I. vol II p. 297 at p. 309.

महाकर्ताकृतिक or महाकार्ताकृतिक—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. vol. 15 p. 304 at p. 306) and in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p 321) and the Wala grant of Dhruvasena I in Gupta year 216 (I A vol 4 p. 105).

महाकुमारामात्य—Vide 'Kumārāmātya' above. The word occurs in the same two plates as are mentioned under 'mahākartā-krtika'.

महाक्षत्रप—The great *satrap* or provincial Governor. The Mathurā Lion Pillar capital (Corpus I. I vol. II p. 30 at p. 48) and the coins of Rajula are the earliest to mention this word. Vide the Mathurā stone Ins. of Śondāsa (E. I. IX p. 247) and Rudradāman's Ins. (E. I. VIII p. 36 at p. 44).

महाक्षपटलिक—Vide 'aksapatatika' above. The word occurs in Gupta Ins No 39 at p 120 (in 766 A. D.), in the Bhagalpur plate (I. A. 15 pp 304, 316), Benares plate of Karnadeva (A. D. 1042) in E. I. vol II p. 309, in Laksmanasena's grant (E I XII p 91), E I X at p. 100 (Vikrama year 1253). In the Madhuban plate of Harsa (E I VII p. 155 at p. 158) we have 'mahāksapatalādhikaranādhikṛta'.

महागणस्थ—meaning uncertain. The word occurs in the Naihati grant of Ballālasena (E I vol XIV p. 156 at p. 160).

महातल्वर—The functions of this high officer are not clear. See the Nagarjunikonda Ins. in E. I. XX at pp 6 and 16 where a person is styled mahāsenāpati and mahātalavara. Has the word anything to do with the modern word 'talvār' meaning a sword? If it has then it would mean 'a great swordsman' The word 'taravāri' in the sense of a double-edged sword occurs in the Yasastilaka I. p 50.

महादण्डनायक—Vide 'dandanāyaka' above and p. 115 note 152. In the Gupta Ins No. 1 pp 10, 15 Harisena, the author of the *prasaśi*, is styled sāndhivigrahika, kumārāmātya and mahā-dandanāyaka; vide also Gupta Ins No 46 pp. 213, 216, Mathurā (Kusana) Ins of the year 74 (E I. IX p. 242), E. I. XVI p. 230 the Kankhera stone

Ins. of the year 201 (279 A. D. ?) where we read 'mahādandanāyakena śakena sridharavarmanā', in Nagarjunikonda Ins (3rd century A. D.) in E. I. XX at p. 7; in the Wala grant of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena I in the Gupta year 216, there are five titles applied to Dhruvasena of which mahādandanāyaka is one (I. A. vol. 4 p. 105), the other four being mahāsāmanta, mahāpratihāra, mahākārtākr̥tika and mahārāja.

महादानपति—The great lord of gifts. The word occurs probably as a title only in the Taxila plate of Patika of the year 78 (Corpus I. I. vol. II p. 23 at p. 28).

महादानिक—Officer superintending the great gifts of the king called mahādānas. For mahādānas vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 869–870. The word occurs in the Kahla plate of Sodhadeva (E. I. vol. VII at p. 91).

महादेवी—The first wife of a king. The mahādevī or mahārājñī often heads the list of persons to whom royal grants are addressed. Vide Karnadeva's plate dated in 1077 A. D. (E. I. XI. at p. 141).

महादौःसाधसानिक—Vide 'dauhsādhāsāhanika' above. The word occurs in Nārāyanapāla's plate (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306) and Devapāla's Nālanda plate (E. I. XVII p. 310 at p. 321).

महाधर्माधिकरणिक—The chief justice. The word occurs in the Benares plate of Karnadeva in A. D. 1042 (E. I. II p. 309) and also in his Goharwa plate (E. I. XI p. 139 at p. 141).

महाधर्माध्यक्ष—Vide 'dharmādhyaṅksa' above. The word occurs in Lakṣmanasena's grant (E. I. XII p. 6 at p. 9).

महापाञ्चकुलिक—Vide पञ्चकुल above. The word occurs in Sangrāmāgupta's Panchobh plate (JBORS vol. V p. 582 at p. 588).

महापिलुपति—The great superintendent of elephants. Mahāpilu-pati Pāsupata was the *dūtaka* of the Abhona plates of Kataccuri Śankaragana in Kataccuri *samvat* 347 (i. e. 595–6 A. D.) in E. I. IX p. 296 at p. 298. The word also occurs in Lakṣmanasena's grant (E. I. XII p. 6 at p. 9).

महाप्रतिहार—Superior officer above all doorkeepers, great chamberlain. The word occurs in the Kādambari of Bāna para 97, in the Rājat IV. 142. It occurs in the plates of Saṅgamasimha (541 A. D.) in E. I. X p. 72 at p. 75, in the Jesar plate of Śilāditya in 357 Valabhi year (E. I. XXII p. 117), in Gupta Ins. No. 46 pp. 213, 216, Benares plate of Karnadeva in 1042 A. D. (E. I. vol. II p. 309).

महाप्रधान—Great Minister (or Prime Minister). A mahāpradhāna and dandanāyaka Brahmadeva is found in an ins of Kalacurya Sankama's time in 1178 A. D. (E. I. V p. 26 at p. 28) Vide also E. I. XV p. 32 at p. 36, I. A. vol. 9 p. 33 at p. 35 (where a mahāpradhāna Mahādevaiya under mahāmandaleśvara Anantadeva is mentioned in śake 1016.)

महाप्रभु—Governor. Vide Ehūra record of 1173 A. D. (E. I. XII at p. 335)

महाप्रमत्तवार (महाप्रमातार)—Vide the Godharva plate of Karnadeva dated 1047 A. D. (E. I. XI p. 141).

महाप्रमातार—see प्रमातार above. The word occurs in the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p. 208) and Benares plate of Karnadeva (1042 A. D.) in E. I. vol. II p. 297 at p. 309.

महाबलाधिकृत—Great commander. Vide Gupta Ins. No. 23 at p. 109 in 191 Gupta year, the same person being also the *dūlaka* of the grant; E. I. X at p. 72 (valabhi *samat* 117 in Kumāragupta's reign), E. I. VI p. 294 at p. 299 (609–610 A. D.), E. I. XI at p. 83 (Maitraka grant of Gupta year 252), E. I. XII p. 30 at p. 35.

महाभाण्डागारिक—Vide Bhāṇḍāgarika above. The word occurs in Karnadeva's Benares plate (in 1042 A. D.) in E. I. vol. II p. 39 and in his other plate in E. I. XI p. 141 (in 1047 A. D.). For the Mahābhāṇḍāgāra office, vide Rājat IV 142.

महामोगिक—Vide मोगिक above. Vide Laksmanasena's grant in E. I. XII p. 6 at p. 9.

महामण्डलनाथ—Same as mahāmandaleśvara. The word occurs in the Waghli ins of Seuna dated śake 991 (E. I. II at p. 227)

महामण्डलीक—Same as the next. Occurs in Śilāra plate of Anantadeva in śake 1016 (I. A. vol. 9 p. 33 at p. 35).

महामण्डलेश्वर—Lord of a great territory. This title is borne by many of the Rattas of Saundatti (vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 21 p. 354 for Belgaum), by Śilāhāra chiefs of the Konkan, by the Kadambas of Hangal and other cities and several other chiefs throughout central and south India. Vide E. I. XIII at p. 16 (for Rattas of Saundatti, 1204 A. D.), E. I. XIII p. 299 (for Kadamba Jayakesi II being so called in A. D. 1125), E. I. V p. 234 at p. 236 and p. 238, E. I. XII p. 250 (for Bhandup plates of Śilāhāra Chittarājadeva in 1026 A. D.), J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 9 p. 219 (Ambarnath Ins. dated śake 782), I. A. vol. 12 p. 119 (Bassein plates of

Yādava Seunacandra II, śake 991), I A. vol 11 p. 9 for Kākatiya Mahā-Rudradeva in śake 1084, E. I. VIII p. 205 for the Vāghela chiefs Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala being called Mahā-, E I XIV pp. 265-66 (Sinda chief Rācamalla II of Kurgod in śake 1095 and 1103), E I. XIX p 75 at p. 80 (Haihaya king Prthvideva I is styled Mahā- though he ruled over 20000 villages of Mahākosala.

महामन्त्रिन्—'Great Minister or councillor'. Occurs in the Benares plate of Cedi king Karnadeva (E I. vol II p 309 in 1042 A. D.) and his Goharwa plate dated 1047 A. D. (E I. XI p 141)

महामहत्तक—Vide mahattaka above. The word occurs in the Bodh Gaya Ins. dated in Laksmanasena year 74 (E I. XII p. 27 at p. 30).

महामहत्तर—Vide mahattara above The word occurs in the Purla plate of Ganga year 149 (E. I. XIV p. 362, where we read *ājñā mahāmahattara-Siṣaśarmā*

महामहन्तक—Occurs in the Kahla plate of Sodhadeva in *śamvat* 1134 (E I. VII p. 85 at p. 91)

महामात्य—'Great or Prime Minister'. Vide note 148 above and Vogel p 122. Occurs in Ambarnath Ins of śake 782 (J B B R A S, vol. 9 p 219), Bhadana plates of Śilāra Aparājita in śake 919 (E I. III p 267 at p. 290), plate of Karnadeva in 1042 A. D. (E. I. vol. II p 309), I A. vol. 11 p 242 in Vikrama year 1320 equal to Valabhi year 945 where mahāmātyarānaka-Māladeva is said to have done all the business of the seal of Veraval Ins of Arjunavarmadeva of Anahillapātaka and where a Mahomedan donor from Hurmuz grants some income to a *masjid* built by him, Mussulman congregations of Somanātha being appointed trustees.

महामात्र—High Officer Vide Kautilya I 12, V 1 &c and Kāma-sūtra V. 5 17, 33 and 35 The word occurs frequently in the Aśoka inscriptions e g the two separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli are addressed to the Mahāmātras of Tosali (Corpus I. I. vol. I pp 92, 95, 97, 99 and 175). In the Sohagpur plate (of about 300 B. C) also the 'Mahāmātras' of 'Savasti' are mentioned (E I. XXII p 1) In Nasik Ins No. 22 in E I VIII p 93 (about 1st Century B. C) the word 'mahāmātena' is interpreted as mahāmātyena in Bombay Gazetteer vol 16 p 592, but it is better to take it as mahāmātrēna. Manu employs the word mahāmātrāh

(in IX. 259, which Medhātithi explains as 'mantrins, purohita and others', while Kullūka explains it as meaning those whose profession is to tame elephants)

महामुद्राधिकृत—Officer in charge of the Royal seal. Occurs in the grant of Laksmanasena in E. I. XII p 6 at p. 9.

महाराज—'King or feudatory'. This is not an official under a king, but in some inscriptions an emperor addresses his order as to a grant of land to 'mahārāja mahārājñi-mahārājaputra' &c Vide Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p. 208 at p 211).

महाराजपुत्र—'Great prince'—occurs in Benares plate of Karnadeva (E I. vol. II p 309 of 1042 A D) and his Goharwa plate in 1047 A D (E I XI p 141) and Kahla plate of Sodhadeva in *samvat* 1134 (E I. VII p 85 at p 91)

महाराज्ञी—Vide E I. VII p. 85 at p 91.

महाराणक—Vide I. A. vol 18 p 214 (of *samvat* 1216)

महाव्यूहपति—'Chief Master of battle arrays' Occurs in the plate of Bhojavarmadeva in E I XII p 37 at p 40

महाभ्रेष्ठिन्—Great banker Occurs in Kahla plate of Sodhadeva (E I. VII pp 85, 91)

महाश्वशाल—One of the five high offices instituted by Lalitāditya of Kashmir. Vide *Rājat.* IV 142

महाश्वसाधनिक—Commander of a cavalry force Occurs in the Benares and Goharwa plates of Karnadeva (in E I vol II p 309 and E I XI p 141), Kharha plate of Yaśahkarnadeva (E. I. XII p 205 at p 213)

महासन्धिविग्रहिक—Great Minister of peace and war. Occurs in Benares plate of Karnadeva in 1041 A. D. (E. I. II p. 309)

महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकृत—Great minister of peace and war Occurs in the Palitana plate of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252 (E I XI p. 80), in plate of Buddharāja (E I VI at p 299 in 609-10 A. D.), in the Pimpri plate of Dhruvarāja (E I X at p 89) in śake 697 In the Harsacarita (VI) Harsa is said to have dictated his proclamation of *divyajaya* to 'Mahā. .kṛta' who sat near him. In E I IX at p. 290 (plates of Śankaragana) and E I. XII p 30 at p. 35, we have 'mahāsandhivigrahādhikaranādhikṛta

महासाधनिक—Great Commander Occurs in Kahla plate of Sodhadeva in Vikrama 1134 (E I. VII p 85 at p 91).

महामाधनभाग—One of five high officers instituted by Lalitāditya of Kashmir. Vide *Rājat.* IV 142-43.

महासन्धिविग्रहिक—Same as महासन्धिविग्रहिक. Occurs in Gupta Ins No 22 p. 100 at p 104 (the Khoh plate of Gupta year 163), the Ambarnath Ins dated śake 782 (*JBBRAS* vol 9 p 219), the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I A 15 p 304 at p 306), E. I. XI p 141, E. I. XII p. 6 at p 9 (Lakṣmanasena's grant).

महासामन्त—Great chieftain. The Yādavas of Sindinagara (vide E I II p 217 of śake 922, I A. 17 p 120 of śake 948) and the Rattas of Saundatti were often so styled (*Bombay Gazetteer* vol. 21 p 354). The Valabhi king Dhruvasena is called mahārāja and mahāsāmanta in E I XI p 107 (in Gupta year 206) and E I. XV at 256 (in Gupta Year 210) and E I XIX p 302 and p 304. The word occurs in the Banskhera plate of Harsa in his 22nd year i. e. about 628-29 A. D. (E I IV p 208, at p 211) and in the Madhuban plate of the 25th year of Harsa's reign (E I vol. I pp 63, 67). Vide also Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I A. vol 15 pp 304, 306), Rīstrakūta grant of śake 679 (*JBBRAS* vol 16 pp 105, 108), E I XV p 85 in śake 981 (where one Nāgadeva is both mahāsāmantaādhipati and dandañāyaka of Someśvara I), E I vol. II p. 309 (Benares plate of Karnadeva).

महासामन्ताधिपति—Probably means the same thing as महासामन्त. In E I IV p 259 one Bhogadevarasa is styled mahāsāmantaādhipati and dandañāyaka (Kelavadi Ins of the time of Someśvara I in 1053 A. D.), E I VI pp 285, 292 (plate of Mahā-Dandivarma of Gujerat in śake 789), E I XX p 61 (one Kesavayya is dandañāyaka and mahā- of Belvola 300 in śake 934), E I V p 234, I A. vol 48 p 1, E I IV p. 243 at p. 250.

महासेनापति—Great Commander of armies. The word occurs in the Nasik Ins No. 24. We have a mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa (E I VIII at p 94) and in Nasik Ins. No. 3 of Vasithiputa Siripulumāvi (*Bombay Gazetteer* vol 16 p. 556), in the Nagarjunikonda Ins (of 3rd century A. D.) Chāntisiri is said to have been married to a person entitled mahāo and mahātalavara (E. I. XX p. 1 and pp 6 and 16), in E. I. XII p 6, 9 (Lakṣmanasena's grant).

मार्गपति—Guardian of frontiers or passes Occurs in Nālandā stone Ins of Yaśovarmadeva's time about 530 A. D. in E. I. XX pp 37, 41.

मार्गपाल—Same as above Occurs in Nārada quoted by the Mit on Yāj II. 271. Vide *dīpālā* above for the reference

यात्रीक—'staff bearer', an attendant on a king Vide Rājat VI. 203. The word is derived from 'yasti' acc. to Pān IV. 4 59 (meaning 'yastih praharanam-asya').

युक्त—An officer, whose exact function is not known; but in the inscriptions of Asoka it is said that *yuktas* are to receive orders from the *parisad* (council of ministers). Vide the 3rd Rock Edict at Girnar (Corpus I. I. vol I p 4). The word also occurs in Kautilya II. 5 and 9.

युक्तक—Same as above Occurs in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV in sake 852 (E. I. VII pp. 26, 39) and the Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III of sake 880 (E. I. IV. pp. 278, 285).

युवराज—Crown Prince. Occurs in Kauṭ. I. 12 among the 18 tīrthas. The word occurs in the Mathurā Lion pillar capital (Corpus I. I. vol. II p. 40) and in the Candrāvati plates of Candradeva of Kanoj (E. I. IX p. 302 at p. 304)

रजुक (or लजुक) or रज्जुक—An officer of land survey and revenue department The word occurs (as *rajuka*) in the 3rd Rock Edict of Aśoka at Girnar in Corpus I. I. vol I pp 4-5 and in E. I. XXIV p. 52 (under Vākāṭaka Emperor Pravarasena II).

रहस्याधिकृत—Private Secretary. The word occurs in the Pallava Śivaskandavarman's grant (E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 7), in the Vilavatti grant of Pallava Simhavarman (E. I. XXII p. 296 at p. 298), in a Kadamba plate (E. I. VI p. 13).

राजकुमार—A prince. Occurs in the grant of Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 5)

राजकुल—(modern Rāvaḷ or Rāul). Vide E. I. XX Appendix No 324 for the Ins of mahāmandaleśvara-rājakula-Ranaśideva in Vikrama year 1223, E. I. XXV at p. 156 Mayūra-bhañja grant (where rājakula Heramba is said to be the *lekha*)

राजगुह—Occurs frequently in the Inscriptions of the Rattas of Saundatti (Bombay Gazetteer, vol 21 p. 354 for Belgaum) and in the plate of Yādava Seunacandra (I. A. vol. 12 p. 119 at p. 120).

राजन्—Either a mere title or 'a feudatory'. This is often the first among the several persons addressed in several grants. The word occurs in Abhona plates of Śāṅkaragana in 595 A. D. (E. I. IX p. 297), in the Candrāvati plate of Candradeva of *śamvat* 1148 (E. I. IX p. 305), in Lakṣmanasena's grant (E. I. XII at p. 9) Vide Vogel p. 121

राजन्वक—a ksatriya chief. It occurs in Lakṣmanasena's grant (E. I. XII p. 6 at p. 9).

राजपुत्र—*lit.* 'a prince', but in many inscriptions it has some technical meaning such as 'nobleman' or 'knight'. The word occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321 where the order is 'rāja-rānaka-rājaputra-rājamātya'), in Gupta Ins. No. 46 at pp. 213, 216, Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. vol. 15 pp. 304, 306), in Lakṣmanasena's grant (E. I. VII p. 6 at p. 9). Vide Vogel p. 121 and Fleet's note 1 on p. 218 of Gupta Ins.

राजश्रेष्ठिन्—King's banker or chief of bankers. Occurs in Com. on Yaśastilaka I p. 91. Vide note 148 above

राजस्थानीय—Exact function uncertain. In Gupta Ins. No. 35 at p. 157 he appears to be a high officer, but a low one in Gupta Ins. No. 38 at p. 170. In the Rājat VIII. 2618 he appears to be chief justice. Bühler in I. A. vol. V p. 207 takes the word to mean 'an officer who carries out the object of protecting the subjects'. In J. R. A. S. 1895 p. 382 *rājas-thānīya* Bhaṭṭi is the *dūtaka* of the grant. In the plates of Simhāditya in Gupta—Valabhi year 255 (574 A. D.) the order is 'rājaputra-rājasthānīyāmātya'. Vide the Banaskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV pp. 208, 211), Gupta Ins. No. 46 pp. 213, 216, Vasantagadh Ins. of Varmalāta in *śamvat* 682 (E. I. IX p. 192), Palitana plate of Dharasena (E. I. XI p. 83), the Gujerat Rāstrakūṭa grant of śake 697 in J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 16 pp. 105, 108, Vogel p. 122 and explanation in E. I. XI p. 176

राजानक—A minister. The title occurs frequently in the Rājat (vide VI. 117, 261). It was given for services to the king and survives in the form 'Rāzdān' as a family name among Kashmir brāhmanas. The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. vol. 15 pp. 304, 306), in the Parikud plate of Madhyama-rājadeva of Śailodbhava dynasty (E. I. XI pp. 281, 286). Vide Vogel p. 121 who

remarks that the vassals of the Chamba king designated themselves in this way.

राजमान्य—King's minister. In the Nasik Ins. No. 19 (E. I. VIII p. 91) this word occurs in the Prākṛit form 'rāyamaca'. The word also occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 46 (pp. 213, 216), Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321), Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla (I. A. vol. 15 pp. 304, 306)

राज्ञी—Queen. Vide Candrāvati plate of Candradeva in *śāmal* 1148 (E. I. IX at p. 305), the grant of Lakṣmanasena in E. I. XII at p. 9 (the order being 'aśesa-rāja-rājanyaka-rājñī-rāpaka-rājaputra-rājāmātya &c) and the plate of Vijaya-sena (E. I. XV at p. 283).

राणक—A nobleman. Occurs in Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321), in Lakṣmanasena's grant (E. I. XII at p. 9), in the Ins of Kalacuri Narasiṃhadeva of Dāhala in Vikrama year 1216 (I. A. vol. 18 p. 214). Viradhavala and Lavanaprasāda of the Vāghela line are styled mahāmaṇḍa-lesvara and rāpaka in Abu Ins. No. 2 dated 1123 A. D. (E. I. VIII at p. 205). Vide J. B. O. R. S. vol. V p. 582 at p. 588.

राष्ट्रकूट—Head of a district (on the analogy of grāmakūṭa). Vide J B B R A S vol. 16 at p. 117.

राष्ट्रपति—Ruler of a province. The word occurs in E. I. VII p. 39 in 852 A. D., in the Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III dated śake 880 (E. I. IV pp. 278, 285), in the Kautheṃ plate of Vikramaditya V in śake 930 (I. A. vol. 16 pp. 15, 24).

राष्ट्रपाल—Head of a province. The word occurs in Kaut. V. I.

राष्ट्रिक—Ruler of a province. In the Prākṛit form 'ratṭhika' the word occurs in the grant of Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 5).

राष्ट्रिय—Ruler of a district or province. Vide p. 117 and note 155a above and Śāntiparva 85. 12.

रूपदर्शक—Examiner of coins. The word occurs in Kaut. II. 5, for which see note 184a. In E. I. XXII p. 30 there is a statement that in the Jogimāra inscription rūpadakha (rūpadarśa or rūpadakṣa?) occurs. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar takes it to mean 'banker'.

लिपिकर—Writer of an edict or order. The word occurs in the Brahmagiri Rock Ins. in Corpus I. I. vol. I at p. 176. Pāṇini II. 2. 21 teaches the formation of 'lipikara'.

लेखक—Scribe or clerk in a public office. The word occurs in Nasik Ins No. 16 and No 26 (Bombay Gazetteer vol 16 pp 582 and 605), in the Visnudharmottara II, 24 26-28, Śukra II 120.

लेखहारक—Letter-carrier. Occurs in Rājat VI 319.

लेखाधिकारिन्—A Secretary. Occurs in Rājat III 206

विद्याधिकारिन्—Director of education. In the Kondavidu Ins one Śrinātha is said to have been the Vidyādhikārin of Vema in E I XI p. 313 at p. 314

विनियुक्त—An officer, whose functions are not clear. The word occurs in the Bhavnagar plate of Dhruvasena I in 529 A D (E I XV p. 256), in the Valabhi grant of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252 (I A vol 15 p 187), in the Gupta Ins No 38 p. 164 at p. 169 (the Maliya plate of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252), the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I A. 15 pp. 304, 306).

विनियुक्तक—Same as above. The word occurs in the grant of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252 (E I XI pp 80, 83), in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla in E I XVII at p. 321 (where the word is preceded by 'āyuktaka')

विषयपति—Ruler of a district. The word occurs in the Kavi grant of Jayabhata (I A. 5 p. 114, in the beginning of the 5th century A D.), in the Abhona plates of Śankaragana in E. I IX p 297 (in 595 A D.), in the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E I IV pp 208, 211), in the Karhad plate of Kṛṣṇa III dated śake 880 (E I IV pp. 278, 285), in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I A. 15 pp 304, 306), in E I VII p 39 (in 852 A. D.).

विषयेश—Same as above. The word occurs in the grant of Śiva-skandavarman (E I vol. I at p. 5).

वीथिमहत्तर—Probably elder of a vithi (a district). Occurs in a grant of Gupta year 120 (Indian Historical Quarterly vol. 19 p. 12 at pp. 16, 21)

वीर्यात्रिक—'Person belonging to a military expedition'. The word occurs in Chamba Ins Nos. 15, 25, 26. Vide Vogel p. 129.

वेदकिरु—Meaning uncertain, but it may mean 'bearer of a Vitikā' (betel). It occurs in Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p 166. Vide Vogel p. 128.

वेलावित्त—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs frequently in the Rajat. (V. 226, VI 73, 106, 127).

वैक्षेपिक—Function unknown. It occurs in E. I XXVI at p. 206 (six Saindhava grants from Ghumli) of about 9th century A D

व्यवहारिन्—Meaning uncertain It occurs in the plate of Jayanāga from Karna-suvarna (E I. XVIII pp 60, 63).

व्रजभूमिक—Superintendent of cowpens. It occurs in the 12th Rock Edict of Aśoka at Girnar in the form 'vacabhūmika' (Corpus I. I. vol. I p 20).

शय्यापाल or शय्याग्राहक—Guardian of the bed-chamber. Vide 'Inscriptions from Baroda' edited by Mr. A. S. Gadre p. 72 (a village was donated to a Nāgara-brāhmaṇa Prabhākara who was 'śayyāgrāhaka of Karpūradevi')

शरभङ्ग—It occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E I XVII at 321) and in Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p 166 (where it is read as 'sarobhanga' Vide Vogel p 123 and 'Indian Culture' vol. VII p. 305 at p 309. Has the word anything to do with the words 'śarayantra' and 'śarayantrī'? The latter was a title bestowed in Mithilā upon a very learned man who faced the ordeal of answering satisfactorily all questions on any sāstra put to him by learned ācāryas and also the questions put by common people. Vide a paper 'Declaration of śarayantrī', contributed to the All India Oriental Conference at Benares (in 1943) by Pandit Ramānātha Jha of Darbhanga.

शुल्कग्राह—An official who recovered tolls or customs duties. Occurs in Śukra II 120.

शौल्किक—Superintendent of tolls or customs duties The word occurs in Yāj. II. 173 and in Gupta Ins. No. 12 pp 50, 52, in the grant of Dharasena II of Gupta year 252 (I. A. 15 p. 187), in Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I A. 15 pp 304, 306). Vide note on 'gaulmika' above

श्रीकरण—A scribe. The minister Hemādri is styled 'sarvaśrīkaraṇa-prabhu'. Vide H. of Dh. vol I p 356 n. 849.

श्रीकरणाधिप or श्रीकरणाग्रणी—Head of all scribes or head of all departments In E I XIII at p 17 one Bīcana or Bīcīrāja is said to have been the Śrīka- of mahāmandaleśvara Kārtavīrya IV of Hangal Hemādri is styled 'samastakaraṇādhiśvara' or 'samastakaraṇādhipati'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I pp. 356-357 notes 850-851.

- षष्ठाधिकृत—Officer who collected the royal share viz. 6th of the crops. If occurs in the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla in E. I. IV p. 243 at p. 250.
- सचिव—Minister. Vide p. 105 and note 150 above.
- सम्बरन्तक—A spy. It occurs in the grant of Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 5). In I. 12 Kautilya speaks of *sañcāras* (wandering spies like *tikṣṇa*, *rasada* &c.).
- संग्रहीतृ—Vide p. 111 above.
- सन्धिविग्रहिक—Minister for peace and war. This form of the word occurs in Visnudharmottara II. 24. 17 and in Santiparva 85 30.
- संनिधातृ—The Superintendent of the construction of the royal treasury, store houses &c. The word occurs in Kaut II. 5, 1. 12 and in the plate of Mahābhavagupta (E. I. VIII pp 138, 141 and E. I. XI pp. 93, 94). Vide p. 143 above.
- समाहर्तृ—Collector-General. The word occurs in Kaut. I. 12 and II. 6, Śabara on Jai. XII. 1. 28 and in the plate of Mahābhavagupta (E. I. VIII at p. 141 and XI at p. 94). Vide p. 143 and note 184 above.
- सर्वदण्डनायक—Commander-in-chief of all forces. The word occurs in I. A. vol. 8 p. 19, vol. 9 at p. 167, vol. 10 p. 129.
- सर्वाधिकारिन्—Prime Minister. Occurs in Rajat. VII. 568.
- सर्वाधिकृत—Probably the same as above. The word occurs in the Purī plate of Indravarman in the Gāṅga year 149 i. e. 605 A. D. (E. I. XIV pp. 360, 362).
- सांवत्सर—Astrologer. Occurs in Visnu Dh. S III. 75, Brhatsamhitā 2. 9. Vide p. 126 above.
- सांवत्सरिक—Astrologer. Occurs in Paṭhīnāsī Vide note 193 above.
- साध्यपाल—Bailiff who summoned parties and witnesses. Vide p. 278 above.
- सान्धिविग्रहिक—Minister for peace and war. Occurs in Visnudharmottara II. 24. 17 and in the Mit on Yaj. I. 320 (which quotes a verse to the effect that the 'sandhivigrahakārin' is to issue a royal grant) and in Gupta Ins. No. 1 at p. 15 (the *prasasti* of Samudragupta).
- सामन्त—feudatory chief. Under the Rāṭhas of Saundattī certain high officials are often so called (Bom. Gazetteer vol. 21 p. 354 for Belgaum). The word occurs in Abhona plates of

Śaṅkaragāna in 595 A. D. (E. I. IX p 297), in Madhuban plate of Harsa (E. I. VII at p. 158), E. I. VI p. 298 (plate of Buddharaṣa in 609-10 A. D.).

साहसधिपति—Occurs in Śukra I. 120.

सीमकर्मकर—Officer who looked to the work of boundaries. Occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 46 pp 213, 216.

सुमन्त्र—Vide p. 114 and note 150.

सूत—One of the *ratnins*. Vide p. 111 above.

सूपकारपति—Head cook. The word occurs in Taleśvara plates (E. I. XIII pp. 109, 115).

सेनभोगिक—Meaning uncertain. It occurs in the plate of Dantivarman of Gujerat in śaka 789 (E. I. VI p 285).

सेनापति—Commander-in-chief. Vide p. 127 above and Br. quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj I. 307. Pūsyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty and Bhatārka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty, and his son Dharasena were styled *senāpati*; vide I. A. 15 p 187 (plate of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252), E. I. vol. I p 2 at p 5 (grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman), JBBRAS vol. 16 pp. 105, 108, E. I. IX at p. 305.

सौवर्णिक—State goldsmith. Vide pp 144-145 above.

स्कन्दक—A petty officer, probably head of the village administration. Vide Rājat. V. 175.

स्यव्यक्षमहामात्र—Officer superintendent of the harem. The word occurs in the 12th rock Edict of Aśoka in a *prākṛit* form (Corpus I. I. vol. I at p 20).

स्थपति—Architect. Vide Visnudharmottara II. 24. 39.

स्थपतिसम्राट्—Chief architect. Occurs in Karitalai plates of Mahārāja Jayanātha (Gupta Ins. No. 26 of the Gupta year 174 at p. 119).

स्थानपाल—Officer in charge of a police post. Vide p. 149 above.

स्थानिक—An officer in charge of a ward of a city or a district. Vide pp. 143 and 149 above.

हस्त्यश्वोद्भवव्यापृतक—Officers in charge of the elephant arm, cavalry, camel corps of an army. This occurs in Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p 166. In the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p 321) we have 'hastyaśvostra-nau-bala-vyāpr-taka'.

NOTE 342 a—अत एवाह पितामहः ।

छलानि चापराधाश्च पदानि नृपतेस्तथा । स्वयमेतानि गृहीयान्नृपस्त्वावेदकैर्विनः ॥
पाथिमन्नी कराक्षेपी प्राकारोपरिलङ्घकः । निपानस्य विनाशी च तथा चायतनस्य च ॥ परि-
खापूरकश्चैव राजच्छिद्रप्रकाशकः ॥ अन्तःपुरं वासगृहं भाण्डागारं महानसम् । प्रविशत्यनिशुको
यो भोजनं च निरीक्षते ॥ विष्मन्नश्लेष्मवातानां क्षेप्तुकामो नृपाग्रतः । पर्यङ्कासनवन्धी चाप्य-
ग्रस्थाननिरोधकः ॥ राज्ञोऽतिरिक्तवेषश्च विवृतः प्रविशेत्तु यः । यश्चापद्वारेण विशेद् वेलाया
तथैव च ॥ शय्यासने पादुकयोः शयनासनरोहणम् (रोहणे ?) । राजन्यासनशयने यस्तिष्ठति
समीपतः ॥ राज्ञो विद्विष्टसेवी चाप्यदत्तविहितासनः । वस्त्राभरणयोश्चैव सुवर्णपरिधायकः ॥
स्वयंग्राहेण ताम्बूलं गृहीत्वा भक्षयेत्तु यः । अनियुक्तप्रभाषी च नृपाक्रोशक एव च ॥ एक-
वासास्तथाभ्यक्तो मुक्तकेशोऽवगुण्ठितः । विचित्रिताङ्गः सखी च परिधानविधूनकः ॥ शिरः-
प्रच्छादनश्चैव छिद्रान्वेषणतत्परः । आसङ्गी मुक्तकेशश्च यश्च कर्णाक्षिकर्शक (दर्शकः ?) । दन्तो-
ल्लेखनकश्चैव कर्णनासाविशोधकः । छलान्येतानि पद्माशद्ववन्ति नृपसन्निधौ ॥ quoted in
स्मृतिच II pp 27-28, शुक्लीति० IV. 5. 73-82 (except the name and
the first verse) with variant readings.

NOTE 492—

नार्थसम्बन्धिनो नाप्ता न सहाया न वैरिणः । न दृष्टदोषाः प्रष्टव्याः साक्षिणः प्रतिदूषिताः ॥
दारसैन्यतिकाश्राद्धश्रद्धावालचाक्रिकाः । मत्तोन्मत्तप्रमतार्तकितवश्रामयाजकाः ॥
महापथिकसामुद्रवणिक्प्रव्रजितातुराः । व्यङ्ग्यैकश्रोत्रियाचारहर्षनङ्गीबकुशालिवाः ॥
नास्तिकब्राह्म्यदारामित्यागिनोऽयाज्ययाजकाः । एकस्थालीसहायारिचरज्ञातिसनाभयः ॥
प्रागृष्टदोषशैल्लषविषजीव्यहितुण्डिकाः । गरदामिदकीनाशशस्त्रापुरौपपातिकाः ॥
ज्ञान्तसाहसिकभ्रान्तनिर्धनान्त्यावसायिनः । भिन्नवृत्तासमावृत्तजडतैलिकमूलिकाः ॥
भूताविष्टनृपद्विष्टवर्षनक्षत्रसूचकाः । अघशंस्यात्मविकेतुहीनाङ्गभगवृत्तयः ॥
कुनखी श्याम(व ?) दन्तश्च मित्रघ्नृक् शठशौण्डिकाः । ऐन्द्रजालिकलुब्धोपप्रेणीगणविरोधिनः ॥
वधकश्चर्मवृत्पट्टयुः पतितः कूटकारकः । कुहकः प्रत्यवसितस्तस्करो राजपूषः ॥
मनुष्यपशुमासास्थिमधुक्षीराम्बुसर्पिषाम् । विक्ता ब्राह्मणश्चैव द्विजो वार्धुषिकश्च यः ॥
च्युतः स्वधर्मात्कुलिकः स्तावको हनिसेवकः । पित्रा विवदमानश्च भेदकृच्चेत्यसाक्षिणः ॥
नारद (ऋणादान 177-187)

NOTE 509—

नम्रो मुण्डः कपालेन भिक्षार्थी क्षुत्पिपासितः । अन्ध शत्रुगृहं गच्छेद्यः साक्ष्यमनृतं वदेत् ॥ १
नम्रो मुण्डः कपालेन परद्वारे बुधक्षितः । अमित्रान्भूयश(स ?) पश्येद्यः साक्ष्यमनृतं वदेत् ॥ २
या रात्रिमाधिविना स्त्री यां चैवाक्षपराजितः । या च भारामितसाङ्गे दुर्विवेका स तां वसेत् ॥ ३
साक्षी साक्ष्ये समुद्दिशन्कोकर्णशिथिलं वचः । सहस्रं वारुणान्पाशान्दण्डैः स बन्धनाद्वप्रवृत्तः ॥ ४
तस्य वर्षशते पूर्णे पाश एव प्रमुच्यते । तदा पाशाद्विनिर्मुक्तः स्त्री संभवति मानवः ॥ ५
एवं संबन्धनात्पाप्मानुच्यते नियताच्च सः । पशुगोश्वपुरुषाणां हिरण्यं भूर्ययाक्रमम् ॥ ६
यावतो बान्धवांस्तस्मिन् हन्ति साक्ष्येनृतं वदन् । तावतः संप्रवक्ष्यामि शृणु सौम्यानुपूर्वशः ॥ ७
पञ्च पश्ववृते हन्ति दश हन्ति गवावृते । शतमश्वानवृते हन्ति सहस्रं पुरुषानवृते ॥ ८
हन्ति जातानजाताश्च हिरण्यार्थेऽनृतं वदन् । सर्वं भूम्यनृतं हन्ति मासं भूम्यनृतं वदीः ॥ ९

एकमेवाद्वितीयं तत्प्राहुः पावनमात्मनः । सत्यं स्वर्गस्य सोपानं पारावारस्य नौरिव ॥ १०
 अश्वमेधसहस्रं च सत्यं च तुलया धृतम् । अश्वमेधसहस्रात्तु सत्यमेव विशिष्यते ॥ ११
 वरं कूपशताद्वीपं वरं वापीशतात्कतुः । वरं क्रतुशतात्पुत्रः सत्यं पुत्रशताद्वरम् ॥ १२
 भूर्धारयति सत्येन सत्येनोदेति भास्करः । सत्येन वायुः प्लवते सत्येनापः खवन्ति च ॥ १३
 सत्यमेव परं दानं सत्यमेव परं तपः । सत्यमेव परो धर्मः लोकानामिति नः श्रुतम् ॥ १४
 सत्यं देवाः समासेन मनुष्यास्त्वष्टृतं स्पृष्टम् । इहैव तस्य देवत्वं यस्य सत्ये स्थिता मतिः ॥ १५
 सत्यं ब्रह्मवृत्तं त्यक्त्वा सत्येन स्वर्गमेष्यसि । उक्त्वावृत्तं महाधोरं नरकं प्रतिपत्स्यसे ॥ १६
 नरकेषु च ते शश्वज्जिह्वामुत्कृत्य दारुणाः । असिभिः शातयिष्यन्ति बलिनो यमकिङ्कराः ॥ १७
 शूलैर्मर्त्यन्ति चाक्रम्य क्रोशन्तमपरायणम् । अवस्थितं समुत्कृत्य क्षेप्यन्ति त्वां हुताशने ॥ १८
 अनुभूय च तास्तीव्राधिरं नरकवेदनाः । इह यास्यसि पापासु गृध्रकाकादियोनिषु ॥ १९
 ज्ञात्वैतानवृते दोषाञ्ज्ञात्वा सत्ये च सद्गुणान् । सत्यं वदोद्धरात्मानं नात्मानं पातय स्वयम् ॥ २०
 न बान्धवा न सहृदो न धनानि महान्त्यपि । अलं धारयितुं शक्तास्तमस्युग्रे निमज्जतः ॥ २१
 पितरस्त्ववलम्बन्ते त्वयि साक्षित्वमागते । तारयिष्यति किन्त्वस्मान् (किन्त्वस्मान् ?) किं चार्थं
 पातयिष्यति ॥ २२
 सत्यमात्मा मनुष्यस्य सत्ये सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् । सत्यमुक्त्वात्मनात्मानं श्रेयसा संनियोजय ॥ २३
 यस्यां रात्रावजनिष्ठा यस्या रात्रौ मरिष्यसि । वृथा तदन्तरं तुभ्यं साध्यं चेदन्यथा कृथाः ॥ २४
 ब्रह्मस्य तु ये लोका ये च स्त्रीबालघातिनाम् । ये च लोकाः कृतघ्नस्य ते ते स्युर्ब्रुवतो वृथा ॥ २५
 नास्ति सत्यात्परो धर्मो नावृतात्पातकं परम् । साक्षिधर्मे विशेषेण सत्यमेव वदेत्ततः ॥ २६
 पुराणोक्तौ द्वौ श्लोकौ भवतः । यः परार्थे ग्रहिण्यत्स्वां वाचं पुष्पाधमः । आत्मार्यं किं न
 कुर्यात्स पापो नरकनिर्भयः ॥ २७
 वाच्यार्था नियताः सर्वे बाह्यबुद्ध्या वाग्निनिश्चिताः । यो हि तां स्तेनयेद्वाचं स सर्वस्तेयकृन्नुतः ॥ २८
 नारद (ऋणादान 201-228)

Seven verses out of these occur elsewhere also. Verse 1 is the same as Manu 8. 93 and Vas. 16. 33; verse 3 is the same as Udyoga 35. 31; verses 7-9 are the same as Manu 8. 97-99, while verses 8-9 are the same as Udyogaparva 35. 33-34 and verse 8 occurs also in Baud. Dh S. I. 10. 35 and Vas. 16. 34; verse 11 is the same as Ādiparva 74. 103, Śāntiparva 162. 26 and Anuśāsana 75. 29; verse 25 is almost the same as Manu 8. 89.

NOTE 1168 on घटस्फोट—

कचिज्जीवतोऽप्यन्यकर्म विहितं यथा प्रायश्चित्तानिच्छोः पतितस्य घटस्फोटे । तथाहि । महापातकेनोपपातकेन वा पतितो यदि प्रायश्चित्तं न करोति तदा तं गुरुणां बान्धवानां राज्ञश्च समक्षमाहूय तत्पार्ष प्रकटीकृत्य तं पुनः पुनरुपादिशेत् प्रायश्चित्तं कुरुष्वान्वारं लभस्वेति । स यथेवमपि नास्तीकरोति तदा रिक्तादिनिन्द्यतिथौ सायाह्ने सपिण्डा बान्धवाश्च सम्भूय दासी-हस्तेनानीतममेच्यकुत्सितजलादिपूर्णघटं सर्वतो दास्याद्यन्वारम्भं कुर्वन्तो दास्या दासस्य वा वामपादेन न्युवजं छिन्नाग्रदर्भेषु कारयित्वा दासीसहिता वदेयुस्समुज्जुर्दकं करोमीति नामग्रहण-पूर्वकं प्राचीनावीतिनो मुकाशिखाश्च सन्तः । ततोऽधिकारी कर्तो दाहवर्जं जीवन्तमेवोद्दिश्य पिण्डोदकदनादिप्रेतकार्याण्येकादशाहान्तानि नाम्नेव कुर्यात् । मिताक्षरायां प्रेतकार्यान्तरं घट-

निनयनमुक्तम् । एकाहमाशौचं सर्वेषाम् । यस्य घटस्फोटः कृतस्तेन सह सम्भाषणस्पर्शादि-
संसर्गो न केनापि कार्यः । करणे पतिततुल्यता । धर्मसिन्धु, परिच्छेद III, उत्तरार्ध p 453.
This is a summary of a longer passage on the same subject
from the निर्णयसिन्धु, परिच्छेद III उत्तरार्ध p. 567.

As to taking back into the social fold a man who
repents after ghatasphota is performed the following pro-
cedure is prescribed in the Dharmasindhu :

घृतघटस्फोटस्य पुंसोऽनुतापे तत्पापप्रायश्चित्तान्ते संग्रहविधिर्बुध्यते । तत्रादौ शुद्धिपरीक्षा ।
कृतप्रायश्चित्तो ज्ञातिसमर्थं गोभ्यस्तृणभारं दद्यात् । गोभिस्तृणे भक्षिते शुद्धिः । भक्षणाभावे
पुनः प्रायश्चित्तं चरेत् । एवं निश्चितसंख्यद्वौ समानेयुनवं घटम् । हेमं वा मृन्मयं वापि पवित्रजल-
पूरितम् ॥ ततः सपिण्डास्त घटं संस्पृश्याभिमन्य तज्जलैः पावमानीभिरापोहिष्टेत्यादिभिस्तर-
त्समन्दीभिश्च पापिनमभिषिच्य तेन सह सर्वे स्नात्वा तं जलघटमस्मै दद्युः । स च शान्ता योः
शान्ता पृथिवी शान्तं विश्वमन्तरिक्षं यो रोचनस्तमिह गृह्णामीति यजुर्भित्तं घटं गृहीयात् ।
ततस्तदुदकं तेनैव साकं सर्वे पिबेयुः । ततः स कृष्माण्डमन्त्रैराज्यहोमं कृत्वा सुवर्णं गा च
दद्यात् । ततस्तस्य जातकर्मादिभ्रतवन्थान्ता विवाहान्ता वा संस्काराः कार्याः । एवं कृते शुद्धेन
तेन संस्पर्शसंभोजनादिव्यवहारं कुर्यात् । एवमुपपातके महापातके च कृतघटस्फोटस्य शुद्धि-
र्ज्ञेया । इति संक्षेपतः कृतघटस्फोटशुद्धिः । धर्मसिन्धु III उत्तरार्ध p. 454 The निर्णय-
सिन्धु (III उत्तरार्ध p 568) has a similar but more elaborate note,
quotes and relies on Gaut. 20. 10-17, Manu XI 186, Yāj. III.
295, Vas. 15. 17-21, the Mit, Aparārka and Hemādri.

NOTE 1302—The वौ. य. शेषसूत्र (II. 6. 1-10) is as follows :—

अथातः पुत्रप्रतिग्रहकल्पं व्याख्यास्यामः । शोणितश्चकसम्भवे मातृपितृनिमित्तमृतस्य
प्रदानपरित्यागविक्रयेषु मातापितरौ कर्तारौ भवतो न त्वेकं पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृहीयाद्वा स हि
सन्तानाय पूर्वेषाम् । न तु स्त्री पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृहीयाद्वा अन्यत्रानुज्ञानाद्भर्तुः । पुत्रं प्रतिग्रहीष्यन्नुप-
कल्पयते—द्वे वाससी द्वे कुण्डले अङ्गुलीयकं चाचार्यं च वेदपारगं कुशमयं बर्हिः पर्णमयिभ्र-
मिति । अथ वन्धूनां मध्ये राजनि चावेद्य परिपदि वागारमये वा ब्राह्मणानन्नेन परिव्रिय
पुण्याहं स्वस्त्युद्गमिति वाचयित्वाथ देवयजनोद्धेवनप्रभृत्याप्रणीताभ्यः कृत्वा दातुं समीपं
गत्वा पुत्रं मे देहीति भिक्षेत ददामीतीतर आह । तं पुत्रं प्रतिगृह्णाति धर्माय त्वा गृह्णामि रन्तसे
त्वा गृह्णामीति । अथैनं वक्षकुण्डलाभ्यामङ्गुलीयकेन चालङ्कृत्य परिधानप्रभृत्यामिमुत्तानृत्या
पक्वाज्जुहोति । 'यस्त्वा हृदा कीरिणा मन्यमानः' इति पुरोनुवाक्यामनूच्य 'यस्मै त्वं गृह्णे
जातवेदः' इति याज्यया जुहोति । अथ आज्याहुतीरनुजुहोति—याहतिभिर्हृन्ना स्विष्टकृ-
भृति सिद्धमाधेनुवरप्रदानात् । अथ दक्षिणां ददात्येते एव वाससी एते एव कुण्डले एतच्चाङ्गु-
लीयकम् । यद्येवंकृते औरसः पुत्र उत्पद्यते तुरीयभागेय भवतीति ह स्माद् भगवान्योधायनः ।
This is quoted in the दत्त मी. pp. 152-153, सं. कौ. p 177, धर्मसिन्धु III
पूर्वार्ध p. 161 (partly) and Bühler published it with a translation in
the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society vol. 35 pp 161-164

NOTE 1302—

शौनकोऽहं प्रवक्ष्यामि पुत्रसङ्ग्रहमुत्तमम् । अपुत्रो मृतपुत्रो वा पुत्रार्थं समुपोष्य च ॥ १
 वाससी कुण्डले दत्त्वा उष्णीषं चाङ्गुलीयकम् । आचार्यं धर्मसंयुक्तं वैष्णवं वेदपारगम् ॥ २
 मधुपर्केण संपूज्य राजानं च द्विजाञ्छचीन् । वह्निः कुशमयं चैव पालाशं चेधममेव च ॥ ३
 एतानाहत्य बन्धूंश्च श्वातीनाहूय यत्नत । बन्धून्नेन संभोज्य ब्राह्मणांश्च विशेषतः ॥ ४
 अन्वाधानादि यत्तन्त्रं कृत्वाज्योत्पवनादिकम् । दातु. समर्क्षं गत्वा तु पुत्रं देहीति याचयेत् ॥ ५
 दाने समर्थो दातास्मै ये यज्ञेनेति पञ्चभिः । देवस्य त्वेति मन्त्रेण हस्ताभ्यां प्रतिगृह्य च ॥ ६
 अङ्गादङ्गेत्यृचं जप्त्वा चाग्राय शिशुमूर्धनि । ब्रह्मादिभिरलङ्कृत्य पुत्रच्छायावहं सुतम् ॥ ७
 नृत्यगीतैश्च वाद्यैश्च स्वस्तिसन्धेयैश्च संयुतम् । गृहमध्ये तमादाय चरं हुत्वा विधानतः ॥ ८
 यस्तुवा हृदेत्यृचा चैव तुभ्यमग्र ऋचैकया । सोमो दददित्येताभिः प्रत्यृचं पञ्चभिस्तथा ॥ ९
 स्विष्टकृदादिहोमं च कृत्वा शेषं समापयेत् । ब्राह्मणानां सपिण्डेषु कर्तव्यः पुत्रसंग्रहः ॥ १०
 तदभावेऽसपिण्डो वा अन्यत्र तु न कारयेत् । क्षत्रियाणां स्वजातौ वा गुरुगोत्रसमेपि वा ॥ ११
 वैश्यानां वैश्यजातेषु शूद्राणां शूद्रजातिषु । सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां जातिष्वेव न चान्यतः ॥ १२
 दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्रस्यापि च दीयते । ब्राह्मणादित्रये नास्ति भागिनेयः सुतः क्वचित् ॥ १३
 नैकपुत्रेण कर्तव्यं पुत्रदानं कदाचन । बहुपुत्रेण कर्तव्यं पुत्रदानं प्रयत्नतः ॥ १४
 दक्षिणां मुखे दद्याद्यथाशक्तिं द्विजोत्तमः । नृपो राधार्धमेवापि वैश्यो वित्तशतत्रयम् ॥ १५

शूद्रः सर्वस्वमेवापि अशक्तश्चेद्यथाबलम् । १६

The above text of Śaunaka is based on the व्यव. मयूख, नि. सि. (which does not quote all verses), दत्त. मी., दत्त. च., सं. कौ. and Dr. Bühler's text prepared from several mss. and published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol 35 at pp. 158-159. The शौनकाय text printed at Trivandrum, 1935, has 14½ verses on पुत्रग्रहणविधि (L 8) The principal various readings are noted below. Verse 1—स. कौ. reads 'बन्ध्या वा मृतपुत्रा वा'; शौ. reads बन्ध्यो वा. The half verse 3a मधुपर्केण &c. is omitted by Bühler, व्यव. मयूख, नि. सि., सं. कौ. In 5a दत्त. मी. and दत्त. च. read अग्न्याधानादिकं तत्र, and शौ., सं. कौ. and Bühler अग्न्याधानादि; and शौ. reads 'त्पवनान्तकम्'. In 6a शौ. reads समक्षस्यो ददेत्तस्मै. The नि. सि. omits 7b and 8a and सं. कौ. reads छत्र-छायागतं सुतम् in 7b and शौ. छत्रछायावहम्. In 8b सं. कौ. and शौ. read गृहमेत्येधमाग्राय. In 9a सं. कौ. and शौ. read यस्तुवा हृदेति द्वाभ्यां च and in 10a स्विष्टकृदादिशेषं च कृत्वा होमं. In 11b दत्त. मी., Bühler and दत्त. च. read गुरुगोत्रसमेपि. In 13a Bühler and सं. कौ. read दौहित्रं भागिनेयं वा शूद्राणां चापि दापयेत्; दत्त. मी. reads शूद्रैस्तु कियते सुतः and also recognizes the reading शूद्राणां विहितः सुतः. The स्मृतिषु (वर्णाश्रम) p. 102 and शौ. read दौहित्रं भागिनेयं वा शूद्राणां त्वापदो यदि and omits ब्राह्मणादि... क्वचित्. 13b (ब्राह्म ... क्वचित्) is omitted by the व्यव. मयूख., सं. कौ., and Bühler. In 15b सं. कौ. and शौ. read रत्नशतत्रयम्. The order of the verses also slightly varies in some of the works.

NOTE 1751—वनपर्व 188. 30-64

सहस्रान्ते नराः सर्वे प्रायशोऽनृतवादिनः । यज्ञप्रतिनिधिः पार्थ दानप्रतिनिधिस्तथा ॥ ३०
 अतःप्रतिनिधिश्चैव तस्मिन् काले प्रवर्तते । ब्राह्मणाः शूद्रकर्माणस्तथा शूद्रा धनार्जकाः ॥ ३१
 क्षत्रधर्मेण बाष्पत्र वतैर्यन्ति गते युगे । निवृत्तयज्ञस्ताप्याया दण्डाजिनविवर्जिताः ॥ ३२
 ब्राह्मणाः सर्वमक्षाश्च भविष्यन्ति कलौ युगे । अजपा ब्राह्मणास्तात शूद्रा जपपरायणाः ॥ ३३
 विपरीते तदा लोके पूर्वरूपं क्षयस्य यत् । बहवो म्लेच्छराजानः पृथिव्यां मनुजाधिप ॥ ३४
 मृषानुशासिनः पापा मृषाबादपरायणाः । आन्ध्राः शकाः पुलिन्दाश्च यवनाश्च नराधिपाः ॥ ३५
 काम्बोजा वाल्हिकाः शूरास्तथासीरा नरोत्तम । न तदा ब्राह्मणः कश्चित्स्वधर्ममुपजीवति ॥ ३६
 क्षत्रियाश्चापि वैद्याश्च विकर्मस्था नराधिप । अल्पायुषः स्वल्पबलाः स्वल्पवीर्यपराक्रमाः ॥ ३७
 अल्पसाराल्पदेहाश्च तथा सत्याल्पभाषिणः । बहुशून्या जनपदा मृगव्यालावृता दिशः ॥ ३८
 युगान्ते समनुप्राप्ते धृष्या च ब्रह्मवादिनः । भोवादिनस्तथा शूद्रा ब्राह्मणाधार्यवादिनः ॥ ३९
 युगान्ते मनुजव्याघ्र भवन्ति बहुजन्तवः । न तथा प्राणयुक्ताश्च सर्वगन्धा विशांपते ॥ ४०
 रसाश्च मनुजव्याघ्र न तथा स्वादुयोगिनः । बहुप्रजा ह्रस्वदेहाः शीलचारविवर्जिताः ॥
 सुखेभगाः स्त्रियो राजन् भविष्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥ ४१
 अट्टशूला जनपदाः शिवशूलाश्चतुष्पथाः । केशशूलाः स्त्रियो राजन् भविष्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥ ४२
 अल्पक्षीरास्तथा गावो भविष्यन्ति जनाधिप । अल्पपुष्पफलाश्चापि पादपा बहुवायसाः ॥ ४३
 ब्रह्मवध्यानुल्लिप्तानां तथा मिथ्याभिज्ञांसिनाम् । नृपाणां पृथिवीपाल प्रतिगृह्णन्ति वै द्विजाः ॥ ४४
 लोभमोहपरीताश्च मिथ्याधर्मेष्वजावृताः । भिक्षार्थं पृथिवीपाल चञ्चूर्यन्ते द्विजैर्दिशः ॥ ४५
 करभारभयाद्रीता गृहस्थाः परिमोषकाः । मुनिच्छद्माह्वातिच्छन्ना वाणिज्यमुपजीविनः ॥ ४६
 मिथ्या च नखरोमाणि धारयन्ति तदा द्विजाः । अर्थलोभाज्जराग्र्य तथा च ब्रह्मचारिणः ॥ ४७
 आश्रमेषु वृथाचारा पानपा गुरुत्पगाः । इहलौकिकमीहन्ते मांसशोणितवर्धनम् ॥ ४८
 बहुपाण्डसङ्क्रोर्णाः परान्नगुणवादिनः । आश्रमा मनुजव्याघ्र भविष्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥ ४९
 यथर्तुवर्षा भगवान्न तथा पाकशासनः । न चापि सर्ववीजानि सम्यग्रोहन्ति भारत ॥ ५०
 हिंसाभिरामश्च जनस्तथा संपद्यतेऽद्युचिः । अधर्मफलमत्यर्थं तदा भवति चानघ ॥ ५१
 तदा च पृथिवीपाल यो भवेद्धर्मसंयुतः । अल्पायुः स हि मन्तव्यो न हि धर्मोस्ति कथन ॥ ५२
 भूयिष्ठं कूटमानैश्च पण्यं विक्रीडते (विक्रीणते ?) जनः (नाः ?) । वाणिज्य नरव्याघ्र
 बहुमाया भवन्त्युत ॥ ५३
 धर्मिष्ठाः परिहीयन्ते पापीयान्वर्धते जनः । धर्मस्य बलहानिः स्यादधर्मश्च बली तथा ॥ ५४
 अल्पायुषो दरिद्राश्च धर्मिष्ठा मानवास्तथा । दीर्घायुषः समृद्धाश्च विधर्माणां युगक्षये ॥ ५५
 नगराणां विहारेषु विधर्माणां युगक्षये । अघर्मिष्ठैरुपायैश्च प्रजा व्यवहरन्त्युत ॥ ५६
 सञ्चयेन तथात्पेन भवन्त्याव्यमदान्विताः । घनं विश्वासतो न्यस्तं मियो भूयिष्ठशो नराः ॥ ५७
 हर्तुं व्यवसिता राजन् पापाचारसमन्विताः । नैतदस्तीति मनुजा वर्तन्ते निरपन्नपाः ॥ ५८
 पुष्पादानि सत्त्वानि पक्षिणोऽथ मृगास्तथा । नगराणां विहारेषु चैत्येष्वपि च शेरते ॥ ५९
 सप्तवर्षाष्टवर्षाश्च स्त्रियो गर्भपरा मृष । दशह्वाद्दशवर्षाणां पुंसां पुत्रः प्रजायते ॥ ६०
 भवन्ति षोडशे वर्षे नराः पलितिनस्तथा । आयुःक्षयो मनुष्याणां क्षिप्रमेव प्रपद्यते ॥ ६१
 क्षीणायुषो महाराज तरुणा वृद्धशालिनः । तरुणानां च यच्छीलं तद् वृद्धेषु प्रजायते ॥ ६२

विपरीतास्तदा नार्यो ब्रवीत्यिवाहृतः पतीन् । व्युच्चरन्त्यपि दुःशीला दासैः पशुभिरेव च ॥ ६३
वीरपत्न्यस्तथा नार्यैः संश्रयन्ति नरान्मृष । भर्तारमपि जीवन्तमन्यान् व्यसिचरन्त्युत ॥ ६४

NOTE 1783

विहितान्यपि कर्माणि धर्मलोपभयाद् बुधैः । १
समयेन निवृत्तानि साध्वभावात्कलौ युगे । २
विधवाया प्रजोत्पत्तौ देवरस्य नियोजनम् । ३
वालिकाक्षतयोन्योस्तु वरेणान्येन संस्कृतिः । ४
कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः । ५
आततायिद्विजाग्र्याणां धर्मयुद्धेन हिंसनम् । ६
द्विजस्याव्यौ तु नौयातु शोधितस्यापि सङ्ग्रहः । ७
सत्रदीक्षा च सर्वेषां कमण्डलुविधारणम् । ८
महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोसहसिश्च गोसवे । ९
सौत्रामण्यामपि सुराग्रहणस्य च संग्रहः । १०
अग्निहोत्रहवध्याश्च लेहो लीढापरिग्रहः । ११
वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्यापि प्रवेशो विधिचोदितः । १२
वृत्तस्वाध्यायसापेक्षमघसङ्कोचनं तथा । १३
प्रायश्चित्ताविधानं तु विप्राणां मरणान्तिकम् । १४
संसर्गदोषः स्तेयान्यमहापातकनिष्कृतिः । १५
वरातिथिपितृभ्यश्च पशुपाकरणक्रिया । १६
दत्तोरसेतरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः । १७
सवर्णान्याह्नादुष्टैः संसर्गः शोधितैरपि । १८
अयोनौ संग्रहे वृत्ते परित्यागो गुरुस्त्रियाः । १९
परोद्देशात्मसन्त्याग उच्छिष्टस्यापवर्जनम् । २०
प्रतिमाभ्यर्चनायां सङ्कल्पश्च सधर्मकः । २१
आस्थिसञ्चयनादूर्ध्वमङ्गस्पर्शनमेव च । २२
शामित्रं चैव विप्राणां सोमविक्रयणं तथा । २३
षड्भक्षानशनेनान्नहरणं हीनकर्मणः । २४
श्रेष्ठेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्थसौरीणाम् । २५
भोज्यान्नता गृहस्थस्य तीर्थसेवातिद्यूतः । २६
शिष्यस्य गुरुदारेषु गुरुवद् व्रतशीलता । २७
आपदवृत्तेर्द्विजाग्रयाणामथस्तनिकता तथा । २८
प्रजार्थं तु द्विजाग्रयाणां जातारणिपरिग्रहः । २९
ब्राह्मणानां प्रवासित्वं सुखामिधमनक्रिया । ३०
बलात्कारादिदुष्टस्त्रीसंग्रहो विधिचोदितः । ३१
यतेस्तु सर्ववर्णेषु भिक्षाचर्या विधानतः । ३२
नवोदके दशाहं च दक्षिणा गुरुचोदिता । ३३

ब्राह्मणादिषु श्रद्धस्य पचनादिक्रियापि च । ३४
 भृग्वशिपतनाथैश्च वृद्धादिमरणं तथा । ३५
 गोनृसिमात्रे पयसि शिष्टैराचमनक्रिया । ३६
 पितापुत्रविरोधेषु साक्षिणा दण्डकल्पनम् । ३७
 यते. सार्थगृहत्वं च सूरिभिस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः । ३८
 एतानि लोकगुप्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः । ३९
 निवर्तितानि कर्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः । ४०
 समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवज्रवेत् । ४१
 शपथाः शकुनाः स्वप्नाः सामुद्रिकमुपश्रुतिः । ४२
 उपयाचितमादेशाः सम्भवन्ति कलौ क्वचित् । ४३
 तस्मात्तन्मात्रलाभेन कलौ कार्यं न कारयेत् । ४४
 तथाधर्मसमावेशादन्यान्यपि कलौ युगे । ४५

A few important readings have already been noted in the text and notes there. The most extensive lists of Kalivarjyas occur in Sm C, Hemādri (parīśesakhanda, vol. III, part 2 pp. 666-668), Par M. vol I part 1 pp. 134-137, Madanaratnapradīpa (Samayanirṇaya) Ms. No 146 of Vīś collection I (now in the Govt. Mss. Library at B O. R. Institute, Poona), Udvāha-tattva (p 112-113) and Śuddhitattva pp 273-274 (Jiv.), Nirṇaya-sindhu, Samayamayūkha, Bhattoji on Caturvimsatmata and Smṛti-kaustubha. Detailed explanations are given in the last four of these and in Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭa's com. on the Nir. S.

2. Some works such as the कलिवर्ज्यवि. read समापने निवृत्तानि, which कलिवर्ज्यवि. explains as जनमेजययज्ञसमाप्तौ and कृष्णभट्ट on नि. सि. p 1292 explains similarly.

4. मदनरत्नप्रदीप (folio 209a) reads बालायाक्षतयोन्याश्च.

18. The समयप्रकाश reads 'सवर्णानां तथा दुष्टैः संसर्गैः' &c.

20-21 These are omitted in सृष्टिच., परा. मा., उद्वाहतत्त्व and some other works, though found in हेमाद्रि, भट्टोजि, कलिवर्ज्यवि. and निर्णयसिन्धु.

26. सृष्टिमुक्ताफल (आह्निक p. 447) reads भोज्यान्नता कलौ नास्ति तीर्थसेवा च दूरतः ।

33. भट्टोजि and कलिवर्ज्यवि. read विधिचोदिता for युक्तं.

38. परा. मा., समयमयूख p. 109, कलिवर्ज्यवि. and भट्टोजि read यत्रसायं गृहत्वं च.

42-45. These are omitted by many of our authorities, though they occur in हेमाद्रि, समयमयूख, सृष्टिकौ., समयप्रकाश.

GENERAL INDEX

[N. B —If a topic occurs in the text as well as in a footnote on the same page, a reference to the page alone is generally given]

- Abettor, who is, in case of a crime 529.
 Abhaya, a hymn 75.
 Abhilasitārthacintāmanī, (see under Mānasollāsa) 13
 Abhimanyu, learnt Dhanurveda from his father Arjuna 49.
 Ābhīras, usage that adultery not punishable among 261, 488.
 Abhisecanīya, principal rite in Rājāsūya 73
 Ahhyankar, Prof. K V 904.
 Abuse, defined 511, three kinds of 511
 Ācāra, import of, fluctuated from time to time 875-876
 Ācāraratna 869n.
 Ācāryas, views of, cited by Kautilya 2, 201, 223, 225n, 232, 392.
 Accountant, an officer in a court of justice 278
 Accounts, how kept 199; year of, ended on full moon of Āśvīn and comprised 354 days in Kautilya's day 144
 Activism, philosophy of 169.
 Aeynta, commentator of Dāyabhāga 558n
 Adam Smith 186n
 Ādhivedanika, a class of strīdhana 774
 Adhyagni, a class of strīdhana 774
 Adhyāvahanika, a kind of strīdhana 774, 775
 Ādiparva 10, 22n, 30, 37, 42n, 43, 49, 59, 68, 78, 118, 134, 168, 177, 204, 205, 214-15, 255, 353n, 359n, 369n, 371n, 416, 609n, 640n, 642, 644, 645n, 675n, 682n, 845-847, 872, 896n, 937, 966
 Ādipurāṇa 629, 928n, 939.
 Ādityapurāṇa 610n, 871, 885, 927, 928n, 939, 949.
 Ādityas, as observers of ṛta 415; twelve, 368.
 Adjournment of a suit, when allowed 296, 297.
 Adoption, age of boy to be taken in 679-680, an only son now allowed by courts to be taken in 676, Bombay High Court allows any one to be taken in, except a daughter's son, sister's son or mother's sister's son 683, boy of same caste to be taken in 675, boy must be taken in, before upanayana or marriage except in Bombay 681; boy to be taken in a, must be reflection of an aurasa son 682, ceremonies of 687-689, confers same rights in adoptive family as those of an aurasa son 689-690, daughter may be taken in a acc to some writers 675, daughter's son or sister's son may be taken in a on ground of custom 684; eldest son may now be taken in 677; foundation of the doctrine of 666; giving and taking of the boy is a necessary requisite of 687, gotra of natural family persists for certain purposes even after 695-697, if aurasa son born after a, the adopted son takes a lesser share 698, in the dvyaṁśyāyana form 685-687, male alone can be taken in 674-675, mother alone can give away her son in a if father be dead 666, mother cannot give away in a if she has remarried 667, objects of adoption 665-666, one who has no son, son's son or son's son's son can alone take in 667, only a man's widow can take a boy in a after his death 668; primary right to give in a is that of the father 666, principal matters discussed under 665, results of 689-699, severance from natural family not complete for all purposes

- 691-697, śūdras cannot take in a acc to Rudradhara and Vācaspati 668, views about widow's power to take in 668-669, who can give a son in 666-667, who may be taken in 674-683, who may take in 667-674
- Adoption of Childers Act (in England) 699n
- Adultery 531-535, fine as punishment for, when the adulteress is of same caste or of a lower caste 533; *prāyaścitta* for, varied at different times 946-47, punishment of cutting the ears or nose of a woman who awarded for, 533, punishment of death for a paramour when awarded 533, punishment of light fine for a with a female ascetic, 534, some sages prescribe humane treatment of women for 533, 535, 615, 947, was only as *upapātaka* except when a woman had intercourse with a man of low caste, 615, 947
- Agastya, story of, 53.
- Agoicayaga, a solemn Vedic rite, 180, 535
- Agnihotra, how far forbidden to Kali, 961
- Agnimitra, 103, 116
- Agniporāṇa, 13, 17n, 210, 22, 45, 46, 48, 49n, 50-51, 59n, 60, 71, 77n, 78, 84n, 107, 111, 118, 120, 127, 132, 141, 160, 172, 179, 200, 208, 215, 217, 219, 224-227, 230, 231, 924.
- Agnistoma, 469
- Agnivarna, queue of, sat on the throne after him 41.
- Agriculture 51; great attention paid to 162, superintendent of 147
- Agriculturists, exempted from arrest in execution of decrees in modern times, 384.
- Ahalyā and Iodra 845-846.
- Ahichatra, 8480
- Aihole Inscription 896.
- Aila exacted excessive taxes and perished, 52
- Aindri *Sūtra*, to coronation 79-80.
- Aitareya Aranyaka 227.
- Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 20, 25, 41, 64-66, 73, 104, 117, 125n, 135, 190, 229, 414, 416, 543n, 544, 563-566, 588, 600n, 636, 641, 657n, 680, 710n, 845, 846, 877, 887, 933.
- Aiyagar, Prof. K V. Rangaswami, 90, 15, 120, 629n.
- Aiyer, Mr Velandri Gopal, 897n, 900-01.
- Aja, son of Raghu, 101
- Ajabindu, king of Sauvira 52
- Ajigarta 660
- Aksapatala, office of records and accounts 143.
- Aksauhini, subdivisions of 204-205; total number of troops in 204-205.
- Alheruni 166, 376n
- Alchemy, as a means of filling royal treasury 189, 198.
- Alexander the Great 24, 103.
- Ahyasaotāna Law 560.
- Allies, see under *mītra*, four kinds of 216-217, may become enemies, if their interests so require 222, necessity of making 216; qualities of friendly 217
- Alluvium and diluvium, rules about 506.
- Amarakośa, 7, 470, 66, 1050, 121n, 124n, 1330, 1340, 138, 140n, 147n, 159n, 190, 4190, 454, 486, 491n, 527n, 754n, 778, 9100
- Amātyas, see under 'ministers', three kinds of 107.
- Amharisa, a king 53
- Ambassador, see under *dūta*.
- Āmbhiyas, scholar of, on Arthasāstra 2.
- Amhmnne mantras 75.
- Amśumān, son of Asamañja, 43.
- Anantadeva 13.
- Anarchy, state of, in the dim past 244.
- Ancestral property, see under 'property'; has a technical sense 576n, rules about, when lost to the family and recovered by a single member, 580-81
- Angiras, 394, 573, 868, 941.
- Anguttaranikāya 135.
- Animals, fines for causing injury to or death to 516; owners of certain 2.

- not liable to fine or punishment for injury caused by them to crops or men, 501, 528
- Animāndavya, 255n.
- Anjaria, Mr 20.
- Anu, mlecchas sprang from, 937
- Anubandhyā cow, sacrifice of, forbidden in Kali, 627-628, 941.
- Anśāsanaparva, 2, 6, 8, 26, 37, 49, 53n, 59-61, 168, 243, 255n, 359n, 416, 421, 534, 576n, 578n, 598, 645n, 650, 652n, 703n, 708, 776n, 794, 845, 857, 875, 913, 914.
- Anuvāda, 705n, 712
- Anvādheya, a class of stridhana, 774.
- Ānvīkskī, meaning of, 46-47.
- Aparādhās, are ten, of which the king may take cognisance without any one's complaint, 264.
- Aparājita, a hymn, 75
- Aparājita, a *Silāra* king, 196n
- Aparānta had very great rainfall, 147.
- Aparārka, 7, 10n, 17n, 38, 48, 96, 121n, 124n, 154, 156n, 159n, 247n, 248n, 255n, 259, 260, 270n, 272, 273, 275, 277n, 278n, 280, 286n, 287-88, 293, 294n, 297, 298n, 300n, 301, 304, 305, 310, 312, 313n, 314-15, 317-18, 321-22, 323n, 326, 327n, 331, 332n, 333-34, 337, 340-41, 344n, 347n, 348n, 349-351, 352n, 358n, 362n, 364n, 366, 380, 382n, 383, 387n, 403, 410n, 419n, 432n, 434n, 436n, 437n, 438n, 439n, 445n, 464n, 465-66, 467n, 468n, 473n, 479n, 483n, 485n, 499n, 500n, 501, 502n, 506, 507n, 508n, 509n, 511n, 514n, 517, 518n, 521n, 522n, 523n, 526n, 531n, 538n, 539-40, 554n, 556n, 557, 560n, 563n, 572, 573n, 575n, 576n, 580, 582n, 583n, 584n, 586n, 587, 589n, 590n, 593n, 599, 607n, 609, 610n, 614, 621n, 623n, 624, 625n, 631n, 634n, 635n, 636, 638n, 644, 652n, 653n, 655, 656, 659n, 664n, 702n, 703n, 712, 716, 725, 731, 734n, 735, 747n, 751n, 754n, 777n, 781, 784n, 786, 787n, 791n, 794, 803n, 807n, 817n, 840, 862n, 868n, 872n, 873, 882n, 905n, 926, 928-29, 932n, 939, 941-42, 943n, 950, 953, 958n, 959, 961n, 965.
- Āpastamba, dharmasūtra of, 1, 3, 9, 19, 23, 40, 41n, 44, 58, 60, 61n, 104, 117, 119, 167, 190, 194, 209, 211, 245, 246, 250, 271, 342, 351, 355, 360, 362, 387, 397, 402, 405, 417, 428, 438, 451, 478, 482, 486, 499, 500, 513, 524, 527-29, 535, 541, 543n, 564, 566, 567, 603n, 608, 613, 615, 618, 622, 623, 628, 643, 655, 657n, 702, 710n, 712, 714, 726n, 733, 754n, 762, 771, 803, 825, 827, 832n, 837, 845, 856, 858, 865-66, 868, 871, 880, 889, 926, 930n, 940, 948, 953-54, 957, 958, 963, 965.
- Āpastamba, gṛhyasūtra of 674n, 754n, 856, 879
- Āpastamba - dharmasūtra specially studied by Taittirīyas 853.
- Āpastamba-mantrapāṭha 641n, 828n.
- Āpastamba, śrautasūtra of 28, 627n, 940, 952, 962.
- Āpastamba, versified smṛti of 534.
- Apavidha son, definition of 647.
- Appearance, of parties to suits through agents 288, persons excused from personal a in court 286-287, persons excused from personal a. are not liable to *āsedha* 291
- Apprentice, characteristics of 483.
- Apte, Prof. V M 245.
- Apūrva, due to performance of sacrifices 839
- Arājaka, meaning of 30-31.
- Aranyalānda (of Rāmāyana) 37n, 62n.
- Āratta, country of five rivers 88n.
- Arhat 871.
- Aristotle, on end of State 237.
- Arjuna, of the Haihaya dynasty 53.
- Arjuna, (a Pāṇḍava) *dirgyaya* of 68; imparted Dhanurveda to his son Abhimanyu 49; married Subhadrā his maternal uncle's daughter 846; upbraided Bhīmasena for being caraged with Yndhishtira 42.

- Ārjunāyanas, were conquered by Samudragupta 89.
 Arms, superintendent of 145
 Army, see under 'troops', consisted of four arms 202; doctors and surgeons of 208, formations of, in battle 208, eight elements of 206-208, organization of 203, regulations about the camp of an 207; results of the possession of a powerful 200, system of passes as to a camp of 207-208; troubles with a caused by thirty-three matters 233, vast, kept by Indian kings 203-204.
 Arrian, a Greek writer on India 89, 183, 901.
 Artha, meaning of 7; great emphasis laid on, by Kautilya, 9.
 Arthāpatti, a mode of proof 847.
 Arthasāstra, a synonym for Dandanīti 6, is dīrghārthasmṛti 7, 840, meaning of 6; relation of, to dharmaśāstra 8, was treated as an upaveda 10, 843n, writers on, did not shrink from giving cruel or immoral advice 12-13.
 Arthasāstra of Kautilya, see under Kautilya; refers to several schools of and authors on rājadharmā 2, sets the highest value on dharma 9, quoted on 2, 5n, 6-8, 10, 49n, 58n, 61, 95, 97, 105, 120, 121n, 207, 412, 434n, 477n, 503n, 617n, 621n, 644, 650n, 651n, 659n, 860n
 Arthavāda 712.
 Āryabhata, theory of, as to yugas 890, was born in 476 A. D. 895-896.
 Āryāvarta, limits of 137.
 Asahāya, commentator of Nāradaśmṛti, 288, 334n, 379n, 442n, 619.
 Asamañja, eldest son of Sagara, was banished for his misdeeds 43.
 Āśauca, period of impurity due to death, 492.
 Ascetic, see under 'yati'
 Āśedha, four kinds of 291; was restraint under king's order 291.
 Āśoka, administrative system of 141; claimed to be a dharmavijayin emperor 69, constructed hospitals for men and animals 60, edicts of 383, 390, 406, 889, extent of the empire of 69, is said to have died destitute of power 102, irrigation works of 63, promulgated three days' respite for prisoners condemned to death 406, sent his son Kunāla to Takṣaśīlā to pacify popular disturbances 116, subjects of the edicts of 100, was tolerant to all sects 881, very cruel in his youth acc. to Yuan Chwang 406, was sent to Takṣaśīlā to pacify citizens 116.
 Āśramavāśīkarpāra 8, 17, 37, 101, 168, 171, 180, 181, 201, 215, 217, 846, 847.
 Assam Labour and Migration Act 484.
 Assault, by men of lowest castes against respectable people to be punished with whipping then and there 514; causing injury to animals was included under 513; comprises touching, threatening to strike and actually striking 513; defied 513-514; three kinds of 513-514.
 Astakā śrāddha 828, 829, 940.
 Astras, science of 215
 Astrologers, advice of, taken before starting on an invasion 228, were to urge on soldiers in a battle saying planets favoured their side 212.
 Astrology, views of Kautilya and Vājñavalkya about reliance on 126.
 Āśvaghosa, author of Buddhicariya 5.
 Āśvalāyana, gṛhyasūtra of 118, 228, 641n, 689, 856, 879, 945n, 964
 Āśvalāyana, śrautasūtra of 662n, 679n, 685n, 957.
 Āśvamedha, those joining in the last of the king at end of, were purified of all sins 57, removed all sins, 511
 Āśvamedhikaparva 53n, 112n, 113, 224, 986, 999
 Āśvapati, king of Kekaya 166
 Ātatāyin, defined 517-518, the name of victor about king of in war 517
 a brāhmarāja 517, may be 517-518

- defeoce of person or property if not a brāhmaṇa 9, 517
 Atbarva—Jyotiṣa 907n, 913.
 Atharvaśāstras, Upaniṣad 119n
 Atharvaveda 28, 29, 32, 58n, 64, 75, 92, 119, 125n, 132, 135, 150n, 163, 213, 228, 361, 414, 415n, 519, 541, 544, 657n, 658, 660, 685n, 753n, 754n, 770n, 828n, 886, 887, 933.
 Atirātra sacrifice, taking of sodaśo cop in 863.
 Atoms, theory of 839.
 Ātreya, meaning of 527n.
 Atri, gave to Aurva his only son in adoption 662-663.
 Atri, smṛti of 57, 59, 642o, 665, 668n, 948-49, 956, 958-59.
 Auditor 199
 Aupajanyhan 643.
 Aurasa, defined as the son of the wife of the same class as the husband's 600n, 647, 655-56.
 Aurva, adopted Atri's only son 662-663
 Ausāsas, school of, oo Arthasāstra 2, 48, 106
 Ausāsana—smṛti 872, 934.
 Austin 554.
 Avakraya, meaoiog of 494.
 Avaotivarman, king of Kashmir 100, 162.
 Avaruddhā (stri), meaoiog of, discussed 811-815; difference between bhujisyā and a 813.
 Avesti, a sacrifice that was an ist in Rājasūya 38, as a independent sacrifice may be performed by a brāhmaṇa 38.
 Āvid, formula recited in the Rājasūya 64.
 Ayodhyā, description of acieot 177.
 Ayodhyākāṇḍa 21o, 29, 30, 42, 47n, 50, 70, 78, 101, 105, 107, 111, 112, 116, 127, 179, 206.
 Āyasya, a hymn 75.
 Babyloo, 389o.
 Bacon, Lord, confessed to taking bribes 276.
 Bādhā, examples of 855.
 Bāhndantaka, said to be an abridgment of Brabmā's work 4.
 Bābudantipotra 2.
 Bailments, care required in all kinds of 433.
 Bala (strength), five knots of 215; of intellect is the best of all 215.
 Bālāditya, of Magadha, is said to have defeated Mūhiraakula, 924n
 Bālaka, a predecessor of Jīmūtavābaoa 637, 719.
 Bālakāṇḍa (of the Rāmāyana) 106, 107, 164 675n
 Bālabhaddi, (a commentary) 43, 76, 553o, 569, 570o, 705o, 718, 726, 734n, 747, 755n, 757, 759, 762, 772n, 773n, 774n, 778o, 781, 790n, 791n, 793n, 814, 815.
 Bālārūpa, 718n.
 Ballālasena, king of Bengal 126
 Balutedars, are village servants in the Deccan 156, 285.
 Bāna 69, 85, 115, 182, 229, 362.
 Banavāsi, a province of 12000 villages 139.
 Baodhus, are, acc. to Mit, bhlonagotra sapindas 754; as heirs 753-762; enumeration of, in texts, is not exhaustive 755; female b are allowed to inherit in Bombay and Madras Presidencies 762; rules of preference among 759-762; sapinda relationship of b. extends according to P C. only up to five degrees 757-759; several meaoiogs of 753n; succeed after samāoodakas 754; test of religious efficacy when applied to succession of baodhus 756; three classes of 755, treatment of, under the Dāyabbāga 760
 Banerjee, Dr Gooroodas, author of 'Marriage and stridhan' 656n, 770, 772n, 798o.
 Banishment, as punishment for officers and judges taking bribes 253, 404; as punishment for brāhmaṇa offenders 404; as punishment for perjured brāhmaṇa witnesses, for those guilty of embezzlement or of playing with false dice 404; as punishment

- for witchcraft 406, as punishment for gambling in secret 540, often associated with branding 404.
- Bārhadhratha dynasty 899.
- Bārhaspatyas, school of, on Arthasāstra 2, 48, 106
- Bārhaspatyasūtra, 13, 48, 80, 172, 240, 630n, 869.
- Barnes, Mr Harry E, on 'story of punishment' 253n, 388n.
- Barnett, Dr L. D. 146n.
- Barua, Dr. 94.
- Basak, Dr. R. G., author of 'History of North-east India' 925n
- Battle, ancient procedure for making a king ready for 228-229, distribution of booty acquired in 212, persons that were not to be attacked in 209-210, rites to be performed by king before 212, victory in, doubtful 225
- Baudhāyanadharmaśāstra, specially studied by Taittirīyas 853
- Baudhāyana, Dharmaśāstra of 27, 36, 154, 166, 175, 189, 194, 209, 250, 276, 343-44, 403-4, 417, 420, 443, 517, 526, 551n, 567, 573, 598, 608, 613, 614, 617, 623-24, 641n, 642n, 643-44, 655, 656n, 659, 660, 663, 668, 690n, 698n, 700, 702, 707, 712, 719, 736, 741, 746, 747n, 763, 771, 805, 832n, 856, 858, 866, 875, 878, 933, 938, 943, 954, 957, 959, 960, 963.
- Baudhāyana, grhyasūtra of 76, 135, 664n, 688.
- Baudhāyana-grhya-paribhāṣā 642n
- Baudhāyana-pitrmedha-sūtra 104.
- Baudhāyana, smṛti of 755, 793.
- Baudhāyana, śrautasūtra of 28, 61n.
- Bāverujātaka, 934.
- Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' 30, 40, 143n, 164, 204, 376n, 924n
- Benefit of doubt 360.
- Beni Prasad, Dr. 16, 31, 49, 91, 94, 117n.
- Berolzheimer on 'the World's Legal Philosophies' 15n, 245, 851n.
- Best on 'Evidence' 331n, 338, 356n, 359n.
- Bhaddiya, cousin of the Buddha was rājā of Kapilavastu at one time 90.
- Bhadrabāhu, a great Jain sage connected with Candragupta by Jains 102.
- Bhadrāsena, a king killed in his queen's chamber 85
- Bhagadatta, king of Prāgyyotisa 203, 937.
- Bhagavadgītā 8, 22, 57, 169, 211, 881.
- Bhāgavatapurāṇa 24, 26, 60, 183, 627, 872, 873, 892, 896n, 897n, 899, 923-25
- Bhaisajya mantras 75
- Bhāmatī, com. on Śāṅkara's Vedānta-sūtrabhāṣya 781n
- Bhandarkar, Prof D. R. 16, 20, 90, 92, 103.
- Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Annals of 164, 245, 307, 316, 904
- Bhandin, cousin of Harsa, proposed the latter's election as king 31.
- Bhāradvāja, expounder of *rājadharmā* 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 83, 232, views of criticized by Kautilya 12
- Bhāradvāja, grhyasūtra of 685n.
- Bhāradvāja, or Bharadvāja, smṛti of 429-31, 441, 493, 496
- Bhārasīvas, dynasty of 70, 76
- Bharata, son of Dasyanta, adopted Bharadvāja, a brāhmana 675.
- Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhaka-mandala 81, 817
- Bhāratasāvitṛī, astronomical data in 909, 915, 917
- Bharatavarṣa, aspirations to bring the whole of, under 'one umbrella' 137, dimensions of 67, is the first of the nine varṣas of Jambudvīpa 134, 935, is *karmabhūmi* (land of action) 134, king conquering whole of, is styled samrāt 67; Purāṇas wax eloquent over 137, regard for, as a unity from a religious point of view 137.
- Bhāruci 44, 393n, 451, 619.

- Bhāsa 211n.
 Bhāskarācārya 122o.
 Bhāskaravarman, Nidhanpur plate of 898.
 Bhat, Mr Bhaskar Vaman 378
 Bhatārka, founder of Valahlu dynasty 202
 Bhattacharya, Mr. Batuknath, 966
 Bhattoji, author of a commentary on *Caturvimsatimata* 926o, 928n, 930, 940, 944, 949-50, 957, 961.
 Bhavahūti 243
 Bhavanātha, author of *Nayaviveka* 550n
 Bhāvaprakāśana 136
 Bhavisyapurāna 7, 737n, 840, 844n, 873, 905n
 Bheda (*an upāya*) 174.
 Bhude, Prof H B 924n
 Bhikkhus, some of whom were styled *dhammāpanikas* 290
 Bhīma 79, 172, 203, 210, 232, 937.
 Bhīma, 79, advice of, to soldiers 58, had a golden tāla tree as flagstaff 208, performed *Aśvamedha*, though not married 845-46
 Bhīsmaparva 58, 135, 203, 205, 208-9, 211, 903, 905, 906, 908n, 909, 912, 915, 918-920, 922.
 Bhoja, author of *Yuktikalpataru* 13
 Bhoja, see under *Dāṇḍakya* 52
 Bhojakas, held *Veda* unauthoritative 571.
 Bhojas, kings of *Sātvatas* to the south were so called after coronation 73, mentioned in *Aśoka's Rock Edicts* 65.
 Bhrgu 183, 282, 283.
 Bhujyā, meaning of 813-814
 Bubbisana 69
 Bible 36
 Bihar and Orissa Research Society, *Journal* of 265, 892
 Blasphemy Act (in England) 616o
 Blautschli 20, 237.
 Bombay Agriculturists Debtors Relief Act 425
 Bombay Gazetteer 102, 198, 225, 268, 366n
 Bombay Pleaders' Act 290.
 Bombay Regulations 290, 575n
 Borradaile 728-29
 Boundary dispute 502-505, five kinds of, acc to *Nārada* 502-503; king last resort in settling 505; procedure for witnesses who were to define boundary in 503-504, several kinds of witnesses as to 504; single person was not ordinarily to undertake to define boundary in 505
 Brahṁā, is deemed to have appointed *Māno* king 34, is said to have composed a work on the four *puruṣārthas* 4, 33
 Brahmācārin, heirs of 764-765; of every varṇa forbidden to drink *madya* 965, sexual intercourse forbidden to 846, two classes of 764
 Brahmācārya, for long periods, forbidden in *Kali* age 863-64
 Brahmagupta 890, 896.
 Brāhmaṇa, can perform *Avesti* as an independent sacrifice, though not in *Rājāsūya* 38; could be sentenced to death, acc. to *Kautilya* and *Kātyāyana*, in certain cases 398-99, could wield arms in danger 517; empires and kingdoms 39; gifts made to a b. are inexhaustible treasure for the king 228, guilty of murder, theft of gold, forcible seizure of land was to have his eyes covered over with cloth throughout life 397, guilty of perjury banished 352, liable to *ātātāyān* b not punishable by king 518, learned, was exempt from taxation 190, liable to pay under a decree was given easy instalments and not made to work 384, limited authority of king over 25, living in *Brahmāvarta*, *Kuruksētra* and a few other countries was to be looked up to by all as to actions and practices 137, may perform *Vājapeya* sacrifice for *Svātājya* 65, not to stay in a city, but in a village abounding in water, fuel, *Luśā* 154, not to stay in the kingdom of a *śūdra* 39, offender

- not to receive corporal punishment, but may be banished 396, 522, 526; offender can be kept confined in a secret place 397, 398n; was forbidden from being a *śamstr* or selling *soma* plant 952; was forbidden to engage *śūdras* as cooks in Kali or eat at their houses 952-53, 958; was not to be a slave 484; wealth of heirless b. was not to escheat to the king but was to be given to other *brāhmanas* 762.
- Brāhmanabala, com. of Kāthakagrhya 380.
- Brāhmanas, alone entitled to drink *soma* 952; hating, opposing and calumniating b are indications of a man's approaching fall 228, not studying or expounding Veda or not keeping sacred fires become equal to *śūdras* 344n, punishment of death for b forbidden in Kali 942, separating from their fathers against the latter's will were unfit to be invited at a *śrāddha* 566-567.
- Brahmanaspati in the Rgveda 415.
- Brahmāndapurāṇa 10, 892, 895n, 896n, 899-900.
- Brahmapurāṇa 67, 75n, 82, 134, 135, 228, 234, 642n, 857, 890, 892, 895n, 896n, 923-24, 955, 966.
- Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta 896 n
- Brahmasūtrā, (see Vedāntasūtra), 725n.
- Brahmayāma, a Tantra 215.
- Brāhmī alphahet, origin of 306-307; why so called 308.
- Branding, as a punishment 403, 540; on the forehead with certain marks in the case of certain offences, if offender did not perform *prāyaścitta* 397, 403; practised in Rome and Britain against offenders 397, 403.
- Brew, Dr. J. M. 391.
- Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad 97, 135, 162, 176, 613n, 641n, 643, 841, 957.
- Brhad-devatā, a work 42, 359n, 609.
- Brhadratha, last Maurya king killed by his senāpati 86.
- Brhad-Viṣṇu 721n.
- Brhad-Yama 534.
- Brhan-Mann 738, 752.
- Brhannāradiya-purāṇa (see under Nāradiya-purāṇa), 869, 928n
- Brhaspati, writer on Rājadharmā 2-4, 6, 167, 178, 208, 255n, derives the word *rājan* 28; held that fighting should be avowed as far as possible 173, is alleged to have abridged the work of Brahṁā 4; on land tax 191
- Brhaspati, smṛti of (on vyavahāra not yet recovered) 121n, 156, 158, 206, 244, 258-61, 272, 273, 275, 277-78, 281n, 282, 284, 286, 291, 294, 297-299, 303-4, 306, 308-310, 312-13, 317, 318n, 322, 326, 327, 331-32, 334, 340-343, 345n, 346-348n, 352, 355, 357-359, 363, 364, 370, 375, 380, 385n, 387, 391, 393n, 396, 409-10, 417-20, 423-25, 428-29, 431-39, 442-45, 451-52, 456-58, 462-63, 465-469, 471, 472, 474, 476-78, 480-81, 483, 488-89, 491-493n, 494, 496, 498, 501, 503-08, 511n, 513-16, 520, 522, 525-26, 529, 531-32, 537-38, 540, 554, 568, 572, 574-76n, 580, 584, 586, 587, 589, 590, 593n, 596, 598, 501, 607, 609, 619, 621, 623-26, 632, 634, 637, 639, 642, 644, 646, 651n, 652-53, 655, 702, 709, 714, 717, 720, 721, 733, 736, 748, 752n, 754n, 760, 763, 766, 769, 772n, 790, 799n, 800, 809, 861, 867, 868, 882, 885, 926, 942, 948.
- Brhaspati, smṛti of, holds Manu in high esteem but rarely criticizes it also 590n.
- Brhaspati, work of (in prose) 452n, 602n.
- Brhat-Parāśara 13, 98, 170, 173, 197, 209, 211, 391, 860, 869.
- Brhat-sambhitā of Varāhamihira 82, 85, 89, 122, 126, 136, 146n, 180, 230, 407, 897-98, 906n, 907, 916, 917, 919n, 922.
- Brhati, com. of Prabhākara on Jaimini 836n.

- Bribe, defined 473, person taking b. or the intermediary was fined but not the man who offered it 473.
- Bricks, baked, required in Agnicayana 180.
- Brothers, are heirs after parents 725; of full blood preferred to those of half 725
- Brother's son's son, position of, as heir 731-32
- Brown C. J. 122n.
- Buddha, knew 64 scripts 308, Śuddhodana, father of, was *rāja* of the Śākya 90, wheel of dharma of 66.
- Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa 5.
- Buddhist countries took their law of succession from the Manusmṛti 560, 640.
- Buddhist doctrines about monasteries, abhaya, charity are not to be deemed to be authoritative 842-843.
- Buddhist influence, on the Mīlāsarā, examined 640-641, on the Dāyabhāga 559-560
- Buddhist philosophy, some tenets of, may be useful in their own way 839-40.
- Budhbhūṣana 13, 107, 110n, 117, 163n, 184, 203n, 215, 400n.
- Bühler, Dr. 195n, 307, 486n, 605n, 733n.
- Burden of proof, of an affirmative proposition is on him who asserts it 304; rules about 304, *sabhyas* to consider the question of 304.
- Burma, indebted in Manusmṛti for its laws of inheritance 640-641.
- Caesar, Julius 24.
- Cakravartī, Dr. P. C. 213.
- Cakravartin 24, 66, territory of 66-67
- Cakravartins, names of six 67; said to be seven in Harṣacarita 67.
- Calamities, among divine calamities are more devastating than fire 233; divine and human 118, 120; natural, are six 163; removal of divine calamities effected 228.
- Cambodia 756.
- Cānakya, 5, 7, 86, 120; killed one of the Nandas 86
- Caṇḍeśvara, author of Rājānūratnākara 13
- Candragupta, a Gupta emperor 44
- Candragupta, a Maurya Emperor 192; abdicated in favour of his son, according to Jain tradition 102.
- Capital, (see *nāgaraka*, palace) 178ff; administration of 149, 182, census of the inhabitants of 150; ditch constructed round 181, gates of, should face south 1; how and where to be built 181, loss of, more serious than the loss of some territory 178, may be inside a fort or outside 181, officer called *nāgaraka* to look to affairs of 149; position of palace and offices in 181; rendered gay by players and dancers 180; storing of necessary commodities in 181, temples and shrines of certain deities in 181.
- Caritra, meaning of 260-261.
- Caritrabandhaka 435.
- Carrier, liability of, for loss or deterioration of goods 479.
- Cārvāka 871.
- Caste Disabilities Removal Act 547n, 667, abrogates the rule of ancient Hindu law about *patita* 616.
- Cattle, even princes went to enumerate and supervise 161, straying into fields 500-501, superintendent of 148-149.
- Caṭurātra, a sacrifice 662n
- Cāturmāsya, seasonal sacrifices 676n, 704n
- Caturvargacintāmaṇi, of Hemādri 929.
- Caturvimsāhmata 122n, 871.
- Canals, usages about 883.
- Canroddharanika, an officer 168, 464.
- Ceylon, sea voyage to, frequently mentioned in literature 937.
- Chalas, were fifty, for which the king could punish without a private complaint 266
- Champā, a work by Dr. R. C. Majumdar 641n.

Champerly, not encouraged by ancient Hindu Lawyers 288.

Chāndogya Upaniṣad 49n, 92, 135, 163, 167, 226, 362, 387, 613, 888

Chan-toon, on 'Principles of Buddhist Law' 641

Chariots, of great warriors were drawn by four horses and had two wheels 205

Charities called *pūrta* 451.

Chatterji, Dr Bijan Raj 756, 934n

Child, no gift nor sale of, allowed, acc. to Āp 643.

Chowries, symbols of royalty 82

Chullavagga 91, 246.

Cīna, country of 53.

Cities, ancient Indian 183, frequently mentioned in the Rgveda 179-180, gates of, were named after cities which faced them 180, of *asuras* constructed with *ayas*, silver and gold 180.

Civil Procedure Code (of India) 301 n, 303n, 306, 345n, 380n, 384, 404n

Clergy, benefit of 398n

Clothes, declared impartible by Manu 589-90.

Codification of Hindu Law, objections to, considered 820-823.

Coins, examiner of 144, fines in relation to 253; weights of Indian, varied at different times and in different countries 121n

Colebrooke 447n, 575n, 688, 878.

Comet, appearance of, portends impending calamity 916-17.

Commander-in-chief 127, must be a ksatriya or a brāhmana 127, qualifications of 127.

Commentators generally embody pre-existing customs of their countries 729n

Commerce, duties of superintendent of 145.

Compact series of heirs 731.

Concubine, right of, to maintenance 763, 811-815.

Confiscation, of all property as punishment 404; for perjury and for judges

taking bribes 532; for rape 535, tools of trade or craft not to be seized when c ordered 404.

Conflict, in case of c between two śruti texts, there is an option 86ⁿ. in case of c between smṛtis and authoritative digests or commentaries courts have to follow latter 599n, 753n, in case of c between smṛti and śāstācāra the latter is weaker acc. to Pūrvamīmāṃsā 629, 874, in case of c between laws or usages governing the two parties, śāstra prevails 862.

Conqueror, duties of 71: duty of, to place on the throne of the conquered country a brother, son or daughter of the late king 40, 231, three kinds of 69, should sow dissensions among chiefs and the people, corporations and their leaders 174, to respect the customs of the conquered country 71, 231, 859, 860.

Contracts, (see under 'trajectories'); analysis of the conception of c in general by Sanskrit writers 411, made by incompetent persons are invalid 412; not to be entered into with soldiers and king's servants 207, persons incompetent to enter into, such as minors, dependents etc 412.

Contract Act (Indian) 312n, 412n, 427n, 433n, 457n, 458n, 460n, 481n

Coparcenary, characteristics of c. property acc. to Dāyabhāga 561-562, characteristics of c property acc. to Mitākṣarā 591-92, interest of members in c property is fluctuating 561, is smaller than a joint family under the Mitākṣarā 591, not existing between father and son under the Dāyabhāga 594, ownership of c. property is joint and in whole body of co-owners 561, starts on birth of a son under the Mit. starts on father's death under Dāyabhāga 562, 591.

Copperplate, grants on, were sometimes forged 314-315; Sohgappur inscription

- ticoon, is earliest c. c., yet discovered 307.
- Corarajjnka, an officer 168.
- Coronation, materials for 73, 76, materials to be recited at 73, 74, of a king acc to different works 72-82, of Iodra described in *Atareya Brāhmana* 73, of crown prince, commander in chief etc 79, of Samhaja 81, of Shivaji 81, part of principal virtuous ladies in 81, Porānic rites of 79, to be performed one year after the death of the previous king 77-80.
- Corporations, administration and work of, 157, as *trihooals* 280-281, of porobitas at temples and sacred places 488, were powerful and had a measure of self-government 97.
- Corpus Inscriptiooium Iodicarum, vol. I (on *Asolan* inscriptions) 60, 69, 94, 100, 112n, 139, 190, 246, 390, 406, 890.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. III (vide also under 'Gupta Inscriptioos') 213.
- Council of ministers, consultation with, to be in secret 108, king or chief minister presided over 91, metooed in *Asoka's* edicts 107.
- Countries, long lists of, in the *Mahābhārata* 135, names of c. are same as those of people residing in them 134, mentioned in the *R̥gveda* and the *Atharvaveda* 135, in the *Brāhmanas* 135, in *hy Pāṇini* 135n, in *hy Mahābhāṣya* 135o, in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* 136.
- Country, land of *Koruksetra*, *Matsyas*, *Sūrasenas* is chosen as one's 134, qualities of the soil of a good 133, same c. has sometimes two names 135, Sanskrit words for 138, wealth of, coosits in food crops and abundance of cattle 161.
- Court, house was to be decorated with flowers, paintings 277, king as original as well as appellate c. 268, 270, presided over by king or chief justice was highest 280, some merchants were associated with c. in the task of deciding cases 275, time for holding c. 277, was to call in the aid of outsiders in deciding certain cases 284, was constituted by the *prādvivāka* and the *sabhyas* 274.
- Courts, civil and criminal matters tried in ancient India by same c. 259, classes of State c. 281, could be attended by learned men, who though not appointed as judges could state their opinions 274, *dharmasthiya* and *kantakaśodhana* c. 252, four kinds of 277, grades of 280-281, holidays for 277, inferior c. recognized in the *smṛtis*, 280, law and equity administered by same 259, judges of, to give unanimous decision 274, matters within the purview of *kantakaśodhana* c. 252; opinion of majority of judges of c. to prevail 275, people present (except learned *hr̥hmasas*) were not to interfere by speech in work of, 274; punishment for clerks of c. for wrongly taking down depositions 276, should be established for groups of 10, 400, 800 villages 273, to consider burden of proof after defendant's reply 304.
- Court fees, fines taken from defeated litigants in civil disputes virtually were 294-295, 382, whether payable in ancient and medieval India 294-95.
- Cow; called *Aotibandhyā* was sacrificed at end of *Agnistoma* in ancient days 627, 865, occasions on which c. was sacrificed in ancient India 939-40; sacrifice of, condemned in *Kali* age 627, 865.
- Cows, owners of, not to be fined for loss caused by c. at times of festivals and *śrāddhas* 501.
- Creditor, (see 'dehts' and 'recovery of dehts'), a *brāhmana* c. had priority over one of another caste 441,

duty of, to pass a receipt for part of debt paid 442, if creditor refused to pass a receipt on request, he lost balance of debt 442, should tear off bond when whole debt paid or should pass a document of release 442

Criminal Procedure Code (Indian) 398n, 402n.

Crime, ancient law of, was drastic 390, child under five was not deemed to be guilty of crime 395, definition of 386; fines came to be ordinary punishment for many a c 390, five titles out of 18 are connected with 511, law relating to, not found in one place in ancient works 412, list of capital crimes was much smaller in ancient India than in the mediaeval West 390, was also a sin in many cases and entailed religious sanctions 387.

Criminals, comparatively humane treatment of 388n.

Criminology, divergent views on 393.

Crops 162, harm to, by animals straying into 501, two, grown in the year ordinarily 500, various ways of raising 163

Cūdā (tonsure), ceremony of 679n

Cunningham, General 121n, 122n

Customs (see under 'usages'), and Dharmasāstra works 856ff, burden of proof of, 970, cannot be extended on grounds of analogy 876-877, difference between usages and c 826, differing c of the North and South 858, enforceability of 859, essentials of valid c 970-71, instances of local 862, meaning of c of country or family 862, 863, must have characteristics of antiquity, uniformity and notoriety 826n, of countries, castes and families are binding if not opposed to Veda 857, once in vogue may be abandoned by people 876, of several countries differed 878, of castes,

881, strength of, in conflict with smṛti 849-850, requisites of, according to Pūrvaśāstra writers 853-854, 876, c, acc to smṛtis and commentaries, that were opposed to Veda or were immoral or harmful to others were not to be enforced 859.

Dagger marriages 972

Daftari, Dr. K. L. 903-4, 906, 912,

Dava, relation between human effort and 168-169, success depends on both, effort and d 169

Dakṣa, smṛti of 403, 471n, 846, 872, 941, 960, 963.

Dakṣināpatha, is a fourth of Bharatavarsa 136.

Damhodbhava 52, 202

Damdupat, rule of, 422-424, rule of, acted upon in modern India 425.

Dāna (an *upāya*) described 174.

Dānakhandā (of Hemādri) 154.

Dancing girl, referred to in the Rgveda 534

Danda (a king) 53n.

Danda (an *upāya*) 175, 238, absence of, leads to chaos and anarchy 238, if foolishly wielded recoils on the king's head 26, if properly handled advances three puruṣārthas 26, importance of 21-22, 51, raised to the position of a divinity 22.

Dāndakya Bhoja, a king who perished through lust 32, 53n, 55.

Dandaniti, n work of Keśava 13, 264, 265n, 403

Dandaniti 5, four objects of 6, identified with Arthasāstra 843n, identified with rājadharmā by Sāntiparva 5; meaning of 5, said to be the support of the world 6, said to have been produced by Sarasvatī 6, was special concern of ksatriyas 5.

Dandapārusya (assault) 513ff.

Dandaviveka, a work 124n, 176n, 191, 243n, 391n, 392, 393n, 394-5, 400, 403

Dandī Mahādevī, a queen 40.

- Daśakṣmāracarita*, 7, 45, 48, 55, 144, 171, 203, 222, 276, 277, 390, 400, 440n, 541, 936, 937.
- Daśaparādhika*, an officer 264.
- Daśaratha*, desired to make Rāma Crown Prince with people's approval 29, 42, had eight ministers 106.
- Dāsī*, who is 602n, 707.
- Dāsiputra* 600-603.
- Date*, Mr G T. 213.
- Dattaka* son 662-699, definition of 647; even *Rgveda* is against having d. s 662; instances of, in Vedic Literature 662-663; of a widow held entitled by P C to open up a partition made several years before 671; placed very low in the list of secondary sons by several *smṛti* writers 650, *smṛti* texts and digests on 664; *sūtras* except that of *Vasistha* and *smṛtis* contain very little about 663.
- Dattakacandrikā* 644, 648n, 664-65, 667n, 669, 675, 679-80, 682, 683n, 685n, 686, 691, 696-98n, 699, branded as a forgery by certain writers 664, regarded by Privy Council as of highest authority on adoption 664-665
- Dattakamīmāṃsā* 644, 646n, 648n, 654, 655n, 663n, 664, 666n, 667-68, 675, 676n, 678n, 679-80, 682-84, 686, 687n, 688, 691, 696-98n, 926, regarded as of highest authority on adoption 664-665
- Dattānapākarma* or *Dattāpradānika* 471-475 (see under 'gift').
- Dattasiddhāntamanjari* of *Bālakṛṣṇa* 649n, 667.
- Danghter*, as heir, 712-719, illegitimate d does not inherit even to a *śūdra* father 717, indigent married d. preferred to well-to-do married d. 715; takes a limited estate like a widow except in Bombay Presidency 716-717; nonchastity no bar to succession of daughters (except under *Dāyabhāga*) 717-718; unmarried d preferred to married d. as an heir 715.
- Danghter-in-law*, not an heir in the whole of India except in Bombay 717.
- Danghter's son*, as heir 719-720
- David*, Mr. Rhys, author of 'Buddhist India' 90, 91, 123, 135, 156, 159, 183, 307, 484.
- Day*, was divided into eight parts, in the 2nd of which justice was administered by king 242.
- Dāya*, meaning of 543-44, two varieties of 546.
- Dāyabhāga*, a work, 475, 519n, 545, 546n, 547n, 550n, 553n, 554n, 556-58, 560-61, 563, 567n, 569, 572n, 573, 578, 579n, 580, 581n, 582, 583n, 584, 585n, 586n, 587, 589, 592, 593n, 594, 595n, 598, 601, 602n, 606, 607n, 610n, 617n, 618n, 619n, 620, 623n, 625n, 634-37, 639, 649n, 650n, 651n, 698, 700n, 702, 703n, 705n, 706n, 707n, 708, 710n, 712, 715-718n, 719, 720n, 721, 725, 726, 732, 734, 736-38, 740n, 741-43, 745-47, 749, 753, 760, 762, 764, 766, 768, 771n, 772, 772n, 773, 774n, 775, 777n, 778, 781, 784n, 785, 787n, 790n, 791n, 792n, 793, 798, 799, 809n.
- Dāyabhāga* (see under 'doctrine of spiritual benefit', 'sapinda'); difference between the *Mitākṣarā* and D. 558-559; holds that ownership arises on the death of the previous owner 547, obliterates distinction between *gotrayas* and *bandhus* made by *Yājñavalkya* 742-43, origin of peculiar doctrines of 559-560, outstanding works under D. School 544, school named after D. is predominant in Bengal 544, school, not affected by the Hindū Law of Inheritance Amendment Act 749.
- Dāyabhāga* (partition of wealth) 543ff, partition and inheritance are main topics under 544.
- Dāyākramasaṅgraha* 544, 798,

Dāyatattva 544, 546n, 553n, 556, 558, 561, 567n, 568n, 572n, 575n, 581n, 592n, 609n, 610n, 620n, 634n, 637n, 700n, 701n, 733, 738n, 739, 745n, 747n, 760, 777, 779n, 781.

Death, all persons except brāhmanas could be condemned to sentence of, for certain grave offences 400, arguments against sentence of 399, as expiation for grave sins forbidden to brāhmanas in Kali age 942, day of collection of bones after 951, general rule that one (except a brāhmana) who causes death by violence should be sentenced to 526, infighting for the protection of cows and brāhmanas is specially commended 58, in protecting property of brāhmanas led to heaven 1, in various modes as punishment 256, 400, no punishment for accidental d. 58, no sentence of d. for crimes due to negligence 526, punishment of, not inflicted on women and brāhmanas in early British rule 397, punishment of, for murdering a man, for abducting human beings, women or for theft of jewels or for rape, sexual intercourse with a woman of higher caste 256, 401, 522, 526, 532, sentence of, to be avoided even in great offences 399-400, sentence of, for a woman guilty of poisoning, incendiarism, attempt to kill her husband, elders or child 401.

Debts, (see under 'damdupat', 'recovery of debts'), distinction between antecedent debts and other debts of father drawn by P. C. has no basis in the texts 450, father, husband and wife are not bound to pay respectively son's, wife's or husband's personal d. 451, five classes of, acc. to *Ānśāsanaparva* 416, four d. owed by all men, acc. to *Ādiparva* 416, grandson's and great-grandson's liability to pay ancestor's d. 443-444, grounds on which liability to pay another's d. arose 442, idea of three

d. owed to gods, pitrs and sages 414-416, idea of liability to pay off one's d. was developed even in very ancient times 414, incurred for the purposes of the family by anyone such as a son, brother, wife, slave were payable by the head of the family 451, modern law about liability of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons to pay d. 444-446, must be paid by him who takes the wealth or widow of the deceased 443, 448, 449, 453, no basis for distinction between secured and unsecured debts of father in *smṛtis* 449-450, non-payment of, was believed to lead to being born as a slave or a beast in the creditor's house 416-417, order in which persons were liable to pay another's d. 452-454, owed to the Crown or learned brāhmana have precedence over all other 441-442, propositions about son's liability to pay father's 444-445, sale of debtor's property for recovery of 441; sanctity of monetary d. arose from the obligatory nature of d. owed to gods, manes and sages 416, son's liability to pay father's suretyship debts 447, son not liable to pay illegal, immoral or *avyāvahārika* debts of father 446-448, son's liability to pay father's d. during latter's lifetime 445-446, son's pious duty to pay off father's debts even if he received no property 417, 442-443, 445, time when d. must be returned 425.

Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act; adopts the rule of *damdupat* for all agriculturists, whether Hindus or not 425.

Decision (see 'judge', 'law-suit'), by *caritra* 260-261, by *dharma* illustrated 260, by oaths and ordeals when no witnesses available 358; by royal command 261, by *vyavahāra*, explained 260, four modes of arriving at 260-262, is not a *pāda*

- of a law-suit. acc to some 379 , parties were asked to leave court when chief justice and sabhyas were considering the d to be given 379 , precedents employed in arriving at 380 , presumptions as means of 355-356 , should not be arrived at by mere reliance on śāstra or texts but should also be based on reason and equity 259, 357 , usages as means of 260-261 , was based on eight sources 379 , when unjust d. given, one quarter of the sin falls on each out of the litigant, witnesses, judge and king 276
- Decree (see 'brāhmana', 'judgment'), different ways of executing a 383-384 , for satisfaction of a d , a poor debtor (except a brāhmana) was made to work for creditor 384 , when debtor was sent to jail in execution of a 384.
- Defamation, truth of implication in, did not afford protection 512.
- Defendant, cannot raise a counter claim in some cases 302 ; cases in which d. must make a reply at once 296 . characteristics of a good reply of d 300 , fines against d. for not being ready with his defence 296 , not giving a reply even after time is allowed may be declared to be defeated 302 . rules about adjournment granted to 296 , rules about putting under restraint the d 290-291 , rules about summoning a d. 286-287 , was to reply in writing to the plaint 300
- Delay, in the disposal of law suits 296
- Democracies, of Oxydrakoi, Malloi, Siboi and others referred to by Greek writers 90
- Democracy, true, did not exist even in Greece or other countries of the West, 15, 20, 93
- Dependents, what persons are 412.
- Deposit (see under 'fine', 'interest') 454-458 , care required as to a d is same as that in a pledge 456 , differs from pledge or mortgage 455 , duty of person holding a d 456 , if d not returned on demand, loss of it falls on holder who is also liable to be fined 457 , must be returned in same condition and to the depositor himself and not to his co-owner 456 , person accepting a d. is estopped from recognizing the title of any one except the depositor 457 , return of, to whom to be made 456-57 , rules about, extended to other bailments 458-459 , smrtis extol the undertaking to accept a deposit 455
- Deśa, extent of a d varied 138, governor of, was called rāstrapati or rāstriya 138
- Deshmukhi vatan 631
- Deshpande vatan 631
- Deuteronomy 389n
- Devabhūti, a Suṅga king, was killed by his minister 86.
- Devadāsīs, that had stopped temple service, were given work by superintendent of weaving 146.
- Devala, smṛti of 553, 556, 610n, 614, 617, 620, 626, 632n, 644, 649, 650n, 651n, 702, 763, 777, 787, 791, 860, 873, 943, 948-49, 951, 956, 960
- Devapāla, com on Kāthakagrhya 880
- Devāpi, story of 41-42, 608-609
- Devarāta 715.
- Devasvāmin 679, 715, 779.
- Devipurāṇa 181, 234, 910n, 911.
- Dhammapada 185n.
- Dhammathats, Burmese Law books 641n
- Dhanurveda 49, 179, 215.
- Dhanus, as measure of length 500n
- Dharana, a silver coin 122.
- Dhāreśvara, an author on dharmaśāstra 549, 557, 704n, 705 715, 733 , held the view that ownership is known from śāstra alone 549 , held the view that the allotment of a special share to the eldest son was given up by people 628
- Dharma, meaning of, in partition 572

- Dharma, aids to the understanding of 827, d and truth are identical 97, 260, flourished in perfection in *Kṛta* age and declined progressively in the succeeding *yugas* 244, 890-91, idea of, took the place of the conception of *ṛta* 244; instances of the transgression of d. by ancient heroes and sages 845-849, is more powerful than the mightiest 97, observance of, was the great social and political ideal in India 97, parisorad, final authority in matters of 101, sources of 825-827, 863, usages as source of 825-827, 863, was the supreme power in the State and was above the king 241.
- Dharmādhikaranika or—dhikaranio, qualifications of 126.
- Dharmādhyaksa, exercised the same functions as Porohita did in ancient India 126.
- Dharmadvaltanirṇaya 122n, 878, 944n
- Dharmas, differ in different *yugas* 627 628, 869, should not be practised even though sanctioned by śāstra, if condemned by people 628-629, 869.
- Dharmaśāstra, and customs 856ff, illustrations of conflict between Arthaśāstra and D. 9, in case of conflict of D. with practices or secular matters, king to decide acc. to D. 9, relation of, to Arthaśāstra 8-9, 868, was called *smṛti* 10; writers on, had a low estimate of human nature 238, writers on, insisted that Dharma was king of kings 176.
- Dharmasindhu, a work 615, 669, 675, 679, 688-89, 692, 695-97, 739, 759, 877, 930, 940, 945, 947, 954.
- Dharmastha (judge) 273; should possess the qualifications and status of an *amātya* 273.
- Dharmasūtras, authority of 853.
- Dhrtarāstra 10, did not succeed to the kingdom because of blindness 43, 609, performed sacrifices though blind 846, recovered sight for a time through the favour of Vyāsa 847.
- Dice, made of vibhidaka wood 541, playing with, in Rājāsūya sacrifice 541.
- Dicees 60
- Diddā, a notorious Kashmiri queen 40.
- Digests, grouped into classes by provinces 878.
- Dighaṅkāya 135.
- Digvijaya 69: description of 68, of Harsa 229-230, of Ragho 230.
- Dikshut, Mr. Sh. B. 896o, 902, 915.
- Dikshutar, Prof. V R 120, 213, 254o, 407
- Dikṣita, a predecessor of Jīmūtavāhana 715.
- Dināra, of gold, silver and copper 120, 122o, value of 122o, was a synonym of *niska* 121n; was also called *suvarṇa* 121n.
- Diodorus 103.
- Dīpakālikā 247n, 344o, 370, 383n, 540o, 553n, 554n, 575n, 580, 597o, 614n, 764o, 774n, 793, 856n, 882n.
- Dīrghacārāyana 2
- Dīrghatamas, story of 361.
- Discipline (*vinaya*) 51-52; based upon danda 51, is of two kinds 51, to be attempted by giving up six evil tendencies 52
- District, officer over, was helped by a board of advisers 141.
- Divodāsa, given as a son to Vadhryasva 415
- Divorce 537.
- Divya (see under 'ordeals'); definitio of 363.
- Divyatattva of Raghunandana 362-63, 367o, 370n, 378n
- Divyavadāna 102, 116
- Doctrine, of spiritual benefit, acc. to the Dāyabhāga 737-741, of spiritual benefit illustrated by diagrams 744-745; propositions as to d. of spiritual benefit 740-741, unjust to the claims of women as hers 746.
- Document 308-316, can be superseded only by another d. 312, classification of 309, conflict of documents of various grades 313; custody of, to

- be explained 313; executed by ordinary people need not be in correct Sanskrit 309, fabricators of d. deceive women, children and ignorant people 314, genuineness of, how established 314, held invalid when executed by certain persons 312, is an indisputable and superior means of proof 308, 312; latest defects of, must be pointed out by disputant when produced 315, loses validity in certain circumstances 315, marked with royal seal, presumed to be genuine 314, minimum number of witnesses required on 312; oral evidence to contradict a d. not allowed 312, requirements of a valid 311-312, sentence of death for fabricating a private or public d. 315; secondary evidence of the contents of, when allowed 313, when even a voidable d. ceased to be so 315.
- Drama 122n.
- Drapadi, strange explanation of the story of D. being the wife of five brothers 847.
- Dravida, works of authority in D. school of Hindu law 545.
- Dreams, portending good or evil 226.
- Drinking, is worse than sexual vice in the case of a king 233.
- Drona, commander of the Kauravas 79, 204
- Drona (a measure of corn) differed for various purposes 1460
- Dronaparva G, 8, 79, 127, 131, 134-35, 168, 205-6, 208-9, 211, 214, 232, 643n, 845, 898, 904, 914.
- Durga (a fort or capital) 178ff.
- Durgā 368
- Duryodhana 203, 210, perished through concert 52
- Dustaritu, a king, was expelled from his kingdom 26.
- Dūta (ambassador or messenger) 127-129; duties of 128; person of, not to be harmed 127, 129, 209, qualities of 127-128, three kinds of 128; to be distinguished from a spy 129; to be sent after a line of policy is settled 128
- Dvādasha, sacrifice, gave seniority to Indra 41.
- Dvaipāyana 53
- Dvaitācīnaya (same as Dharmadvaitācīnaya) 683, 878.
- Dvārakā 208, 214.
- Dvīpas, seven 134; said to be thirteen and 18 also 134
- Dvyāmsyāyaya, adoption of a boy as 685-687, Ksetraja son was so called by Mit. and some others 659, succession to, by both mothers 723-724.
- Dyūta (gambling) defined 538.
- Eareest, what becomes of, if sale goes off through the fault of the vendor or purchaser 491.
- Easements, as to doors, windows &c. 507
- Easements Act, Indian 507n.
- Edgerton, Prof. 7.
- Education, expense on 164-165.
- Egypt, usury condemned in ancient 425n.
- Ekavṛsa, a hymn 76.
- Ekoddista, a śrāddha 737.
- Elders, rights of e. son or daughter jealously guarded in Vedic age 41, so sometimes got all wealth of his father 41, son was passed over if he suffered from mental or physical defect 43; to pass over the e. son or daughter in marriage or succession was held to be a grave sin 42.
- Elephants, do not figure much in the fighting described in the Mahābhārata 203, if not well trained cause loss of life to their own side 203n, lights to be waved before, at certain times 230, monopoly of kings in 197; superintendence of 149, training and medical treatment of 149, victory depended upon e. in ancient India 203.
- Elphinstone, author of 'History of India' 203n, 397.

- Emperor, distinction between e and king made in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 65, idea of, in the Vedic Literature 64-65, supreme e did not generally hanker after territory so much as after admission of superior prowess 68
- Emperors, long lists of, in the Brāhmaṇas, Mahābhārata and other works 66-67, titles of 69-70
- Enmity, of five kinds 225
- Epigraphia Carnatica 377
- Epigraphia Indica 17, 24, 30, 39-40, 44-5, 49, 66, 69-71, 76n, 105, 113n, 115, 116n, 117, 122n, 124n, 125-26, 135, 138-39, 142-43, 150, 153n, 154-56, 159n, 162, 164, 168, 172, 182, 194-197, 201, 246, 260, 264, 280-81, 283, 308, 315, 366n, 376n, 377n, 393n, 406, 422, 439, 496, 500n, 506, 575n, 724, 848n, 881, 890n, 896n, 898, 905n, 932, 934, 962
- Evidence (see 'means of proof'), circumstantial 356-57, exceptions to the exclusion of hearsay 331, rules about late production of 349-50, taken on commission 331, what is hearsay 330
- Evidence Act (Indian) 313n, 314, 331n, 340n, 341n, 349n, 355n, 457, 656n
- Exceptions, are to be limited to the matters expressly stated and are not to be extended by analogy 672, 796n
- Exchange, if inequitable may be rescinded 493, rules about sales apply to 494.
- Exclusion, both males and females may be liable to e from inheritance 62, grounds of e from inheritance and partition 608-616, Hindu Inheritance Disabilities Removal Act abrogates most grounds of 611, persons liable to e cannot adopt, but may marry 617, persons liable to e. must be maintained 611, 617, sons of persons liable to e take a share if they are free from defects 611, 617, wives and daughters of persons liable to e are entitled to maintenance 617
- Expense on education in the first decades of British rule 165
- Experts, opinions of, to be taken 284.
- Expiation, secret, for grave sins, forbidden in Kali 944-45.
- Ezekiel 425n
- Fa-Hien 50, 91, 183, 390
- Falsehood, penance for telling an allowed f, in a judicial trial 353, when allowed 353-354
- Family, customs of 883.
- Famines, measures to be taken against 163, references to ancient and medieval 163-164
- Fate, cannot accomplish anything without human effort 170
- Father, could once make unequal distribution of estate among sons 623, has the power to separate his sons from himself and from among themselves 592, 622, partition made by f, if unequal could be set aside acc. to medieval works 623, position of, as heir to his deceased son 721-22, some smritis allowed two shares to f. at partition with sons 625.
- Fausbøll 50, 91, 934
- Fees, distribution of, among sacrificial priests 469-470
- Ferries, charges at 193, persons that were given free passes to use 193.
- Fick, 36, 158, 190, 268, 399.
- Fields, duty of owners of, to construct a high paling or hedge 500, meaning of texts that forbid division of 586-587, rules about f taken for cultivation on rent but not cultivated 510
- Figgis, Mr. J. N., author of 'Divine right of kings' 35
- Finder, of lost articles, rules applicable to 462
- Fines (see under 'brāhmaṇa', 'punishment'), against artisans, carpenters, tailors causing unreasonable delay 252, against goldsmiths pur-

- chasing gold from menials or slaves 253, against washermen for neglect washing or disposal of clothes 252, against traders using false weights and measures or adulterating grains, mls etc or raising prices beyond those fixed by officers 352, discrimination in matters of f based on caste ceased to be enforced from about 12th century 512, divergent views about the metal to which they were to be paid 393n, either fixed or variable 393, for giving false evidence 352, for manufacturing counterfeit coins or passing them off 253, for non-appearance in court though summoned and able to come 287, for not returning a deposit when demanded or demanding a deposit when not made 458, for theft 522, had to be paid by parties defeated in suits 382, half of the prescribed f awarded if accused promised not to commit offence again 513, higher f for thieves of higher castes 522, not imposed upon brāhmanas, if they were first offenders and learned and of good family 398n, not to be taken by king from men of lowest castes such as Cāṇḍālas 514, oldest reference to f for assault 515, traced from a lākṣmi to confiscation of all wealth 393, rates of f paid by litigants 382, recovered from those guilty of mahā-pāṭalas were not to be taken by king but were to be offered to Varuna or distributed among learned brāhmanas 407; three kinds of fixed f 393-94, were deemed to be lesser than corporal punishment 394, were to be paid in copper panas, when no metal mentioned 394
- Fire-arms, whether known to ancient India 213-214
- Fleet, Dr 102, 139, 140n, 315, 925n
- Flesh-eating, condemned in Kaṇ 944-45
- Flood, taking of, in the same plate with wife, forbidden 858n
- Forests, superintendence of the produce of 145.
- Fort, arc meant for safety of the king, the people and the treasury 178; kinds of 178-179
- Fraud, vitates all transactions 312n.
- Freedman individual and national, happiness lies in 102, 237
- Gadre, Mr A S 1960
- Gadyānaka, of gold and silver 122n
- Gāḍābhata, officiated at Shivar's coronation 35
- Gains of learning 581n, Āp and Baud say nothing about 581, definition of, acc to Kātyāyana 583, Gautama on 581, law about, now settled by Hindu Gains of Learning Act 585, meaning of the words 10 Yāj 'acquired without detriment to paternal estate' 582, propositions established by case law as to 584, Vasistha gave two shares to the acquirer 581, were partible if learning was acquired at family expense or from the father or elder brother 582
- Gains of Learning Act (Hindu) 674.
- Gambling, 538-542, condemned in Brahmapurāṇa 542, in dispute about, the keeper of game house is the final authority or gamblers appointed by king 540, is one of the main ancient vices 541, Manu's optimistic attitude in 538, special cause of dissensions among saṁ 233, those who engaged in gambling were liable to punishment 540, worst of vices to a king 55 Yājñavalkya, Kautilya and allowed game under restrictions a source of revenue 538-539.
- Gana, meaning of 281
- Ganapati-deva, a Kāṭiṭiya king a charter of security for sail
- Ganarājya (republic) 87, 102
- Seasons are the root of the 87
- Gandhāra, country of 135
- Gandharvaveda 49.

- Ganges, throwing bones of cremated body into 951
- Ganikā, devolution of wealth of 148, duties of 148, qualifications of 148, salary of 148, was a *veśyā* who was honoured for her accomplishments 148n.
- Gargasamhitā 892, 896, 919n
- Garudapurāṇa 13, 160-161, 892, 962.
- Gāthāsaptasatī 154
- Gattulāl, Pandit 825n.
- Gautasūtras, expounder of *rājadharmā* 2, 4.
- Gautama 17n, 553, 557.
- Gautama, *dharmaśāstra* of 3, 19, 21, 23, 25, 36n, 37, 45-6, 49, 56, 59, 66, 97-8, 100, 117, 119, 165, 167, 175, 185, 187, 189, 191, 192, 194, 209, 211, 212, 244-46, 250-51, 270, 272, 275, 284, 296, 307, 317, 320, 327, 330-33, 336, 343-44, 348n, 353, 389, 391-92, 395-97, 401-4, 409, 418-20, 422-23, 425, 428-29, 433, 435, 443, 446, 460, 474n, 482, 484, 494n, 501, 515, 517, 522-23, 527-28, 535, 548, 551, 566-68, 571, 573-74, 578, 581, 585, 588, 589n, 595, 598, 601, 607-10n, 612n, 613, 614-15, 617-18, 625, 627, 644, 646, 648, 649n, 650, 658, 690n, 702-704n, 706, 712, 715, 754n, 762, 765-66, 772, 776n, 781, 789, 793, 808, 815, 819n, 825, 827, 845, 848, 857, 863, 871, 874, 875, 880, 881, 883-84, 889, 932, 940-44, 946-47, 952-55, 958, 965
- Gautamadharmasūtra, specially studied by *Sāmavedins* 853.
- Gayā, tax on performance of *śrāddha* at 198.
- Gāyatrī, a mantra 76
- Geography, *Paurāṇic* 134-135, 935
- Gharpure, Mr J R 197n, 509n, 778, 804n.
- Ghatasphota, for *patita* women 807, for those guilty of high treason 610n, for those guilty of grave sins 615.
- Ghatotkaca 205, 214
- Ghoshal, Dr U, N 16, 32
- Ghoṭakamukha, an author 2.
- Gift, by stunting one's family or servants condemned 472, certain objects cannot be the subject of, because of want of ownership or because of prohibition 471, eight things that cannot be the subject of 471, how acceptance of g may be made 474, ingredients of a 474-475, not delivering what is promised as a g or resuming a g led to other worldly consequences 473, of land looked upon with disfavour in ancient India 496, of only house forbidden 472n, promised to a *brāhmana* or for a religious purpose should be enforced by king and fine awarded 474, promised to an irreligious man need not be carried out 474, resulting from promise of gift of all property when allowed 473, seven kinds of g, that cannot be resumed 472, sixteen kinds of invalid g 472, that may be set aside by donor himself on account of incapacity due to minority, lunacy &c 472-73, what may be subject of 472.
- Gobhila, smṛti of 870, 953, 956.
- Gobhilaḥṛyaśūtra, 940, specially studied by *Sāmavedins* 853.
- Gocarma, a certain extent of land 432
- Gode, Mr P K 849.
- Golaka, a kind of illegitimate son 646n.
- Gold, superintendent of 144-145, value of, in relation to silver 121n.
- Goldstückor, on 'Pāṇini' 306
- Gopa, an officer who looked after five or ten villages and kept a register of the number of cultivators, traders, animals &c 143
- Gopagiri (Gwahor) 159.
- Gopāla, founder of Pāla dynasty in Bengal was elected a king 30, was a *śūdra* 39
- Gopalan, author of 'History of Palavas' 155
- Gopātha *Brāhmana* 135, 565, 888, on coronation 74-75
- Gorer, G on 'Bali and Angkor' 934n.
- Gosava or gomedha 940

Got 285

Gotrajas, as heirs 732-752, are either saplōdas or samāoodakas 752, meaning of, acc to the Mit 748, peculiar meaning ascribed to the word g by Dāyabhāga 741-742, three views as to preference among 750-751, widows of male g as heirs 751-52.

Government, (see under 'king', 'province', 'ruler'), function of, did not end with the keeping of peace and order 59.

Govindarāja, commentator of Mao 730, 875, commentator of Rāmāyana 112, 719

Grāma, meaning of 140n, 153, 182o.

Grāmanī and Grāmalūta, see under 'Headman of village'

Grandmother, paternal, as heir 727-728, 731, when entitled to a share at a partition 607-8

Graot Doffs' 'History of the Marathas' 106, 156, 164.

Grants, mention the exemption from taxation that went with them 195, of land called 'yogaksema' 588n; of land could be made only by the king and not by a district officer 139

Great Bear, constellation of, was supposed to stay in one nakshatra for a hundred years 897

Gṛhastharatōkara 354, 420o, 525o, 614n

Gṛhyasūtras, authority of 853

Groups, committee of two or more were to look after business of 488, conventions of such g as guilds, naigamas, heretics were enforced by king 487, member of g who goes against heads of g was liable to punishment 489, rights and liabilities of members of 488-489; whatever is gained by one or by heads of g or the business of g belongs to 489

Guardiao, duties of quarters 368

Guardian and Wards Act (India) 461.

Gūdhaja son, defined 647, 660.

Gnilds (see under 'groups'), administration and compacts made by 157; eighteen, in Buddhist times 159; had power to condemn those who broke their conventions and to excommunicate them 157, of ksatriyas in Kāmbhoja and Surāstra and of workmen 158; rules about partnership apply to 481, usages and conventions of, were upheld by king in certain circumstances 158, 487.

Gunas, definitions of, 223, proper employment of, leads to peace and exertion 217, six 217, 223, subdivisions of the several 224-225; theory of mandala brought in relation to the doctrine of 222-223.

Gupta dynasty 902.

Gupta Empire, administrative system of 141-142, provincial administration under 150.

Gupta Inscriptions 44, 45, 49, 68, 70, 72, 108, 115, 117, 122o, 124n, 159, 202, 213n, 264, 281, 506, 890, 924n, 925o.

Guru, payment of fees to 958.

Hālāhala, poison drunk by Śiva 372n.

Halāyodha 568o, 588n, 589n, 636, 784n.

Hamlet 296.

Hammurabi, code of 389n

Happiness, individual and national, lies in freedom 102.

Haradatta, commentator of Gaot. Dh. S., Āp Dh S., and Āśv. gr. 48, 60, 98, 121n, 192, 344, 387n, 395n, 419n, 428n, 433o, 460, 527n, 572n, 573-74, 578, 581n, 585n, 595n, 644, 646, 649n, 650o, 702-3, 712, 754n, 790n, 793, 825, 856o, 864n, 879, 880, 942, 953, 955, 957.

Harappa, excavations at 307.

Harbours, charges on ships calling at 193, confiscation when foreign boats are driven in 193, to be guarded by king 193

Harihara 508o.

Hariscandra, prohased Sunhśepa 660,

Hārīta, (versified) smṛti of 150o, 247o, 259o, 263, 276-78, 285, 304, 312,

- 420n, 436, 473, 494, 524, 536, 569, 581n, 651, 652n, 764n, 856, 885, 947.
- Hārīta (prose) 616, 625, 644, 646, 825n.
- Harivamsa 39, 40, 214, 892, 895n
- Harsa, king of Kashmir, plundered many temples 188n.
- Harsa, king of Kānoj 67, 69, consoled by his dying father 63, elected as a king by the people 31; gave all in charity once every five years 164, preparations on *digvijaya* of 229, vast armies of 204.
- Harsacarita 63, 67, 69, 85, 108, 115, 182, 206, 229, 390
- Hart, Dr 295, 407
- Hasta (cubit) measure of various lengths for various purposes 146n
- Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela 49, 60, 66, 69, 94, 135, 162, 172, 195, 246.
- Headman of village, (see under 'village'), came to be appointed by king alone and office of, hereditary 154, could inflict fines 155, food of, forbidden to brāhmanas 154; great influence of 154, had many appellations 154, love adventures of the son of 154.
- Heaven, as the reward for all soldiers killed in battle 57, 58, as the reward for ascetic endowed with yoga 58, as the reward of kings who die fighting 57.
- Hebrew, ancient code 389n
- Heirs (see under inheritance).
- Heirship, principles of spiritual benefit and blood relationship in determining 734-736
- Hemādri 122n, 146n, 154, 610n, 928n, 929, 931n
- Heracles 901-902.
- Herdsmen, duty of 497-498, liabilities of 498-500; not liable in certain cases when cattle stray into a field 500, wages of 498.
- Heretical, sects 834, treatment of, in ancient India 883, words of, not authoritative, even though they agree in some matters with the Veda 834-835, 870-71; usages of, were tolerated by the king up to a certain extent 871, 881-82
- Heretics, are those like the Bauddhas who do not regard the Veda as authoritative 487, conventions of, were to be enforced by king in certain cases 487.
- Hetuvān-nigadādhikarana 676.
- Himālaya, regions of, had immense rainfall 147
- Hindu family, is presumed to be joint in food, worship and estate 638.
- Hindu Gains of Learning Act 585.
- Hindu Heirs Relief Act (Bombay) 445, 453.
- Hindu Inheritance (Disabilities Removal Act) 611
- Hindu Law, codification of 820-824.
- Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment Act) 749.
- Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act 707, 724.
- Hindu Women's Rights to property Act (XVIII of 1937) 604, 700, 752, 806.
- Hiouen Chwang or Tsang 30, 40, 143n, 268, 924n.
- Hiranyakeśin 214, grhyasūtra of 685n.
- Hiring entered into three titles of law 476
- History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. I. 305n, 871
- History of Dharmaśāstra, vol II, 3, 7, 9, 25-26, 28-29, 39, 41, 47n, 49-50, 59, 61, 68, 70-71, 73-75n, 97, 101, 104, 112, 117, 124n, 134, 137, 145n, 146n, 148, 159, 164, 175, 189n, 194, 196, 202, 234, 240, 310, 333n, 334n, 367n, 398n, 401, 402n, 408n, 411, 416, 425n, 453, 471n, 472, 474-75, 481, 483-84, 487, 495-96, 500n, 508n, 517, 534-37, 541, 546, 550n, 564, 588, 599, 603n, 609n, 613, 615, 618n, 624n, 626n, 627n, 641, 643, 653, 659, 661, 675n, 679n, 682n, 687-89n, 703n, 704n, 713, 734, 737, 765, 776n, 806, 807, 824, 828n, 830n, 832,

- 836n, 842n, 844n, 846-48n, 856n, 857n, 858n, 865, 874, 876n, 877, 883, 885, 926n, 931-32, 937-41, 945, 948-50, 952, 958-59, 961-62, 966, 971.
- Hilāikādhikarana 851-52
- Holdsworth, author of 'History of English Law' 296.
- Holikā festival 844n, 851.
- Huplins 126, 173, 180, 190, 213, 229n.
- Horses, countries from which good breeds of h came 149, 206, 232, lights to be waved before 230, sale of, forbidden 848, superintendent of 149.
- House, partition of, not allowed by some writers 586-87.
- Human sacrifice, symbolical 961-62
- Hunting, benefits of 54, defects of 54-55
- Husband (see 'wife'), and wife enjoy together the rewards of religious acts 603n, 738, duties of h and wife 536-537, first duty of h, to keep wife dependent and under control 536, not liable to pay wife's debts except in some cases 451-52, must try to deserve wife's regard and love and must honour her 537.
- Huvika 24, 70
- Hypothecation, without possession 419n, 431.
- Ideal, the great social and political, was the observance of dharma 97, belief in i. perfection in the dim past and the distant future 885-86.
- Illegitimate daughter, of even a śūdra, is not entitled to inherit or to maintenance 602, 810
- Illegitimate son (see under 'maintenance') 601-603; from a dāsī or concubine born to a *dviya* is not entitled to a share on partition or to inherit, but got only maintenance 601, 809, of adulterous intercourse is entitled to maintenance 602n, 609, of śūdra from a brāhmana woman is not entitled to inherit to his father 603, of śūdra from a dāsī may take a share in father's property if the father so chooses 601, rights of a śūdra's i. s. after his father's death 601-602, 809.
- Images, weeping and dancing of, as bad omens 227
- Impalement as punishment for theft of horses and elephants 522.
- Impartible property (vide under 'property') 631, house and land said by some to be impartible 586-587, illustrations of 585-590
- Impotent person, could marry and have a ksetraja son 617n, fourteen kinds of 617n, signs of 617n.
- Incest, sexual intercourse with certain relatives was held to be 533.
- Income-tax levied on interest 192
- Independent, three persons are 1, viz the king, the vedic teacher and the head of the house in his house 413
- India, a certain unity of religious and philosophical doctrines, literary forms and ideals existed in ancient and medieval 136; divided into five parts in Aitareya Brāhmana 135, divided into two parts 135; no sentiment of nationhood in ancient and medieval 136-137.
- Indian Antiquary 102, 138, 140n, 154, 168, 283, 315, 366n, 405n, 890n, 924n
- Indications, eight, of a man's approaching fall 228
- Indra, coronation of, described in Ait. Br 73; festival in honour of 844n, gods are said to have agreed to treat him as the eldest 41, killed *dasyas* and destroyed their cities of *ayās* 180; paramour of Ahalyā 845-846; raising banner of 231, 234, 367n, regarded Maruts as his *sacras* 104, secured his position by energetic action 169, took an oath 359n
- Inheritance (see 'brother, bandhu, daughter, daughter's son, gñtraja, parents, widow'), close connection between 1 and offering of rice balls to the deceased 734, 739, goes to

the nearest sapinda, according to Manu 733, 748, order of, as to be arranged in such a way that the deceased's wealth may conduce to his spiritual benefit acc to *Dāya-bhāga* 738, order of, under *Dāya-bhāga* 739, order of, under *Mitākṣarā* 749, order of, to a soulless man 791ff, sister's son preferred as heir to the man's own son in *Vāhika* country 88n, strangers as taking 1. 762-763, to forest hermit and ascetic 764-765; whoever takes 1 has to pay debts of deceased and offer pinda to him 443.

Interest, at 5 percent allowed after demand on deposit, purchase price &c 458, circumstances under which interest stops running, such as when king dies 425, debtors of all castes may pay 1 acc to rate stipulated 419, four, five or six kods of 418-419, maximum recoverable at one time from a debtor 422, may be either stipulated at time of loan or not so stipulated 419, may be stipulated with reference to article pledged or to whether a surety is given 419-420; none allowed in certain cases 406, rate of, differed acc. to mercantile usage in different countries 421; rate of, varied also according to the nature of the article lent 422-423, rate of, first laid down by *Vasistha* at 1/10th part of principal every month if something be pledged 420, rate of, very high in ancient and medieval India 421-422, rate of allowable 1. laid down by *smṛtis* 420-422, rates of, were two, three, four or five percent per month acc to the varṇa of the debtor 421; starts in certain cases even on articles loaned through friendship 426-27; taking even agreed interest beyond the rates prescribed by *smṛtis* or taking compound interest condemned 420, those taking exorbitant interest condemned to Hell 421, very heavy

interest charged to debtors that carried on trade through forests or across seas 422

Interest Act (Indian) 427o

Interpretation, rules for: of vedic texts 863-64, rules for: of vedic texts have been applied to *smṛti* texts also 864

Invasion, (see 'nirājanā'); ambassador to be sent before starting on 226, auspicious and inauspicious sights before 227; proper time for 207, religious ceremonies to be performed before starting on 226

Irrigation 162-163, *Megasthenes* on Indian 162.

Ishavari Prasad, Prof 684n

Itihāsa, includes both *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra* 10, 51.

Itihāsa-veda, 48

Intoxicants, were altogether forbidden to brāhmanas though not to kṣatriyas 848.

Jābāla Upaniṣad 841.

Jābāli, *smṛti* of 863-64.

Jagannātha, compiler of Sanskrit digest of Hindu Law 688

Jagannath Rao, Mr. N. 903.

Jail, construction of, acc. to *Maou* and *Kantilya* 406, 407, duty of *oṅgaraka* to release on the birth-day of the king or on full moon day prisoners that were young, old or diseased 406, separate accommodation for men and women prisoners in 406, special occasions on which prisoners were discharged from 406, 407

Jaimini (see under *Pūrvaśikṣā*). 20, 38, 72, 121n, 143n, 275, 443n, 470n, 471, 515, 527n, 550, 556n, 579n, 608-9, 622, 637, 654, 676, 677n, 694n, 695n, 704-05o, 719, 722, 725, 731n, 770, 777, 827n, 828, 830n, 832o, 835-837o, 841, 843, 848n, 849-51, 855, 864, 870, 905n, 938, 952, 963.

Jaiminiya-nyāya-māhāvastāra 835.

Jains 698.

Jāmadagōya 53.

- Janamejaya, perished because he attacked brāhmanas through hot temper 52, 53n.
- Janamejaya, king of the Nipās 53
- Jardine, Mr. John author of 'Notes on Buddhist Law' 641n.
- Jarūtha, king of Ayodhyā, was killed by stratagem 85.
- Jātakas 36, 50, 91, 140n, 159, 399.
- Jayābhiseka descriptinn of 227.
- Jayamati, queen of Uccala 80
- Jayapatra (document embodying the judgment of the court) 380, ancient, from Java 381, distinguished from *hinapatraka* 381, distinguished from *bascaitkara* 380.
- Jayaswal, Mr. K. P., 6, 14n, 20, 28, 29, 30, 32, 65, 66n, 73, 80, 90, 93-95, 103, 268, 381, 892, 896, 924n, 925n.
- Jayatsena, king of Kāśī 86
- Jenks, Dr. E., author of 'New Jurisprudence' 266.
- Jews, usury was condemned amongst 425n.
- Jha, Sir Ganganath 850n, 854n
- Jīmūtavāhana 246, 475, 544, 549n, 568, 715, 781.
- Jitendriya, a predecessor of Jīmūtavāhana 636, 769n.
- Jīvanmuktiviveka 882,
- Jñāneśvarī 122n,
- Joint family (see 'property', 'self-acquisition' and 'separate property'), characteristics of, under Dāyabhāga 594-595, inroads on the Mitākṣarā system of 674, is larger than a coparcenary 591, manager of, is called karta in modern times 592; member of, may have separate property of his own 577, Mitākṣarā doctrine of survivorship rights of males in j. f. abrogated by Hindu Women's Rights of Property Act 604-605; modern Courts have allowed individual members of j. f. to alienate for value their interest in the property 593-594; no individual member could sell or give property of j. f. for his own purpose under medieval Hindu Law 593; persons that constitute a Hindu j. f. 590; powers of manager 592, powers of father over property of 593; worship of gods, manes and brāhmanas is single for all members of, when they live together 572
- Jolly, Dr. 122n, 303n, 340n, 379n, 381, 417n, 426n, 443-44, 557, 565, 567, 646n, 648, 665, 688, 717, 727, 772n.
- Jones, Sir William 819, 875, 930n.
- Judge (see under 'courts'); country that has śūdra as j. meets ruin 273, duty of British Indian j. 599, fines and punishments of j. for doing certain things 275, five causes of the charge of partiality in 269, impartiality in, insisted upon in smrtis 273, not to hold conversation in private with any litigant 275, punishment for a j., when threatens, unjustly silences or abuses litigants 255, qualifications of 271, should look into causes of idols, minors, women, brāhmanas even if they did not complain 298; śūdra not to be appointed as 273; was styled prādivāka or dbarmādhyakṣa 272, was to hear a suit again if decision brought about by perjured evidence 353, was to be preferably a brāhmaṇa 272.
- Judgment (see 'law suit'), contents of 380, document embodying j. was called jayapatra 380, exceptions to the finality of the j. of the king's court 385, obtained by fraud or force was to be set aside 385, review of, when allowed 382, 385; should provide for the recovery of interest on the claim decreed and the accretions 383.
- Judicial procedure, appreciation of ancient Indian, by Western jurists 817, smrtis lay down a high level of 268
- Junagadh, inscription of Rudradāman at 30, 89, 105, 117, 185, 890.
- Jurists, ancient Indian j. were considerate as compared with Western ones 547n.

Jury, trial by 284.

Justice (see 'kiog', 'law suit'); administration of, as depicted in Mrcchakatika 279-280, administration of, personified as Dharma 242, administration of, the personal concern of the king 242; court of, had ten *angas* 277-278, court of, was called dharmāsāoa, dharmādhikarana or dharmasthāna 243, 277, court of, was to be to the east of the palace 277, delay in administration of, is denial of justice 297, dharmasāstra rules preferred to arthasāstra rules in administration of 283, distinction between civil and criminal 258, impartial administration of, yields same rewards as Vedic sacrifices 242, king disposed of, not by himself alone but with aid of judges, brāhmanas &c. 268-269, primarily disposed by the king 268, purpose of administration of, is very high viz. the quest of truth 247, qualifications of scribes in a court of 278, seating arrangements for king and others in a court of 278; secular and spiritual consequences of doing, 386, two principles in administration of, are 'fulfil your promise' and 'cause injury to no one' 258, was to be dispensed openly in the court 269

Justitiao 326

Jyotistoma 469, 470n, 833.

Kādambari 24n, 277, 362,

Kadambas 39, 70

Kākavarna, a king 86

Kākinī, was medium for purchasing goods 126n.

Kalaśa, king of Kashmir 184

Kali, meaning of 886-887

Kali age, actions forbidden in 885-968, acceptance of secondary sons (except *dattaka*) forbidden in 599, 653, 659, cups of wine in *Śāstrāmāoī* 1st forbidden in 865, date of the beginning of 896ff, decline of dharma in 891; description of what will happen in

892-894, marriage with women of a different varṇa forbidden in 599, *nyoga* not allowed in 627, 656, sacrifice of *Anubandhyā* cow forbidden in 627, 865, special share to eldest son condemoed in 627

Kālidāsa, 28, 37, 49n, 52, 54, 56, 63, 82, 101-2, 112, 223n, 229n, 230, 243, 269, 407, 702, 896

Kālikāpurāoa 13, 42, 230, 372n, 679, 681n.

Kalivarjya 885ff, chapter of, refutes theory of unchanging East 967.

Kalivarjyavivartinmaya 928n, 929n, 930, 931n, 939, 940n, 942n, 945, 949-50, 953, 963, 966, 968n.

Kalki or Kalki, *avatāra* of, 923-925, identified with Yaśodharman, 924n.

Kalkipurāna, 923, 925.

Kalmāsapāda, story of 359n.

Kalpa, extent of, 891

Kalpataru, a work 156, 575n, 581n, 610n, 651n, 770n, 928n.

Kalyāṇabhatta 288

Kāma, ten vicious tendencies due to 53,

Kāmadhenu, a work 39, 581n

Kamalākara, author of *Nirnayasodhu* and *Vivādatāndava* 246, 692

Kāmandaka, author of *Nitisāra*, 8, 13n, 17n, 18, 19, 21-22, 25-26, 37, 44-46, 48, 49n, 52-55, 58, 83, 84n, 85, 97, 105-107, 109-111, 116-18, 126-29, 131-33, 142, 160, 163n, 170-74, 179, 181, 184, 186-87, 200-202, 208, 212, 216-219, 221, 224-25, 230, 232n, 238-40, 399, 400n.

Kāmasūtra, narrates that *Prajāpati* composed a work in 100000 chapters that was abridged by *Manu*, *Brhaspati* and *Naadi* 4, states that dharma is the highest of the three *purusārthas* and *kāma* the lowest 9, 4, 7, 9, 47n, 53n, 86, 148, 150, 154

Kaoika, mantrio of *Dhrtarāstra* 10.

Kānina, son, despoilment of 647, 660, son, was assigned to the husband of the girl, 652, 660

Kanuka Bhāradvāja 2.

- Kaniska 24, 905n.
 Kantakas, meaning of 162, supported generally by the queen, the Prince, king's favourites 162.
 Kantakaśodhana—see under 'court'.
 Kānva 524
 Kanva, smṛti of 943n.
 Kānvāyanas, successors of the Śungas 39
 Kāpālikaśāstra 48.
 Kapur, Mr., author of a work on 'adoption' 662.
 Karabhāta, a 10000 province 139.
 Karāla, king of Videha 52
 Karandīkar, Mr J S 903, 911, 912, 917-918, 920-21.
 Kārikā, sacrifice for bringing down rain 838
 Karmavipākā, doctrine of 392
 Karna 204, a kṛnina son 660.
 Karnadeva, a Cedi king 126.
 Karnaparva 88n, 127, 205, 208, 209, 214, 216, 917, 918
 Kārsāpana, of silver was in vogue in the South 123, ordinarily means a copper piece used as a coin 121
 Kārūsa, king of, was killed by his own son 85
 Kāśa, king of, was killed by his queen 85
 Kāśikā, cmm on Pāṇini's sūtras 126n, 145n, 156, 359n, 669, 723, 734, 775n
 Kāthāgrhya 879
 Kāthaka Samhitā 64, 564, 868n, 964
 Kātyāyana, sūtra of 692.
 Kātyāyana, author of Arthaśāstra 2.
 Kātyāyana, smṛti of 22, 88, 96, 105, 118, 119, 167-68, 189, 196, 199, 243, 246-47, 251, 258n, 260-263n, 264, 268, 271-76, 277, 281, 283, 286, 288, 291-94, 297-98, 301-06, 308, 310-15, 317, 321-22, 326-28, 330-34, 336-37, 339-44, 346-349, 351-52, 354, 356, 362-67, 380, 382n, 383-85, 387, 394-95, 398n, 403n, 410, 413, 417, 419, 421-23, 426, 427n, 428, 431-445, 447, 448n, 449, 451-53, 455-60, 462-66, 468, 471-74, 479-80, 482-85, 487-89, 491-95, 500-502, 504, 506-511, 513-15, 517-19, 522-25, 529, 532-33, 538-40, 554, 566, 573-75n, 578, 580, 582-85, 589, 592, 609, 617n, 637-38, 640, 643-44, 651n, 670n, 698, 706n, 707, 708, 710, 715, 721, 754n, 763, 772, 774-78, 786, 788, 791, 805, 810n, 817, 862, 868, 881, 882n.
 Kātyāyana, author of Vārtikas on Pāṇini 415, 685n
 Kātyāyana, śrautasūtra of, 470n, 500n, 627n, 662n, 836n, 940, 952.
 Kaunapadanta 83.
 Kaundinya 409.
 Kauravas, army of 204.
 Kauśāmbī, merchant from, went to Ceylon 937.
 Kauśhasūtra 74n, 75n, 77, 361n, 435,
 Kauśitaki Āraṇyaka 641n
 Kausitaki-brāhmana-upanishad 565.
 Kautiliya (see under Arthaśāstra) 5, 6, 27
 Kauṭilya, advises employment of poison, herbs and incantations 12, advises king in difficulties to deprive even temples of their wealth 13, does not advise people to eschew pleasures altogether 240-241, 1, 9, 10, 12, 17-18, 20, 21, 24, 28, 31, 42, 44-48, 50-52, 54-56, 58-61, 66, 69, 83-85, 87-89, 95, 98, 99, 102, 104-109, 111, 112, 114n, 116-121, 123, 124, 127-131, 134, 140, 142, 151-52, 154-55, 160-61, 163, 166-67, 169-71, 174-76, 178, 179, 181, 184-85, 188-89, 191, 193, 195, 203n, 208, 211n, 212, 216-18, 220n, 221-23, 228, 230, 232-33, 239-43, 248, 250, 252, 255, 257-58, 273, 275-77, 282, 284, 293-296, 298, 302, 303, 307, 310, 330, 332-34, 336, 342, 343, 345, 347, 349, 356-57, 380, 391-92, 394, 396, 399, 400, 405-06, 409n, 412, 418-422, 426, 428, 430, 433-34, 440-42, 447, 450-51, 454, 459, 464, 469, 471-72, 476, 478, 481, 489-90, 492, 501, 504, 508, 512-13, 515-17, 519, 525, 527-29, 533-34, 538-39, 566, 573, 589, 598, 608, 616-17, 619, 621, 623, 624, 631, 635, 655, 657, 659, 708, 763,

766, 772, 779, 786-87, 791, 804, 811, 860, 881
 Kantsa 324.
 Kavadi dvīpa, $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakh country 139.
 Kavasa Ailūsa, story of 600n.
 Kāvya, expounder of rājadharmā 2. is said to have abridged the work of Brahmā 4
 Kāvya mīmāṃsā 47n, 66n, 67, 134n, 136.
 Keith, Prof. A. B. 122n, 388.
 Kerala, country of, 261
 Keśavapandita 13, 403.
 Khādīra-grhya-sūtra 692, 940
 Khandadeva 848, 854.
 Khāravela, king of Kalinga 962, accomplishments of 49, followed policy of dāṇḍa, sāmā and sandhi 172, Hāthigumbhā Inscription of, 17, 49, 60, 65, 69, 94, 162, 172, 195, 246, performed Rājasūya sacrifice 70, was crowned king in his 25th year 80, was styled Kalinga-cakravartin 66, was *yuvarāja* for 9 years 116
 Khasa, tribe 861n
 Kicaka, was met by Bhīma dressed as Draupadī 172
 Killing, of animals forbidden for ten years in Kashmir 100
 King (see under 'battle', 'brāhmaṇa', 'coronation', 'ksatriya', 'land', 'rājadharmā', 'ruler', 'taxes'), adhvaryu priest deputized for k when latter engaged in Aśvamedha and got three times his ordinary pay 28, administering justice and punishing the guilty were two among the prime functions of 242, all sons of a k do not succeed to the throne but only the eldest 42, 87, appointed a hierarchy of officers over one village, ten, twenty, 100, villages and so on 141, appointed as many superintendents as were required for several departments of State 142, aspiring to be a *samrāt* (emperor) performed Aśvamedha and Rājasūya 70, authority of, over brāhmaṇas was limited 25, business of, to see that proper weights

and measures are used 166; calamities in a, are six 46; characteristics of an ambitious (*vijigīṣu*) 218, compared to the performer of a sacrifice 61, consultation by, with ministers should be in a secret place 108, consultation by, with three or four mantrins 107, coronation of 72ff, could not be cited as a witness 176, 336, daily routine of 60-61, dependence of, on *sāmvatsara* (astrologer) 126, deposing a bad k, allowed by Mann, Yāj and others 26, described by some works as servant of the people 27-28, 36-37, disputes between parties should not be started by k or his officers 251, duties and responsibilities of, 56-60, duties of are either *drstārtha* or *adṛstārtha* 8, duty of, to donate fields and money to brāhmaṇas acc. to their worth 1, duty of, to guard property of minors, women and helpless people 574, duty of, to prevent danger from thieves in villages and forests 1, 167, duty of, to protect arises from the taking of taxes 39, duty of, to punish those who swerve from the usages of their family, caste, guild or group 881-882, duty of, to save subjects from internal calamities such as famines and floods and epidemics 163, duty of, to see that people act acc. to rules of dharmaśāstra 3, 57, duty of, to support students, learned brāhmaṇas and sacrificers 59, 164, duty of, to tolerate and enforce varying practices of people 861, edicts of, how promulgated 99, education of 46-53, election of 29, eldest son of, generally succeeded 87, enjoined to inflict heavy fines on himself for illegal exactions 97, entitled to take a sixth part not only of laod produce, but of many other things 192, eulogy of the office of 25, faults and vices of, are due to ignorance and lack of training 233, faults to be avoided by 46, five chief duties of

57, foremost duty of, is protection 56, 57, 242, fountain of justice 242, fruits of the policy of 216, functions of, were religious and secular 101, gambling the worst of vices in a 54, generally a man alone became a k. 40, grand policy for a k. is *aviśvāsa* 12, grounds of obligation to obey the 37, had monopoly as to elephants, saffron &c 197; had to provide for *śrāddhas* and concubines of the deceased when he took by escheat 763, harmony between k. and *brāhmanas* 25, has parts of gods in him 23, has no friend 216, high ideal placed before 61-63, 96; hot-tempered k. fell victim to popular fury 98, how k. should deal with his officers 114, how k. should spend first and latter part of day 51, incurred sin, if he did not punish the guilty 2, is the maker of his age 3, 892, is the State, acc. to Kautilya 18, is to look into lawsuits in the 2nd part of the day 95, 242; killing of, when sanctioned by ancient works 26, legislative action of, very limited in ancient times 98, levying an unjust fine was to offer thirty times thereof to Varuna 176, may prohibit export of foodstuffs in a famine 100, may inflict bodily punishment on *cāṇḍālas* and other low people but should not take fines from them 408, may take cognizance of matters called *ehalas*, *aparādhas* of his own motion without anyone's complaint 263-264, measures to be taken by, for safety against his own sons 83, measures to be taken by, for safety against fire and poisons 84, most important of the seven elements of the State 18, necessity to a k. for curbing his senses and not falling a prey to *kāma* and *krodha* 53, necessity of moral discipline in the case of 52, necessity of the office of, emphasized 20-22, not showing himself to litigants suffers like king

Nrga 243, not to run away from battle 57, oppressing subjects is made of parts of *rākṣasas* 25; oppressing subjects may be destroyed by *brāhmanas* 27, orders that could be issued by 98-99, orders on certain matters could not be issued by k. in ancient India 98-99, *patṭa* (tiara) for the k. 82, person abusing the k. had tongue cut off 513, policy of, settled in consultation with ministers may be divulged by birds and dogs 108-109, policy of, should not be known to an outsider 109, 111, procedure followed in issuing orders of 115, public *darbar* of, how arranged 114, punishing those that do not deserve to be punished and not punishing the guilty goes to Hell 242, purposes for which office of k. was created by God 21; qualities of a good k., 44-45, qualities of a k. are 36 acc. to *Sāntiparva* 45, qualities of a k. are 96 acc. to *Parasūramapratāpa* 46; reasons for raising the k. to the position of a divinity 27, responsibilities of 161-168, right of, to mines and minerals 196, shared in the spiritual merit and demerit of his subjects 37, 195, should consult *purohita* after consulting ministers 110, should honour and protect chaste women 59, should listen to the recital of *Itihāsa* 10, should maintain *ksatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* that cannot maintain themselves 59, should not make litigants wait long 243, should perform two *lakṣa-homas* every year 228, should possess characteristics of certain gods 23, should save a portion of his yearly revenue 228, sometimes selected a younger son to succeed him 44, sources from which law was to be found by 100, stages in the education of 51, three greatest qualities in a k. are liberality, truthfulness and valour 46, throne of 82,

that takes taxes without giving protection goes to Hell 191, to avoid gambling and hunting 55, to celebrate festivals in honour of certain deities 234, to decide acc. to dharma in case of conflict between dharmasāstra and practices 9, to found a district of villages on old sites or on new only 134, to guard his finances with great effort 184, to help agriculturists in various ways 191, to learn every night from his spies the intentions and actions of his enemies, officers and subjects 129, undergoes a ceremonial bath before invasion 227; views on the *vidyās* essential for the education of 48, *vyasanās* of 232-233; was to appoint chief justice and *sabhyas* 271, was to be like a father to his people 62; was to decide acc. to rules of dharmasāstra and *nsages* 270; was to look personally into income and expenditure 184; was to punish castes and guilds that swerve from their dharma 238, was to punish even the highest functionaries if they go wrong 120; was to protect and guard all minors, helpless men and women 665-666; was to show himself to all people every day 61, was to support the aged, the blind, the cripple, widows, orphans and pregnant women 59; was to uphold the dharmas of families, castes, guilds and even heretical sects that were not opposed to the Veda 158, 238; who should be 37-38.

Kingdom (see under State); description of a flourishing 177.

Kings, abdicated in favour of their sons and became hermits 101-102, assumed other names after coronation 82, checks that regulated and mitigated the absolute power of 96-97, 176, examples of k. killed by their subjects 52, examples of k. that suffered from some failing or other 53; historic examples of the election

of k. 30-31, ideal of *viyāṅṣu* placed before 218, many k. are mentioned in the Rgveda 63; most harmful vices of 53-54, of three grades 70, persons of all varnas became 38, privileges of 175, relative harmfulness of different vices of 53-54, rise and fall of, depends on planets 126, seven principal vices of 54, should take care against treachery from ministers and officials 85, six evil tendencies of 52-53; stories of k. killed for their tyranny 26; stones of k. that perished through lack of *vinaya* 52, 53a, that met death in their queen's chambers 85; that met death or misfortunes through their carelessness or the stratagems of those around them 86, vices of kings 53-54, warned against being poisoned 83, will be mostly *śūdras* in the Kali age acc. to the Purāṇas 40.

Kingship (see under 'monarchy'), germs of several theories about 28ff, germs of the theory of divine right of, go back to the Rgveda 32, germs of the theory of divine right found in the Bible 36, glorification of 24, glorification of k. did not result in the view that every king, however bad, was a divinity 25, ideal of k. was to be a *rājarsi* 52, propositions involved in the full-fledged theory of the divine right of 35, symbols of 82; theory of divine origin of 23, 26, 32-33, 35-36, theory of divine origin of, supported on the ground of the doctrine of *karma* 27, theory of divine origin of, applies only to the supreme ruler (*mahārāja*) 25

Kiṅṣalka 2.

Kirātās, dwelt to the east of Bharata-
varṣa 67

Kirātārjunīya 8.

Kollam era, in Malabar 901.

Komatus 252n.

Kookana, province of 900 villages 139.

- Korkunov's 'General theory of law' 200, 93.
- Kośa (see treasury), is the root of the tree of State 184.
- Kośa, ordeal of 373, 637, prescribed 10 charges of concealment of joint property by one cosharer 637.
- Kotibhoma 228.
- Kottapāla, an officer 168.
- Kottarāja, an Ābhira king 86.
- Krato, a smṛti writer, 928
- Kratavārtha rules 609.
- Kṛta, soo, defined 648, 660-61.
- Krodha, vicious tendencies due to 53.
- Kṛṣṇa, death of, started Kaliyuga 896, drank wine 846, had spies in the army of Duryodhana 131, married his own maternal uncle's daughter 846, presided over the sangha of the Vṛṣṇis 88, tried the several upāyas in the case of Kaoravas 173, went as envoy of the Pāṇdavas to the Kaurava court 226.
- Kṛṣṇabhāṭṭa, 938, 948, 960, 966.
- Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, author of 18 Purāṇas 872
- Kṛṣṇa 121, 125n.
- Kṛta or Kṛtṛma (see under 'son') 647, 660, distinguished from *dattaka* soo 660, soo, now prevalent only in Mithilā and among Namhudi brāhmanas 660
- Kṛta age, belief in, was probably depicted to induce men to rise morally higher 244; dharma flourished to full perfection to 244, had no king and no punishment 4, 33, 244, ideal description of, is sometimes associated with the picture of anarchy 244.
- Kṛtyakalpataṛu (see Kalpataṛu), a work 13, 301n.
- Kṛtyaratoḥlāra 873n
- Kṣapaakas, held Veda unauthoritative 871
- Kṣatṛavarmao, a Maukharī king killed by hards 86.
- Kṣatriya, corporations of, 10 Kām-bhoja and Surāstra practised both husbandry and profession of arms 89; duty of, to fight without regard for gain or loss 57, existence of k in Kali age denied by some works 873; highest ideal of, is to die on the battlefield 57, most proper person to be king 37, not to drink wine prepared from flour 848.
- Kṣetrajña soo, definition of 647, 659; common among ksatriyas 659, was called Dvyaṁuṣyāyana by the Mit. 659.
- Kṣīrasvāmin, com. of Amarakośa 48, 66, 117o, 134, 140o, 147o, 163o, 454, 491o, 754n
- Kula, of laod, meaning of 142, 150o.
- Kullūka, commentator of Manusmṛti 39, 132o, 142, 150n, 178, 191-92, 220, 247-48, 251n, 272o, 280, 322, 383, 406, 421o, 429, 439n, 465, 470n, 523, 572, 582o, 587, 590, 653n, 675, 703o, 706o, 714, 720, 730, 733, 759, 774n, 788, 789n, 825n, 833n, 837, 840o, 868o, 874, 945n, 951n.
- Kumārāmāya, meaning of 117
- Kumārāsambhava 229o, 907o, 916.
- Kumārila (see under 'Tantravārtika'); 38, 705o, 829-31, 833-34, 838-39, 841n, 846, 848, 850, 855.
- Kunda, a kind of illegitimate son 646o
- Knodamālā, a play 277n.
- Kūmapurāṇa 857, 875, 892.
- Kurukṣetra, brāhmaṇas residing 10, glorified by Maou, Vasiṣṭha and others 137, land of K., Matsyas, Pāñcālas was called 'chosen country' 134
- Kūsmāṇḍa, mantras called 353
- Laghu-Āśvalāyana, smṛti of 646n, 927.
- Laghu-Hārīta 701o
- Laghu-Viṣṇu 764o.
- Laghu-Vyāsa 872n.
- Lakṣaḥoma 228.
- Lalitāditya, political will of 817
- Lalitavistara 308
- Land (see under 'grat'); gift of, may be made to higher officers, but without power to sell or mortgage 152, gift of, should not be made by king as emolument to any servant 152;

- lessee building on another's l. has to remove building when he vacates 480; of brāhmana not allowed to be taken by *cānāla*, *patita* &c. 496, portion of l., set apart for pastures 499-500, sales of, revenue officers were consulted in 142, 497, share of king in produce of 191, six causes of disputes about 502, theory of king's ownership of all l. 189, 196, 495-496, trespasser building on l. of another without paying rent had to leave materials to owner when vacating 480-481.
- Land grants, were written on cloth or engraved on copperplates 307-308.
- Land Revenue Code (Bombay Act V of 1879) 196, 441.
- Lankā, description of 180, 214.
- Lanman, Dr. 770.
- Laski, Prof. H., author of 'Grammar of Politics' 137.
- Langāksi 588n, 692, 864, 961n.
- Lavana, a demon 203.
- Lavanaprasāda, a Vāghela king abdicated in favour of his son Viradhavala 102, made a treaty with Yādava king Singhana 225.
- Law, Dr N. N. 14n, 67, 222.
- Law, equality of all people before 819, differential treatment before l. allowed only in exceptional cases and had gone out of vogue at least from 12th century 398n, favours minors 328, rule of, was the ideal of smṛtis 398n, 519, helps the vigilant 465o, sources from which the king was to find the l. 100, taking the l. into one's own hands punishable 388, 408, two schools of Hindu 544.
- Law Quarterly Review 559, 560
- Laws, classification of, in modern works 266-267, affecting Hindu ideas and practices 821, conflict between śāstric l. and usages 283.
- Law-suits, adjournment of 296, are either *sapana* or *āpana* 263, between husband and wife, father and son, teacher and pupil, master and servant, discouraged 299, compromise of 303-304, death of parties to 302, delay in disposal of, not allowed in ancient India 296, may be decided by courts of several grades 280, of two kinds, according as they originate in wealth or injury 258, place of inference and presumption in the decision of 355, retrial of 385, stages in 297-298, third stage in, is adducing evidence 304, transfer of, from one judge to another 386
- Lawyers, existence of, in ancient India 288-290
- Lea, author of 'Superstition and Force' 405n.
- Lead, was supposed to destroy sorcerers 213.
- Legal Procedure, four stages of 297-298, purpose of, is very high, viz. quest of truth 247.
- Legge 183, 390.
- Lekhapāñcāśikā 225.
- Levi, M. Sylvain 934n.
- Leviticus 389n, 425o.
- Lex Talionis 388-389.
- Licchavis, Vesālī was capital of 90.
- Līlāvati, a work 122n, 145n, 370n, 898
- Limitation, for claiming share when cosharer absent 635, law of, in ancient smṛtis 408-410, law of, plays very small part in ancient smṛtis 408, none applicable to pledges, deposits and property of minors, idiots, the State, women and learned brāhmanas 409, periods of, laid-down by smṛtis only in a few cases 409-410, very short periods of, prescribed by Mārici in some cases 409.
- Limitation Act (Indian) 325, 326, 328n, 635n.
- Lingapurāṇa 40, 227, 892.
- Liquor, superintendent of 147.
- Litigant, grounds on which l. became a losing party 303.
- Livelihood, means of 560n.

- Loan should not be given to minors, slaves, women 413, time when it has to be returned 425.
- Local administration 153-159.
- Lohābhāra, meaning of 910-911.
- Lokāyata, meaning of 46-47; views ascribed to 47n.
- Lost property, owner of, has to prove title, possession and that he had not abandoned, mortgaged or sold it 464; rights of owner of 465; rules about 175-76, 464.
- Low castes, eighteen, that were beyond the pale of the four varnas 285.
- Lummini, village was exempted by Aśoka from the payment of *baṭi* tax 190.
- MacCrindle 89, 103, 115, 162-63, 183, 204, 308, 901.
- Machiavelli 10, holds that all men are naturally wicked 238n.
- Madanapāla, patron of the writer of *Madanapārijāta* 793.
- Madanapārijāta 569, 571, 581n, 587, 607n, 616n, 621n, 623, 656n, 659, 660n, 715n, 719, 721, 729n, 730-31, 750n, 755n, 781, 790n, 793, 870, 884, 928n, 929, 948, 960, 966, differs from *Suhodhinī* 793.
- Madanaratna (on *vyavahāra*) 247n, 286, 299n, 330n, 333n, 334n, 344, 350n, 354n, 355n, 372n, 379n, 382n, 383n, 417n, 427, 464, 501, 505n, 507n, 512, 517n, 518n, 532, 536n, 545-46, 548n, 549n, 550n, 552, 553n, 555, 568n, 569, 571n, 572n, 599, 603, 605, 610n, 620, 623, 625n, 628n, 629n, 651n, 656n, 709n, 721, 729n, 733n, 764, 777n, 779, 793n, 797n, 861, 928n, 929n, 930.
- Mādhava 120, 713.
- Madhuchandas, son of Viśvāmītra 663
- Madhnaparka, to whom offered 940, 945.
- Madras (see *Dravida*), School of Hindu Law 545.
- Madras Debt Conciliation Act 425.
- Madya, meaning of 965; rules about drinking of 965-66; ten kinds of 965, touch of, forbidden to brāhmanas 965
- Māgha, author of *Sisūpalavāda* 313n.
- Mahābhārata 2-4, 10, 18, 21, 28, 33, 53, 61, 68, 78, 87, 101, 103, 127, 134, 152, 161, 168, 170-71, 180, 203, 206, 208, 213-16, 226, 243, 353, 542, 609, 644, 708, 819n, 853, 860, 885, 888, 904-921, astronomical data in 904-921, Machiavellian advice in 10-11, purpose of the composition of 872, *Sāntiparva* of, deals with *rājadharmā* at length 2.
- Mahābhārata war, date of 902ff.
- Mahābhāṣya 38n, 46n, 88, 104, 135, 140n, 141n, 144n, 161, 183, 190, 487, 499n, 541n, 550n.
- Mahāksatrapa 49.
- Mahāmātras, are officers mentioned in Aśoka's edicts 112
- Mahānandin, a king of the Śaśunāga dynasty 899.
- Mahāpadma (Nanda), 899.
- Mahāparinibbānasutta 90, 91.
- Mahāvīrānātantra 559, 560
- Mahāprasthāna, meaning of, 939
- Mahārāstra, works of M. school of Hindu Law 545.
- Mahāsthāna (ancient Pundravāpura) 164.
- Mahāvagga 66, 90, 246.
- Mahāvastu 91.
- Mahendra, as suveror of *rājasthāna* 2, Indra became M. after slaying *Yrtra* 65.
- Maiden, became *putrikā*, according to some, merely by father's unexpressed intention 658; brotherless m. came back to her father's house after marriage acc. to the *Rgveda* 658; marriage of brotherless m. was difficult in Vedic age 658
- Maine, Sir Henry, on 'Early History of Institutions' 15; on 'Ancient Law' 387.
- Maintenance, debts of a man take precedence over his wife's or widow's right of 816; effect of uochastity on right to 806-808; liability of manager

- of joint family as to 804-805, *patita* and his son not entitled to 805, persons excluded from inheritance or partition are entitled to 611, 805, persons that are entitled to m. even when a man has no property 803-804, right of concubine to 810-815; son of a *dvija* from a *śūdra* concubine entitled to 808-809, sons of *pratiroma* unions were entitled to 618, 808; two grounds on which liability to provide m. arises 803.
- Maitrāyaṇīyaparīśiṣṭa 653.
- Maitri Upaniṣad 66.
- Majority Act (Indian) 574, 667, 674, 699n.
- Majority, age of, was sixteen, acc. to Nārada 395n
- Majumdar, Dr. R. C. 82, 158, 159, 641, 934n.
- Māmalāsātattva 870n.
- Mālavas, oligarchy of 68, were defeated by Samudragupta 89.
- Mālavikāgnimitra 70, 102, 109, 116, 269, 407.
- Mallinātha 49n, 229n, 252n.
- Mammālāhāra, modern Māval in Panna District 139
- Māmsātattvavivēka of Viśvanātha 928n, 946.
- Mānasollāsa (same as Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi) 13, 19, 21, 44, 46, 54, 106, 107, 109, 111, 118, 127, 133, 141, 174, 179, 188, 191, 192, 197-98, 200-201, 203n, 206, 208, 212, 224, 227, 242, 250, 251, 271-72, 400, 541, 881
- Mānavagrhyasūtra 641n, 856
- Mānavas, school of, on Arthasāstrā 2, 48, 106
- Mandala (meaning 'country'), extent of 138-139
- Mandala (interstate relations) 217, different views concerning the number of elements that go to make up 221, four categories that are the basis of the theory of 220, theory of 217-222, theory of, is related the theory of *śakṛts* and the six *gunas* 222.
- theory of, is set out in relation to an amhituus king 218, the element of truth in theory of 222, to keep balance of power among several States was the central idea of the theory of 222.
- Māndavya, story of 255n, though not a thief said through fear of torture that he was a thief 255, 357, 521
- Mandik 197n, 677n
- Maṇimekhalai, a work 164
- Mantra, has five elements 111, is the root of victory 111.
- Mantrasakti 171.
- Mantra (see under minister).
- Mann, composed science of Artha 6, Prācetasā, an expounder of *rāja-śāstra*, 2, 4.
- Mann, Vaivasvata was made king by Brahmā 34, Vaivasvata was made king by the people 21, 31, 52.
- Mann, divided his wealth among his sons 543, 622.
- Manusmṛti is authoritative for all people 853, pre-eminent position of 868.
- Manusmṛti 6-9, 17-23, 25-27, 32, 36, 38, 49, 42-44, 48, 51-54, 56-61, 71, 80, 83, 85, 95-98, 100, 102, 104-109, 115, 118-121, 123, 127-129n, 132-34, 137, 141-42, 146n, 150, 154, 158, 161, 165-67, 170-72, 175-76, 178, 179, 181, 184-86, 190-92, 194-96, 199, 205, 208-12, 216, 217, 221-22, 224, 228, 237, 242-45, 247-48, 251, 257, 261, 268, 270-74, 276-77, 280, 284-85, 295-96, 298-299, 303, 307, 312n, 315, 317, 320, 326-27, 330-34, 336-37, 342-44, 347, 351, 353, 355, 358-61, 363, 369n, 382, 384-87, 389-393n, 394-398n, 400-409, 412, 418, 420-23, 428-29, 437-439n, 440, 443, 447, 449n, 451-458, 460, 462-64, 469, 471n, 472, 478, 484, 486, 489, 491-92, 498-509, 511n, 512, 514-528, 532n-38, 548, 550n, 551-53, 555-56, 558, 563, 566, 570-72, 574, 576-580, 582, 584, 586n, 589n, 595-599, 601, 602n, 605n, 606, 610-11.

- 613, 615, 617-19, 621, 623-24, 626-28, 630, 634-36, 640-642, 644-46, 648n-655, 657-58, 660, 663-64, 666, 672, 675, 677-78, 686, 690, 691n-92, 694-95, 699n, 700, 702, 703n, 706, 710n, 712, 714, 718-21, 725, 727, 731, 733, 734, 736, 741, 743, 746-49, 752, 753n, 754n, 759, 762-764n, 766, 769-71, 773, 776n, 777-79, 787-90, 792n, 794, 797, 803-808, 814-15, 825n-27, 833n, 837, 839, 841, 848, 851n, 852, 854, 856, 857, 858n, 859-862, 863-64, 865-66, 868-871, 873-877, 879, 881, 883, 885, 887n, 890-92, 927, 931-34, 937-39, 941-43, 945n, 947, 952-5, 958-60, 963-965.
- Manvaotaras, extent of 891.
- Marici, smṛti of 306, 326, 409, 465.
- Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 3, 13, 24, 53, 62, 134-35, 137, 170, 237, 239, 255n, 534, 747, 857, 890.
- Marriage, customs as to 879-880; son of *anuloma* m held to be aurasa by the Mitākṣarā 656, with brotherless maiden disapproved of in the Rgveda and in some smṛtis 658, with girl who is a sapinda, sagotra or sapra-vara is void, acc to Mit. 837-38, with maternal uncle's daughter 876-77, 932, with paternal aunt's daughter 932.
- Marshall, Sir John, author of 'Mohcnjo-daro' 180.
- Marumakkatayam Law 560.
- Maruts, seven 358.
- Māsa, equal to 16th or 20th part of pana 121n, 420n, of silver was equal to 2 rakṭikās 121n, 420n
- Maskara, a commentator of Gautama Dh S. 121n.
- Master and servant (see under 'herdsman') 476-484, carter required of servaot as to otcosids of m. 477, liability of m for improper acts of servant 481, 484, liable to fine if he does not pay servant's wages 478, liable to fine if he abandons a servant that is tired or ill on a journey 480, provisions for servaot's falling ill after undertaking some work for m. 478; servant not doing work after receiving wages was liable to fine and to compensate m 477-478, time when wages may be paid 476, what was to be paid to s when no wages settled beforehand 476-77.
- Mātridatta 685n
- Matsyapurāṇa 3, 9, 13, 17n, 18n, 22-24, 30, 40, 51-53, 59-60, 67, 83, 84, 86, 104, 105, 108, 112n, 117, 126n, 127, 133, 135, 160-61, 170, 172, 174, 175, 179, 181, 190, 226-27, 315, 355, 385, 389n, 401, 403, 406, 474n, 478, 481, 500, 508-509, 512, 521, 524, 528, 533-34, 642, 741, 890, 892, 895n, 896n, 897n, 899-900, 902, 905n, 923-24, 932, 956.
- Mattavilāsa-prahasana 276.
- Mauryas, conferred a boon on traders that for certain offences they were not to be sentenced to death 390, founded images for public worship for the sake of wealth 124n, 188n.
- Mausalaparva 897.
- Mavjee and Parasnis 377.
- Maxim, about the respective scopes of rule and exception 796n; caveat emptor 492; circumstances cannot lie 357, conventional sense to be preferred to etymological sense 780n; de minimis non curat lex 300, omnia praesumuntur contra spoliatorem 305, 348n; of bhūta-bhavyasamuccāraṇa 695, of brāhmaṇa and śramaṇa 38; of crow's eye 841n, of *ekavākyatā* 443, of 'dvayoh pranayanti' 704-705; of *gobāṭivardā* 147n, 355, 526, 732; of mātṣyanyāya 21, 238; of reconciliation of apparently conflicting texts 322, of same word not to be used in a literal and a secondary sense in the same sentence or context 725n, of sarvośākhāpratyaaya 870, of nninvited persons being placed at the end of a row 718-719, 731; what is not dissented from may be taken as approved 669.

MaxMüller 16, 306, 933n.

Maya, on the constituents of Mandala 221.

Māyā (an *uṣāya*), illustrations of 172.
Mayamata, a work on Vātanśāstra 182n
Mayne, on 'Hindu Law' 660, 757n.

Mayūkhamālikā, com on Śāstradīpikā 828n, 833n, 836n, 844n

Measures, differed in different countries and at different times 146n, 500n

Medhātithi, com. of Manuśmṛti, 7-8, 20, 25n, 37-40, 58n, 59, 85, 95, 98, 100, 107, 129n, 150, 162, 165-66, 170, 176, 178, 192, 196, 210, 222, 242, 248, 280, 295, 322, 325, 330, 337n, 338, 344, 363, 383, 390, 392n, 398n, 406, 429, 443n, 464n, 469, 471n, 486, 488, 518, 550n, 557, 586n, 598, 605n, 619, 627, 653, 654n, 658n, 675, 706, 714, 718, 720, 734n, 764n, 771, 777, 779, 788n, 803, 828, 830n, 831, 851n, 852, 854, 857n, 859, 860n, 863, 865, 868n, 870-72, 874, 875, 892, 927, 937, 942n, 958n
Megasthenes (on India in MacCrimmon's work) 115, 162-63, 180, 183, 192, 197, 203-04, 206, 210, 243, 308, 390, 403, 418, 901.

Mehta, Mr. R. N. 31.

Mihirakula, a ruthless Hūna invader, 924n, conquered by Yasodharman 925n.

Milinda, questions of 289-90,

Mīmāṃsā, (see under Jaimini and Pūrvaṃmīmāṃsā) 550, 694, 704, 725, is concerned with the investigation of dharma 838.

Mīmāṃsākanustubha, a work 847n, 851n, 854n.

Minakshi, Dr 31, 82.

Mines, everything dug up from, belongs to king 144, 196; king was to guard all 196-197, superintendent of 196.

Ministers, change of portfolios among 114, council of 107, duty of, to prevent king from following evil course 109; eight, appointed by Shrivaji 106; faults that disqualify persons from being 107; matters in

which m should be consulted 110; necessity of 104; number of, varied 106; of two classes, advisory and executive 105; often rose from low birth 116, opinions of absent th. to be secured in writing 109, qualifications of 107-108; second out of seven elements of *rājya* 104, to be chosen from the three higher varnas 108, to be hereditary, if ability exists 108, view of the majority of, to prevail 109.

Minor, age up to which a person was deemed to be 573-74; person undertaking to be guardian of, has to take as much care of property of m as of his own 460, property of, to be guarded by king 165

Minority, age of, determined by old Hindu Law even now in marriage, dower, divorce, and adoption 574; terminated after 15 or 16, acc. to different authorities 164, 573-74.

Mint, superintendent of 144.

Misra, author of Vivādacandra 246.

Mischief, to property punished with fines 516

Mitākṣarā, is predominant in the whole of India except in Bengal 544, school of, divided into four sub-schools 544-545; theory of Buddhist influence on, examined 640-641, variance between the doctrines of the Dāyabhāga and the Mit 558-559; view of, that ownership arises in the son and grandson by birth 546-557.

Mitākṣarā, com on Yājñavalkyasmṛti, 7-8, 10, 44, 48, 119, 120n, 121, 123, 124n, 128, 129n, 132n, 139, 160, 167, 173, 175-76, 195, 209, 219-220, 223, 242, 247, 248n, 251n, 260n, 261, 263n, 268, 271n, 272n, 273n, 274, 280, 286, 287n, 291-93, 299, 300n, 301-02, 304-06, 309-11, 314-15, 318-19, 321, 323, 325, 328, 334n, 338n, 339-41n, 342, 344n, 346-50, 352, 358, 360n, 363n, 364n, 365, 366n, 368, 372n,

- 373, 380-81, 383, 385, 394-95, 397, 402o, 408, 410n, 424, 426-429n, 430, 432, 435-437o, 438n, 439n, 442n, 443n, 444, 447o, 448o, 459o, 462n, 463n, 464, 470o, 471o, 482o, 487-89, 491n, 494n, 495, 497, 499n, 500o, 501n, 502n, 504, 506, 513-15, 517-18, 521, 523n, 524, 525n, 531, 545-46, 548-50n, 551, 553, 554o, 556-57, 560-63, 567, 569-70, 573, 575n, 576-77, 579, 581n, 583n, 585-88, 592n, 593, 595n, 596, 601, 603, 605, 609, 610n, 612, 613o, 614, 616n, 617, 619, 622-23, 627, 629-30, 634n, 635n, 637, 639-41, 647n, 650n, 651n, 653, 654n, 656, 659-60, 664, 677-78, 685n, 690o, 701-703o, 704n, 706, 707n, 708, 711, 714n, 715, 718-19, 721, 725, 727, 731-32, 734, 737n, 748, 742, 743, 747-48, 750-53, 755, 760, 762-68, 771n, 773, 774n, 775, 776n, 780, 785n, 787, 790n, 792-94, 795o, 801, 803, 807, 809, 811, 813-15, 823, 827o, 828, 857n, 863-64, 866, 868-870, 874, 878, 882, 931, 933, 941-43, 947-48, 951, 955, 958n, 959, 961, 965, 970
- Mitramisra, com. of Yājñavalkya 864n, 867n, 873, 881.
- Micccas, came to see Yoddhisthira's Rājāsūya 937; dwelt on all borders of Bharatavarsha 67, paid tribute to Bhima 232; sprang from Anu, son of Yayāti 937.
- Moheojodaro, excavations at 180, 307; walls found at, were built with burnt bricks 180
- Monarchy, did not descend to eldest son, if he suffered from defects 43; hereditary m. was the norm of government in ancient and medieval India 87, 235, order of succession to 42-43, was generally hereditary and descended by the rule of primogeniture 41-42.
- Moocy-jodung (see 'interest'); called *kusida* and *vārdhuṣa* 417; was not condemned when interest was charged at 8th of the principal per month 418.
- Moopoly, of kongs as to elephants, saffron &c 197
- Month, whether it ended with Full Moon or Amāvāsyā 906.
- Mootrion, W. A. on 'The Hindu will in Bengal' 818n.
- Morals, theory of progressive deterioration in 886.
- Mortgage (see under 'pledge', 'transaction'), creditor fined as a thief if he did not allow redemption, when debtor has the right and is ready to redeem 433; particulars such as boundaries must be given in deed of 431; redemption of, on the death or in the absence of mortgagee 435; submortgage, not allowed by some 429; when executor of m. may lose his ownership 433-34; when holder of m. can sell property for recovery of dues either privately or through court 434; when redemption of, can be secured 433-34.
- Mother, cannot be legally abandoned by son, though she be *patita* 613n, 804, 948; divergent views about the right of m. to a share on partition 605-606; does not include step-mother in the matter of inheritance 724; entitled to a share when her sons or stepsons come to a partition but she cannot compel partition 605; inheriting to her son takes a limited estate 723; Madras High Court does not allow a share to a m. on partition 606; preferred to the father as an heir to her deceased son by the Mit. and some other works 721-22
- Mṛccbakatika 121n, 255o, 271, 275, 277, 279, 290, 293n, 344-45, 357, 362, 389, 391, 399, 407, 456
- Mṛttikāvati 108.
- Mobūrtas, fifteen of the day and 15 of the night 907n.
- Mūla, *śānti* for birth on 966.
- Molla, Sir D. F. on 'Hindu Law' 660.
- Muṇḍakopaniṣad 888.

- Musicians, and actors were not to take excessive gifts or indulge in extravagant praise of patrons 253.
- Nābhānedīstha, story of 543, 545.
- Nāgaraka, duties of 149, 406
- Nāgasena 108.
- Nahusa 52-53, 55, 845.
- Nāgama, meaning of 487.
- Nākins, adoption of girls by 972.
- Nala 53, 55.
- Nambudri brāhmanas 657.
- Nanabhai Haridas, Mr. Justice 591n.
- Nana Phadnis 386.
- Nanaghat Inscription 66.
- Nānaka, 121n.
- Nandana, com of Manusmṛti 587, 774n, 875.
- Nanda Pandita 192, 403, 684, 717, 727, 735.
- Nandas, Mahāpadma, the first of 900; one of, was killed by Cānakya 86.
- Nārada, author of work on politics 70.
- Nārada, is a thoroughgoing advocate of the theory of divine right of kings 35-36.
- Nārāḍa, smṛti of, 3, 9, 17, 23, 27, 32, 35, 57, 95, 98, 121n, 123, 146n, 158, 159n, 166-67, 187, 189, 195, 206, 242-46, 248, 250, 257, 259, 260n, 262-64, 269-76, 278, 279n, 280, 286-288n, 289n, 291-94, 296, 299-305n, 306, 308, 309-15, 317-18, 320, 322, 327, 330-334, 337-39, 342n, 343, 346-350n, 351, 354, 356-59, 362-68, 370, 372n, 373-74, 376n, 379-80, 382-83, 385-86, 388-89, 394-96, 402-404, 408-409, 413, 416-18, 420-22, 425-28, 431, 433, 434n, 435-36, 438, 440, 442-43, 445, 446n, 447, 449n-52, 454-58, 460, 462-63, 466-67, 469, 471-72, 474, 476-92, 497-502, 504-505, 507, 509-16, 519-26, 528, 533-36, 538-40, 545, 552, 555-56, 567-69, 572-73, 577n, 580, 582, 584, 590, 592, 595, 598, 605, 610-11, 617n, 621, 623-25, 634n, 638, 640, 643-44, 650-652n, 660, 663, 665n, 703n, 706, 709, 714, 747, 749, 762, 773, 790, 803n, 804, 810, 816, 867, 868, 882-83, 885, 932, 934, 936, 952.
- Nārādīya-purāṇa 656n, 892, 895n, 928, 939.
- Narasimha, avatāra of Viṣṇu 214.
- Nārāyaṇa commentator of Āśv śr. 685n, 856n, commentator of Manusmṛti 714, commentator of Āśv gr. 879.
- Nationality, merits and defects of sentiment of 137-138.
- Nationhood, sentiment of, how far prevalent in ancient India 136-138.
- Nayavivēka of Bhavanūtha 550n, 555n.
- Nibandha, meaning of 575n.
- Nibandhanakāra, a writer 258.
- Nietzsche 215n.
- Nīlakantha, commentator of Mahābhārata 161n, 202, 221n, 650, 893n, 908n, 911n, 912n, 913, 914n, 917.
- Nīlakantha, author of Nīṭumayūkha and Vyavahāramayūkha 13, 610n, 668, 722, 878.
- Nīlakantha Śāstri, Prof. K A., author of 'Studies in Cola history' and 'Pāṇḍyan kingdom' 156, 196, 400n.
- Nimi 52.
- Nīrājana, the rite of waving lights before armīcā, horses, elephants, weapons &c. 230-231, 910n, 911.
- Nīrṇayasindhu 236, 545, 615, 626n, 627, 657n, 668n, 669, 679n, 680, 688n, 692, 696, 697, 739, 759, 873, 878, 910n, 911, 926, 928n, 929n, 930, 931n, 938, 940, 944-45, 950, 960-61, 963-964.
- Nirukta 28, 41, 104, 164, 276, 415, 519n, 541, 543n, 544, 612, 641, 657n, 658, 714, 754n, 845, 863, 886n, 889.
- Nisāda, (same as Pārasava) 599.
- Nīśalaprī, an adept in Tāntic rites 81.
- Nīṭumayūkha of Nīlakantha, 13, 38, 48, 72, 74, 75n, 79-81n, 82, 170, 217, 227.
- Nīṭiprakāśikā 4, 13, 60, 62, 112n, 205, 208, 214.
- Nīṭisāra (see under 'Kāmandakiya-nīṭisāra also'), 5, 6, 8.

- Niṣāstra, meaning of 8
 Nītvākyāmṛta, 19, 43, 47n, 50-51, 69, 85-86, 105, 107-08, 110-113n, 119n, 128n, 133, 166, 171, 172n, 174, 179, 203n, 217-18, 220n, 221, 232, 240.
 Nivartana, extent of 141n; why so called 145n
 Niyoga, practice of, condemned by Āpastamba 644, practice of, prohibited in Kālī age 627, 814.
 Non-conformists, harsh laws against, in England 547n.
 Nrga, story of king 243, 296.
 Nṛsimhapurāṇa 892, 923-24.
 Nuisances, rules for preventing, on public roads and near private houses 508.
 Nyāsa (deposit) 454-455.
 Nyāyasandhā, com. on Tantravārtika 828n, 837n, 843n, 847, 851n, 852n.
 Nyāyasūtra 46n, 589n.
 Oaths, special, now taken 350, special, taken by Vasiṣṭha and others 359; were taken not only in judicial proceedings but also in ordinary dealings 358.
 Oaths Act (Indian) 344n.
 Offenders, had to pay fine to king and bear expenses of medical help and food of the injured 516.
 Officers, emoluments of, in charge of a village, ten villages &c. 150-151; forty ways of embezzlement of Govt. money by 144; grades of 113, high, different at different times 111-112; king not to side with or but with the people 114; liability of, to catch thieves and make good loss 1, 167; pay of 113, 120; pensions and gratuities to, provided by Kautilya 152; qualifications of in several departments 142; rules about casual leave, sick leave and pension after 40 years' service for 152; special functions of certain high 114, taking bribes were deprived of wealth and banished 161, ten principal of the king 113; transfer of 152; very high salaries paid to high 152-153.
 Oldenberg 229n.
 Oligarchies in ancient India 87; became rare after the 5th or 6th century A.D. 89.
 Oliver Twist, by Dickens 60.
 Oppert, Dr. 213.
 Ordeals (see under 'divya'); all allowed in all castes, except poison which was not for brāhmanas 365; all, to be administered by Chief Justice in the presence of king, sabbayas and brāhmanas 367, are to be resorted to only when none of the human means of proof are possible or available 304-05, 363, brief history of 361-362, by whom not to be undergone 365, Candadevi, a Ratta queen, underwent the ordeal of striking a snake in a jar 366n; Dharma, the principal deity in the procedure of 368, earliest reference to, in Pāṇcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa and Chāndogya Upaniṣad 362; generally end in immediate decision 358; generally to be administered to defendant 364, 365, may be administered to any litigant by mutual agreement 364; mentioned in epigraphic records 376-77, of balance, description of 369-70, 376n; of balance to be administered to minors, women, very old men, the blind, the cripple, the diseased and brāhmanas 365, of balance, fire, poison and water to be administered in claims of over 1000 panas and in charges of treason and of a grave sin 365; of dharma described 375; of fire, described 370-71, 376n; of kośa, allowed in all claims of whatever value 365, of kṛṣṇa, described 373-74, of phāla 375, of poison, described 372-73; of snake in the jar 367; of tandra 374, of taptamāsa 374-75, of water, described 371-72, 376; of water and poison had gone out of vogue in the age of the

- Smṛticandrikā*, 371, persons of higher castes to be treated as *Sūdras* in o if they follow professions of cowherds, traders, artisans, domestic servants 365; persons who could undergo o through deputies 366, prevalence of, in judicial systems of most countries in ancient times 375-76, procedure common to all 368-69, proper place for o. 367-68, proper times and seasons for several 367, to be administered to mleccbas, untouchables, slaves, offspring of *sankara* are those customary among them 366, undergone by Mahomedan litigants under Maratha rule 378, were in vogue during Maratha rule 377-78; when not to be administered to certain persons 365-366; when optional with human means of proof 305.
- Ornaments, ordinarily worn by members of a joint family and their wives were not to be divided at a partition 596; property of women in 771, 777.
- Ortolan, author of 'History of Roman Law' 389n, 441n.
- Othello 533.
- Outcast (see under 'patita'); excluded from inheritance or partition 610-611; son of, excluded from share or inheritance 611
- Ownership, arises, acc. to Gantama, in five ways in the case of all castes 317, 548, arises by birth in the case of sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons 552-554, eight modes of acquiring, acc. to Vasiṣṭha 317; exact definition of, is difficult 554, how partition is a source of 549n, is of various kinds 554, long possession is not expressly mentioned as source of o. in ancient works 317; mode of transferring o. is by transfer of possession 319, of coparcenary property under *Mitākṣarā* 561; reasons for the view that o. arises from partition 552-553, special sources of o. among *brāhmanas* and the other castes 317, to be distinguished from mere possession 554, whether understood from *śāstra* alone 448-451
- Oxen, how many were to be yoked in a plough 150n.
- Padas, 32, of which the king could take cognisance without a person's complaint 265.
- Padmāvati 108
- Pala, was equal to 320 *raktikās* 121.
- Pāla, dynasty of Bengal, founded by Gopāla 30.
- Palace, gate of, should face south 1; had dancing halls 180, had seven or eight storeys 180, measurements of, acc. to *Bṛhatsambhitā* 180, position and extent of king's 181, should be in the centre of the capital 1.
- Pālaka, a king 399.
- Pāṇbothra (vide *Pāṭaliputra*) 204.
- Pallava, dynasty in South India 31, 69, 162, 890.
- Paṇa, is ordinarily of copper 121, of 80 or 100 *raktikās* 121n; weight and value of 120ff.
- Pañcasiddhāntikā 889, 895, 898
- Pañcatantra 5, 8, 25, 78, 111, 160n, 161, 171n, 178, 949n.
- Pañcavimśa *Brāhmana* 361.
- Panchayats 280-281.
- Pāṇdavas, army of 204, started on the Great Journey in the *Himālaya* 939
- Pandita, supplanted purohita in course of time 126.
- Pāṇdu (see under *Dhrtarāstra*) 55, 68, 609.
- Pāṇini 19, 38n, 46n, 47n, 66, 88, 117n, 124n, 125n, 134, 140n, 141n, 144n, 145n, 156, 183, 190, 330, 415, 434n, 435, 464n, 487, 491n, 494n, 541, 544, 530n, 551, 555n, 581n, 660, 685n, 707, 722n, 726, 734, 754n, 762n, 774n, 775n, 852n, 936.
- Pannālāl, on 'Kumann local customs' 675, 684.
- Parāśara, author of a work on astrology and astronomy 906n, 916, 917, 919n.

- Parāśara, author of Arthasāstra 2
- Parāśara, author of a work in prose 715n, 718.
- Parāśaras, school of 2, 83, 233.
- Parāśara, smṛti of, 58, 124n, 185o, 211, 432n, 646n, 668, 703n, 791, 869, 892, 935, 942-44, 946-47, 949, 952, 956.
- Parāśara-Mādhaviya, 38, 124n, 185n, 247, 258n, 259n, 260-61, 263-265n, 270n, 275n, 277-78, 281, 282o, 283, 284n, 285n, 286n, 287n, 292, 297-99, 302, 303n, 305n, 311, 314-15, 317, 326n, 328, 331n, 336o, 337n, 341n, 342n, 345n, 346n, 347n, 348n, 354n, 355n, 357n, 358n, 366n, 367, 379n, 380n, 383n, 385n, 386n, 387n, 410n, 412o, 419n, 421, 424n, 426n, 429, 431, 432n, 434n, 438n, 439n, 441n, 442n, 445n, 449n, 451n, 455n, 456n, 457n, 458n, 460n, 462n, 463o, 464n, 465n, 466n, 468n, 472n, 473n, 477n, 478n, 479o, 480n, 483n, 491n, 499o, 501, 505n, 506n, 510o, 514n, 516n, 521, 527n, 529n, 531n, 532n, 533n, 539n, 540n, 545-46, 549, 551, 553n, 556n, 580n, 581n, 582n, 585n, 586n, 593o, 599, 607n, 609n, 620n, 621o, 623o, 628n, 636n, 642, 709, 712, 713n, 715n, 721n, 733n, 755n, 763n, 769n, 772n, 777n, 779o, 780n, 782, 783n, 790o, 791, 793, 800o, 810n, 856n, 862n, 867n, 870, 877, 884-85, 927, 928o, 929, 939n, 943n, 944.
- Parāśava soo (same as śaodra) 599.
- Parāśikas, custom of marrying one's own mother among 859o.
- Parāśara 791.
- Parāśara-gṛhyasūtra 828n, 856, 866, 880.
- Parāśurāma, enjoyed earth for a long time by conquest of six evil tendencies 53.
- Parāśurāmapratāpa, a work, 46, 179, 189n, 196, 215
- Pargiter, author of 'Dynasties of the Kali age' 900, 923n
- Paribhāṣāprākāśa (part of Viramitrodaya) 840n, 865n, 872n, 873n, 881.
- Pārījāta, a work, 581n, 589n, 625o, 656, 660, 686, 784o, different from Madanapārījāta 581o.
- Parīkṣit, grandson of Arjuna 900.
- Pārplava 415.
- Parṇālaparvata—grahanākhyāna of Jayarāma 925
- Partitinn (see 'father', 'grandmother', 'mother', 'soo'), chief matters to be discussed under, are four 563; Dāyabhāga admits only two times for 567-568, definition of 560-561; definition of p by Dāyabhāga criticized by Dāyatattva 561, divergence of views about giving a share to unmarried sisters at a partitinn 619-20; evidence of 638, four times for, acc. to Madanapārījāta 569, general rule that p. once made is final 634; grandmother's right to a share at 607-608, grounds of exclusion from 608-616; in certain cases allowed acc. to pātibhāga 607, in the sense of mere severance of interest may take place by mere unilateral declaration of one member 562, minority of a coparcener was no bar to 573; mother's right to a share at 605-606, no share allowed to unmarried sisters in modern times, but only marriage expenses 620, of concealed property 635-637; *per stirpes*, explained 569-70, 632-634; provision for marriage expenses of unmarried sisters 619, provision for sārāskāras of brothers 619, proposition about 631; re-opening of, when allowed 634-636, 617, 618, right of absent coparcener to claim 634-635, rule that all sons divide equally irrespective of whether they are sons of different mothers 607, rule of equal division between father and son or brothers favoured by most smṛtis 623; safeguarding minor's share at a p. 573, soo's right to demand partition from father took ages to evolve 563-564; son's right to partition encouraged from reli-

gious sentiments 571-72, son's right to p. in father's lifetime existed even in Vedic age 564-565, three main times for, according to *Mitākṣarā* 568-569, time for 563ff, two senses viz. division by mtes and bounds and severance of interest only 562, under *Dāyabhāga* no p. can be claimed as long as father is alive 569.

Partition Act (Indian) 586n.

Partnership 466-470, ancient *dharma-sūtras* are silent about 469, duties of partners in 466-67, liabilities of partners in a 466, Maou extends the rules about distribution of fees among sacrificial priests to partners in 469, qualifications of partners in 467-468, rights of partners in 467-468, shares of artisans in profits of p 468.

Partnership Act (Indian) 467n.

Parvan days 737n

Pārvaṇa śrāddha 737,

Passage (see 'way') 737

Passports, superintendent of 149

Past, diametrically opposite views about 244.

Pastures, superintendent of 149, provided round villages and towns 161, 499-500

Pātaliputra, administration of, as described by Megasthenes 183, had a wall of wooden palisades 180, *Pātāñjali's* references to 183.

Pātāñjali, author of *Mahābhāṣya* 46n, 88, 124n, 125n, 144n, 183.

Pathak, Prof K B 924n

Patita (see under partition), being p entailed loss of estate or inheritance only if no *prāyaścitta* was performed 547n, 615, daughter of p was not treated as p. 616, *ghatasphota* for outcasting a p 610n, 615, son of p was excluded from partition or inheritance and even maintenance 611, 616-17, who was p. 612ff, women, even if they performed no *prāyaścitta*, were not to be cast on the streets, but were to be given maintenance 615.

Patni, meaning of 707.

Patnarchal family, father's powers in 563.

Pannarbhava, a subsidiary son 661, definition of 648.

Paura-jānapada 93-95.

Penal Code (Indian), 300, 395, 473n, 479n, 512n, 513, 518n, 523n, 529n, 531n, 532n.

People (see under 'subjects'), also spoken of collectively as *Viṣṇu* 25, calamities of, have graver consequences than those of the capital 233, protection of, consists in preventing external and internal aggression 56, protection of, highest duty of ruler 56

Perjury, entailed secular and also other-worldly consequences 351.

Peshwa's Diaries 377.

Philosophy, purpose of all branches of Indian is the quest of truth 247. Physicians, punished with fines for being careless or for not informing officers in serious cases 149

Pigeons, employed to carry official letters 149.

Pilgrimages to distant places, forbidden in *Kali* for *brāhmanas* 953

Pindas (see under *śrāddha*)

Piprahva vase, writing on 307.

Pisuna, author of a work on *rājashāstra* 2, 83, 233.

Pisunaputra, a writer 2.

Pitāmaha, *smṛti* of 262-63, 265-66, 269, 281-82, 285, 288, 291, 296, 318, 327, 362-65, 367, 369n, 372n, 373, 379, 862,

Pitāmahasūddhānta 889

Pitr-gāthās, from *Matsyapurāṇa* 642

Plaint (see under 'pleadings'); contents of 293-294, faults in 299, reasons which make a p unacceptable 299, rules about amendment of 293, rules about preference, when several persons present p at same time 298, ten details of a p about immovable property 293-94, various sanskrit words for 292, was written

- down with all details who defendant appeared 292
- Plato, approved of slavery unreservedly 15n; author of 'Republic' 50, author of 'Laws' 114n, 244n; end of State was good life, acc. to 237.
- Plea, of former judgment how proved 301.
- Pledge (*ādhi*), classification of, acc to Nārada and Brhaspati 428; duty of person who accepts a p to take proper care 432-33, debtor is responsible for the loss of 432-433, general rule that a p to be enjoyed carried no interest 430, if p lost or deteriorates without any fault of the creditor, debtor to bear the loss 432-33, person making a p of the same thing to two different people was punished 432 subject of p is lost if not redeemed within the period of grace 429, three rules of Yājñavalkya about 428-29, what is *sapratyaya* p 430
- Pliny 901
- Poison, effects of, on various birds 84
- Poisoned food and fire 84.
- Poisoning of kings, measures against 83
- Pollard, author of 'Conscience and liberty' 547n
- Pollock 554, 555
- Portents, in the heavens, sky and on the earth before an invasion 227.
- Possession (see under 'title'), adverse p against minors and others 328, divergence of views about the relation of title to 317, exception to the rule of loss of ownership, by long 327, for three generations without break prevails over bare title 319, long p not mentioned in ancient works as a source of ownership 317 meaning of *tripitruṣa* p 318, meaning of long p 320-321, must have five characteristics in order to be valid 318, of agnates and cognates is not necessarily adverse 326 of one co-owner is ordinarily for all co-owners 327, one who pleaded mere possession and no title was deemed a thief 318, periods of adverse p that gave rise to ownership acc to different writers 323, principal mode of transfer was delivery of 319 some texts prescribe for loss of ownership short periods of 325-326 was nine points of law in ancient India 431.
- Power, corrupts a man 114
- Prabandhacintāmaṇi 198, 283.
- Prabhākara, a writer on *Mīmāṃsā*, 550, was called Guru 536n
- Prabhākaravardhana 63
- Pradestr, an officer 252
- Pradhān, Dr, author of 'Chronology of Ancient India,' 925n
- Prādvivāka 272
- Prajāpati, smṛti of 369n, 420 495, 571n, 586, 712, 738, 926.
- Prajāpati, story of 845.
- Prajñāpanopāṅga, a Jñān work 140n
- Prakāśa, a work 568n, 588n, 605n
- Prakīrnaka, meaning of, 251, meaning of, acc. to Kautilya 258
- Pramatī Bhārgava, an avatāra of Viṣṇu, will uproot mleccha and heretics at end of Kali, 925
- Prāna, 1 hymn 75
- Pran Nath, Dr 134n, 140n
- Pratibhū, see under 'surety'
- Pratyñā-yaugandharāyana, a play 211n
- Pratimā, a nātaka 78, 277n.
- Pratinidhi (substitute), rule as to, in the *Mīmāṃsā* 654-655
- Pratyākālita 260.
- Pravāhana, Jaivali, a king, asked Śvetaketu five questions 9.
- Pravarādhyāya 686
- Pravaramaṇjari 692
- Pravaraseoa, a Vākātaka emperor who performed four Aśamedhas 70
- Prāyaścitta, for murder depended on caste of murderer and of the murdered 528; for woman raped 532, for adultery 946-47
- Prāyaścittatattva, 925
- Prāyaścittavivēka 945n

- Pre-emption, right of, allowed in favour of brothers, sapindas, sagotras, neighbours &c 496
- Price, inadequacy of, how determined 493
- Priests, distribution of fees among 16 sacrificial 470n, three kinds of sacrificial 469
- Primogeniture, to succession to *samudari* or *raj* 631
- Princes, went to famous seats of learning for study 50.
- Prisoners, set free on coronation 80.
- Prisons Act (Indian) 403.
- Private defence (see under 'ātātāyina'), right of, as to person and property 517-18, right of, should not be exercised if there is time to report to king's officers 517
- Prize-fighting (see under 'samāhivaya')
- Proof, circumstantial evidence as 356-357, comparative strength of the several means of 306; divine means of, are ordeals 304, divine means of, when employed 363-364, human means of, are documents, witnesses and possession 304, means of, are either human or divine 304, means of, appropriate to several kinds of disputes 305-306, of part of claim may in some cases be held p of whole claim 348n, rules about variation between pleadings and p. 347-349.
- Property, (see under 'self acquired property', 'separate property'), ancestral p, explained 576, divergence of views as to concealment of joint p by one co-owner being theft 636-637, impartible by its very nature 585-590, is of two kinds, movable and immovable 490, 574, is of three kinds, land, nibandha and movable 574-575, joint family p., what is 576, may be joint family or separate, 576, no distinction between ancestral and separate under *Dāyabhāga* as to alienation 576, persons that acquire by birth an interest in ancestral p. 576, rules about partition of joint p concealed by co-sharer 636-637, separate p includes self-acquisitions 576.
- Prostitutes, a fifth caste acc. to *Mitākṣarā* 801, do not sever tie of blood, acc. to modern decisions 801, rules about persons visiting p. 481-482
- Province, administration of, in a State 141-142, each p kept a record of good and bad events 143n, Governor of p was called *Uparka* 141.
- Prithā*, adopted by *Kuntibhoja* 675
- Prithu*, levelled the earth 183, oath administered to 33, secured kingdom through *vinaya* 52, *Viṣṇu* entered P 281
- Prthivirāja*, Chohan hero 684n
- Prthivirāja Rāsan*, a work 684n
- Psalm 425n.
- Public roads, nuisances on 508-509.
- Pūga*, meaning of 281
- Pulakeśin*, a *Cālukya* king 70.
- Punishment (see 'banishment', 'brāhmana', 'death', 'impalement'), alternative p of fines in lieu of the cutting off of a limb for theft &c. 256, award of, depended on motive, sex, nature of offence, time and place &c 391-92, banishment as 404, branding of several marks on forehead as p for several offences 397, 403, by cutting off fingers, hands and feet was common in case of thieves and pickpockets 256, 402, by cutting off the limb wherewith a low man offended against a brāhmana 389, by cutting off the tongue in the case of a śūdra who abuses a brāhmana or ksatriya or loudly repeats the Veda 402, confiscation of all property as p 404, corporal p. assumes various forms 395-396, enhanced for repeating offence 404-5, 522, exemption from p. on certain grounds such as intoxication, lunacy, mistake 417, fear of p keeps all things under control 292, fine and corporal punishment was to be pronounced by the king on recommendation of

chief justice 391, fines were the ordinary p for many offences in ancient India 390, for accidental death none 528, for abetting a crime 529, for abuse and defamation was less for offenders of higher castes 395, for adultery 256-257, for adultery and rape depended on caste of the woman and of the offender 395, for adultery very severe in ancient texts 401, 533, 535, for a person charging an innocent man with theft 255, for committing nuisance on the public road 508, for defiling water of holy tanks, rivers etc 509, for incest 533-34, for judges taking bribes and for ministers disposing of a matter wrongly 366, for making breaches to a boundary 509, for misappropriation of the property of guilds and other groups 489, for moneylenders charging interest exceeding rates prescribed in smritis 422, for rash driving 528, for theft more severe in the case of offenders of higher castes 395, for unnatural offences 534, for witchcraft 405-406, four methods of 391, fourteen places of, acc to Brhaspati 396, imprisonment for life as p 403, may be inflicted on offenders of lowest castes by the persons offended 408, mild p prescribed on account of the doctrine of karmavipāka 392, most important purpose of, is deterrence 389, no corporal punishment for a brāhmana offender except shaving of head, branding 396, of death not inflicted on brāhmanas and women under Bombay Regulation 14 of 1827, 397, of death prescribed even for brāhmanas by Kātyāyana and Kautilya 398-99, of death prescribed for certain offences 400-401; one purpose of, was reform and redemption of offender 390, proper p. for a brāhmana offender 397, purposes secured by p. for crimes

388-90, rigour of p. lessened by Yājñavalkya and later smritis 390, severity of, depended on caste also 395, shaving of the head as p 403, two places where p may be inflicted 396, that could be awarded by inferior tribunals 391, whipping as p 403-404, women were awarded lesser p than men 394, 533, women were to undergo excision of a limb where death sentence could be inflicted on males 394, 533.

Popul, rules as to his behaviour towards his guru's wife in Kali age 953-54.

Purāṇa, a silver coin 122, 420n

Purāṇa 10.

Purāṇas, are rich in Dharmasāstra material 871, are authoritative for all people 853, conflict between smritis and Purāṇas 871-873, procedure of coronation in 72; state that in Kali age kings will mostly be śūdras 10, was eloquent over the importance of Bharatavarsha 137, dharma which is declared in, is misra 873, several p must have been known 871

Purāṇas, passages of historical importance in 899ff

Purchaser, buying from one not the owner in open market is not liable to punishment 463, duty of, to closely examine the thing to be purchased 492, from one not the owner is liable to be punished if he purchases in secret 460, gets indefeasible title only after three generations if price wholly or partly not paid 494, has, in order to escape punishment, to produce vendor or prove purchase in open market 463, liability of, if he does not take delivery after purchase 490, 492, may rescind from purchase within a certain time 490-491; period allowed to p for examination of thing bought 492.

Purohita, called saviour of kingdom 117-18, included among mantrins

- by some writers 119, had full jurisdiction over penances 119, made the king ready for battle 118, most eminent of the high functionaries of the king 113; must know ritual of five kinds 119, qualifications of 117-18, *sāmvatsara* took over some of the functions of 126, to be consulted by king after ministers were consulted 110, 119, to be distinguished from *rtvij* 118, waning of the importance of 126, was expected to remove calamities, divine and human 119; was often hereditary 119
- Puru, though youngest son, was made king by Yayāti 42, 14
- Purūravas 53, 845
- Purusa (bailiff), duties and qualifications of 278.
- Purusakāra (human effort), and *darva* (fate) 168-169, is superior, acc to Matsyapurāṇa 170.
- Purusārtha rules are recommendatory and violation of them does not vitiate the sacrifice 550n, 609
- Purusārthas; *artha* is the chief among three p acc. to Kautilya 241, *dharma* is the highest among three and *kāma* the lowest 9, three p are secured for people by righteous king 239
- Pūrvamīmāṃsā (see under 'Jaimini') 38, 605, 637, 695, 864.
- Puskarasādi 524.
- Pusyagupta, a vaiśya, was governor of Surāṣṭra under Candragupta Maurya 117.
- Pusyamitra 32, 116, founder of Sunga empire 39 killed his master Brhad ratha, last Maurya king 36, performed *Asvamedhas* 70.
- Puṣyaspāna 407
- Putrestī, sacrifice, 680n
- Putrikā, (see under 'Maiden', 'putrikāputra') 647, 657.
- Putrikāputra 657-659, definition of 647, 657, divided property with subsequently born *aurasa* son 651. offers *piṇḍa* to his maternal grandfather and takes latter's wealth 642, 659, recognized in modern times only among Nambūdis in Malabar 657, 659; said to be equal to the *aurasa* son 657, traces of, found even in *Rgveda* 657-58.
- Queen, qualities of principal 80.
- Queens, of vanquished kings had to perform the duties of maids at the time of emperor's coronation 69
- Raghavan, Dr V. 252n.
- Raghu, Kings of the family of, became *munis* in old age 101.
- Raghunandana, 246, 322, 378n, 544, 668, 701, 718, 735, 799, 918n, 911
- Raghuvamśa, 8, 17, 28, 41, 44, 49n, 52, 56, 63, 78, 82, 101, 112, 135, 187, 223n, 230, 269, 407, 896.
- Rainfall, amounts of, in the several provinces of India, acc to Kautilya 147
- Rājadharmā 1-241, discussed in works from ancient times 1, energetic undertaking said by *Brhaspati* to be the root of 169, literature on, is extensive 13, proximate ends of 238-239, purpose of the study of 236-237, said to be the root of all *dharma*s 3, ultimate goal of 238.
- Rājadharmakāṇḍa 13, 23n, 28, 42, 61n, 75n, 125n, 160, 178n, 179, 181, 191n, 228, 234, 277n, 949.
- Rājadharmakaustubha 13, 38, 43, 72, 74, 76n, 77n, 79-81n, 82, 107, 118, 119n, 179, 182n, 183.
- Rājan, meaning of 37-39, 63
- Rājanītiprakāśa (part of *Vīramitrodaya*) 13, 18n, 25, 38-39, 43-44, 48, 59-60, 66, 71-74, 76n, 79-81n, 82-83, 99, 105, 107, 118, 120, 125n, 132n, 160, 163n, 170, 178, 181, 191-92, 211, 217, 224, 227, 228, 230, 234, 243, 873n.
- Rājanītiratnākara 13, 25, 39, 70, 96, 107, 118, 160, 187n, 189n, 201, 271n-274n, 277n, 278.
- Raja Rao, Mr M. 879n
- Rājaśāstra, expounders of, acc. to *Anuśāśana-parva* and *Sāntiparva* 2.

- 56, expounders of, acc. to Kautilya 3, expounders of, acc. Nītiprakāśikā 4
- Rājasekhara, author of Kāvyaṁimāṁsā 47n, 67, 136
- Rājasūya 64, 111, 962, Abhisecaniya is the principal rite in 73; isti called Avesti thereio can be performed only by Katriyas 38, performed by emperors 70
- Rājatarāṅginī 31, 40, 80, 100, 113, 115, 120, 163-64, 184, 188o, 198, 270, 374, 393, 396o, 397, 403, 437, 484, 488, 494, 817, 897, 924n, 934
- Rajya, compared to the body with its various organs 18, elements of, generally said to be seven 17, meaning of 19-20, preservation of the elements of 17-18, relative importance of the elements of 17, several elements of, are complemeotary of each other 18
- Rājyavardhana, murdered by Saśāṅka 31.
- Rākā (full moon) 388.
- Raktikā, weight of 121n
- Rāma, 42, education of 49, ideal Klog 96; performed Āsvamedha in the company of a golden image of Sitā 845-846, virtues of 62, was to be made Crown Prince with people's approval 29.
- Rāmasāstrin, famous judge at Peshwa's court 386, 402o, 684n, 713
- Rāmāyana 2, 6, 21, 24, 29, 37, 42, 46, 47n, 49, 53n, 62, 71, 77, 95-96, 105-6, 108, 129, 171, 177, 180 190, 195, 203, 209n, 214, 243, 846
- Ranaḍe, author of 'Rise of the Maratha power' 106
- Rape, punishment for, differed acc. to caste of offender 532.
- Rapees, on 'Indian coins' 89, 121n, 122n, 308
- Rāṣṭra (territory of a State) 132ff, composition of the population of 133; is most important of the seven elements of a State 132, what constitutes 136.
- Ratoāvali, a drama 937
- Ratnos, gave the kingdom to the king 29, 112, headman of village was one of 154, twelve r. enumerated 111-112
- Rattarāja, a Śilāra king 194.
- Rāvana 52, 55.
- Reasoning, to be followed rather than strict letter of the text 7, 867.
- Receiver, appointment of 291.
- Recovery of debts, agriculturists and king's servants were not to be arrested for, at certain times 440-41, creditor employing modes for r other than a suit, when debtor decided the debt would lose his claim and was liable to be fined 439, creditor could hold debtor in restraint openly, if custom of country allowed 440, from debtor unable to pay was made by making him work in the house of the creditor if of same or higher caste 440, from debtor of brāhmana caste to be made by easy instalments 440, harsh legislation to ancient societies for 441; imprisonment in civil jail of a debtor in modern times 440; modes of 438-441, modes of, differed according as debtor admitted liability or not 441; priority among creditors as to, depended on time and caste of creditor 441; seven principal topics of 418, sitting at the door of the debtor for 438-39, when debtor admitted debt and yet complained against creditor who employed proper mode of, he was liable to be fined 439-440.
- Registration Act (Indian) 314, 431n, 432n
- Religious efficacy (see under 'doctrine of spiritual benefit').
- Religious rites, incompetency to perform, owing to bodily or mental defects 608-609.

- Reply of defendant, faults of 302, four kinds of 300.
- Representatives, of parties to suits, when allowed 288; rules for payment of wages to r. 289; who is to appoint r of parties and whom 289.
- Republics, eleven, mentioned in Buddhist works 90, in ancient India 87, procedure of, was the same as for the deliberations of Buddhist *Sangha* 90.
- Restraint of senses, is the whole purpose of all *sāstras* 52, necessity of, for kings 53; why man must practise 55
- Res judicata*, (see 'plea of former judgment') 300; how proved 332, rule of constructive 306.
- Re-union 763-769; devolution of estate after 767-769, who can enter into 766
- Revenue, levied on crops varies acc. to the way in which water was employed 163.
- Reversioner, on the death of a widow 711.
- Rgveda, 28-29, 32, 41, 58, 63-65, 75n, 77n, 92-93, 104, 118, 124n, 125n, 127, 132, 135, 153, 162, 179, 190, 200, 205, 212-13, 228-29, 244-45, 276, 353, 359, 361, 388, 414-15, 519, 534, 543, 541, 564-65, 588, 612n, 656, 657n, 658, 660, 679n, 689, 714, 753n, 754n, 770, 776n, 863, 886, 887, 933; morals in 534.
- Riktha, meaning of 543, 551n.
- Road, cess recovered by king's officer. 197, width of 181.
- Romaka, an astronomical *Siddhānta* 896
- Roman Catholics, harsh laws against 547n.
- Roman Law 326.
- Romapāda, king of Aṅga 164.
- Rome 389n.
- Roth 16.
- Rousseau 31
- Routes, land r. superior to water r. 225, to the Deccan and south more profitable 225.
- Royalty (see under 'kingship').
- Rta, conception of 244-245.
- Rudradāman, accomplishments of 49; a Ksatrapa, was elected ruler by the people of Surāstra 30, 44, inscription of 94, 105, 117, 162, 185, 890, repaired Sudarśana lake at great cost 60, 162, restored kings to their thrones 71, treasury of, overflowed with gold, silver and jewels 197, uprooted the Yaudheyas 89.
- Rudradhara 668
- Rudraskanda, commentator of *Khādira* Gr 692.
- Rule, acting contrary to a r, having an unseen or spiritual purpose renders the principal act itself null and void 837-838.
- Rulers, grades of 63, mentality of foreign 102, women as 40
- Russell on 'crimes' 432n
- Sabara, commentator on Jaimini's *sūtras* 20, 38, 72, 121n, 143n, 471, 515n, 527n, 550n, 556, 637n, 655, 676n, 677n, 686, 695n, 704n, 705, 719, 725n, 731n, 770n, 828, 832n, 835-37, 841, 849, 851n, 864, 870, 905n, 938, 963-64.
- Sabbā (sec 'court of justice'), 276-277, three kinds of 278n
- Sabbāparva 2, 42, 46, 50, 53n, 54, 56n, 59, 61, 67-68, 78, 106, 108, 111-12, 127, 135, 152, 154, 162, 168, 172, 179, 200, 206, 232, 330, 542n, 889, 937, 955n.
- Sabhyas (pious judges) 273, at least three to be appointed to associate with the chief justice 273, duty of, to bring round the king to the path of right 274; must be preferably brāhmanas 273, qualifications of 273, were to be distinguished from learned brāhmanas who attended court and tendered advice 274; were fined if they decided through parti-

- ality, greed or fear 385, who were not to be appointed as 273-274
- Sachan, Dr (translated Alberuni's work) 166, 376n
- Sacred Books of the East 66, 282, 289-90, 605n, 733n, 886n, 887, 922, 934.
- Sacrifice, performer of, was supposed to be endowed with a celestial body 32, of animal forbidden in Kali 945-46, 964.
- Saddācāra (sec under 'custom') 825ff, meaning of, acc to Mann 827, 856.
- Sādhyapāla (sec under Purusa).
- Saffron, monopoly of king in 197
- Sages, difference in spiritual merit between ancient and later 889, seven, suspected each other of theft 359n, transgression of dharma among ancient 889.
- Sahadeva 69.
- Sāhasa (crimes of violence), 525-530, definition of, 525, distinguished from theft 525, four kinds of 525, heavier punishments for 525, king not to tolerate one guilty of crimes of violence 525, principal crimes included under 526
- Sāhasa (meaning 'fine'), three varieties of, lowest, middling and highest 526
- Salodha, son, definition of 648, becomes the son of his mother's husband 660
- Sabyādrīkhanda 138, 929
- Śaśunāga dynasty, see Śiśunāla.
- Saka king killed by Candragupta (a Gupta king) 86
- Śākala, smṛti of 664, 679, 683
- Śāla works prescribed wine as offering in worship 966,
- Saktis, doctrine of three 171, relative strength of 171; theory of, in relation to theory of mandalas 222
- Salulya, meaning of 746-47.
- Śāluntala 37, 52, 54, 63, 243
- Sālyas (sec under Baudhhas), business of State how carried among 90, capital of, was Kapilavastu 90, openly declared Veda to be unauthoritative and taught doctrines opposed to it 871.
- Salaries, divergence of views about s. mentioned by Kautilya 120, 125; of officers over 10, 100 or more villages 142, of officers and servants stated by Kautilya 151
- Sale of Goods Act (Indian) 465n, 492n, 495n.
- Sale, (see under 'pre-emption', 'purchaser'), by one who is not the owner 462-465, by one who is not the owner, should be rescinded 462, conditional s. defined 493, deed of s. should mention the wells, trees, houses on land sold 494, definition of 495, for arrears of land tax 493, 495, liability of vendor if he does not deliver property after 490, periods for rescission allowed in s. of various things 491, procedure as to s. of land 496-497, rescission of 489-491, was clothed with formalities of gifts 497, 567, what becomes of earnest if s. goes off through default of vendor or vendee 491, when inoperative 492-493.
- Salic Law 40
- Salmond, author of a work on 'jurisprudence' 238, 319n, 320n, 547, 554.
- Salt, State manufactured s. and levied a duty on salt imported or manufactured privately 196
- Śālva, besieged Dvārakā 208, 214
- Śālya 204
- Śalyaparva 58, 79, 112n, 210, 214, 896n, 904, 908n, 909, 911-12, 915, 918.
- Sāma (an upāya), is of five kinds 174.
- Samāhartr, duties of 131, 143, 253, 276
- Samāhvaya 540-41, rules of *dyūta* to be applied to 540
- Samānodakas 752-753, limits of, as heirs 753
- Samatata, a country 68
- Sāmaveda 76, 77n.

- Sāmavidhāna Brāhmana 66, 76
 Samayaprakāśa, part of Viramitrodaya, 928n, 930.
 Samayamayūkha 930, 941n 949, 964.
 Sambandhatattva 878
 Sambandhaviveka, a work 878
 Śambara, as a writer on Kājasāstra in Sāntiparva 2
 Sambhaji-raje-caritra, a work 81n
 Sambhala, village, where Kallin will be born, 923
 Sambhūya-samutthāna (partnership) 466-470.
 Samrāj, meaning of 63
 Samsarga (association), with sinners was of nine kinds 614, 944
 Samsikṭiya, mantras 75.
 Samskāraustubha 669, 675, 678-80, 683n, 688-89, 695, 697, 877, 955
 Samskāraprakāśa 771.
 Samskārasāra 873n.
 Saṁśrāvya, mantras 75.
 Samudragopta 44, 68-69, 71, 89, 108, 115, 213, accomplishments of 49.
 Saṁvarta, smṛti of 264, 277, 312, 313n 947, 951, 965.
 Sāṁvatsara (astrologer) 126, king depended on, in all matters 126.
 Samvid-vyatikrama 486-489.
 Sandar 326n
 Sandhi (treaty), different kinds of 224, with whom should be made 225, with whom should not be made 225.
 Sandrakottos 204
 Sangha, four qualities of the wise leader of 88, gambling causes dissensions among members of 233, included in the Vāhika country brāhmanas, ksatriyas and others 88, king was allowed to take away wealth of heretical 188, of Licchvikas, Vṛjikas and others 89, of Vṛkas, Trigartas, Yaudheyas, Parsus 88, two kinds of, known to Pāṇini 88
 Saṅgraha, a work, 309, 311, 379n, 435, 548n, 563, 572, 628n, 629n, 872, 928
 Saṅgrahana 531-535, of three kinds 531; punishment for, varied acc. to caste and other circumstances 535.
 Saṅkara (see 'samsarga').
 Saṅkara, author of Bhāṣya on Vedānta-sūtra and several Upaṁsads 46n, 227, 669n, 719, 833n, 888, 964n, 968n,
 Saṅkarabhāṭṭa, author of Dvātanir-naya 878.
 Saṅkaravarman, king of Kashmir, plundered 64 temples under pretext of supervision 188n
 Sankha 101, 160, 209-10, 277, 316, 320, 338n, 395, 398n, 401, 524, 568-69, 581, 592, 598, 620n, 702, 725, 771, 776n, 960
 Sankha-Likhita 44, 45, 59, 135, 137, 165n, 175, 242-43, 246, 332, 346, 354, 355n, 358, 366, 371n, 372, 389, 393, 398n, 403-4, 469, 504, 509, 536, 568n, 569, 572, 586, 598, 610n, 625, 640, 641, 642n, 644, 651, 759n, 763 790, 803n, 932n
 Sankha-Likhita-dharmasūtra, specially studied by Vājasaneyins 853.
 Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmana 600n, 905
 Sāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra 922.
 Sāṅkhāyana-krauta-sūtra 887n.
 Sāṅkhya 169.
 Sannidhātṛ, duties of 143.
 Sannyāsa, whether forbidden in Kali 960-61
 Sannyāsin, see under Yati
 Sāntā, adopted by Lomapāda 675
 Śantana, younger brother of Devāpi, became king 41, 164, 609.
 Śāntātiya, mantras 75.
 Sāntiparva, 2-6, 8, 10, 12, 13n, 17n, 18n, 21-28, 30-31, 33-34, 37, 40, 44-45, 48, 50n, 51, 53n, 56-59, 61n, 62, 67-68, 70-71, 78-79, 87, 101, 105-107, 118, 127, 131, 138, 141-42, 150-51, 167-68, 173, 175, 179-81, 185-86, 189-90, 199, 202, 203, 207, 209, 211, 215-16, 221n, 222, 226n, 239, 244-45, 273n, 353, 389, 392n, 399, 400n, 404n, 521, 524, 609n, 614, 861n, 875, 885, 890-92, 913, 937, 942, 952, 955

- Sapathas (special oaths); employed in disputes of small value 358, take time for decision 358
- Sapinda, acc to Dāyabhāga 741-43, 747; two meanings of 733-736.
- Sapindas, are of two kinds, *gotra* and *bhinnagotra* acc to Mitākṣarā 732
- Sapindikarāna, a śrāddha 737
- Saradacharan Mitra, Mr Justice 559, 560
- Saramā, bitch of the gods, was sent by Indra to find out treasures of Panis 127
- Sarasvativilāsa, a work, 17, 118n, 119, 171-72, 184, 200, 219n, 220n, 221, 223, 243n, 258, 263, 264n, 265n, 272n, 273, 276n-278, 281n, 282n, 283, 285n, 286n, 297n, 300n, 302n, 303n, 310, 312, 318n, 321, 326, 332, 342n, 352n, 358, 367n, 382n, 393n, 413n, 419n, 423n, 429n-32n, 434n, 441n, 451, 455n, 464n, 472n-74n, 476n, 477n, 479n, 485n, 489n, 492n, 493, 494n, 512n, 525n, 540n, 545, 549n, 551, 553n, 554n, 562, 563n, 610n, 612, 636n, 638n, 678n, 692, 698, 721, 761n, 774n, 778n
- Sardesai Mr G S, editor of 'Selections from Peshwa's Daftar' 400.
- Sārīraka-bhāṣya of Śaṅkarā 725, 731n
- Sarkar, Mr Golap Chandra, author of 'Hindu Law' and of a work on 'Adoption' 441n, 662, 664n, 690n
- Sarkar, Mr Himansu Bhushan 641n, 934n
- Sarkar, Mr Kishori Lal on 'Mīmāṃsā-rules' 640, 677n, 841-42
- Sarkar, Prof. B K 20, 94
- Sarvadhikarī, Tagore Law Lectures of, on inheritance 744n, 757n, 758n, 760-61.
- Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa, commentator of Manusmṛti 150n, 788n, 789.
- Sāsāṇka 31
- Sāstra, in case of conflict of s with rational or equitable rule, the latter prevails 9.
- Sāstradīpikā, a work of Pārthasārathi 677n, 828n, 831n, 836n, 844n, 850n, 852n, 853.
- Sātaghni 213.
- Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa 21, 26, 32, 41, 65-66, 111-12, 153, 180, 415-16, 527n, 565, 613, 641, 845, 877, 886n, 887-88, 907n, 964.
- Sātātapa 145n
- Sat-trimsan-mata 487n, 882n.
- Sattria, sacrifice extending over long periods to be performed by brāhmanas 938.
- Satru (enemical king), kinds of 219.
- Satruḥna 203
- Satyāṅkāra 435
- Satyāsūdhā, śrautasūtra of 28, 278n, 653n, 655, 686, 941n.
- Saudāyika, a class of strīdhana 775, a comprehensive term for several kinds of strīdhana 778, definition of 778.
- Saudra (son of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra wife), is a secondary son and technically not an aurasa son 599, 646, 648, 656, styled Pārāśava also 648, 656.
- Saunaka, smṛti of 183, 599, 614, 655, 656n, 664, 668, 675-676, 682-83, 687, 689, 926
- Saunakīya 230.
- Sauparna, a hymn 229
- Saṃtikaparva 168, 206, 209, 232.
- Sautrāmaṇi, an istī, prescribed as a rite for regaining a kingdom 26, offering of wine cups in 865, 940, 964.
- Sauvira, king of, was killed by his queen 85
- Sāyana 65, 66n, 229, 361, 770, 886n.
- Schnols, of Hindu Law 878, 887n.
- Schrader, Otto 924n.
- Scripts 308
- Sca, whether known to Vedic Aryans 933, made undrinkable by brāhmanas 937.
- Sea voyage, forbidden in Kali 610n, 933-38, propositions about 937.

- Selections from Peshwa's Daftar, (see under 'Sardesai') 402n, 405n, 713
- Self-acquired property 639-640, different kinds of 579-581, of a man is inherited *per stirpes* by his son, grandsons, and great-grandsons 700, son acquires by birth an interest in father's s, p, acc. to strict theory of *Mitākṣarā* 639, son has no power to prevent father from dealing with latter's s p 639, *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* declared father's absolute right over 639
- Sen, Dr. Priya Nath 387, 441n, 427n, 497n.
- Senart, 91
- Sen-Gupta, Prof. P. C 903-4
- Separate property, (see under 'gains of learning', 'self-acquired property'). is not liable to partition 585; kinds of 577, recognition of *vidyādhana* as s p was the first inroad on the conception that all property belonged to the family 578, slow growth of the concept of 578
- Servants, ancient dharmaśāstras mention only two kinds of 482, difference between slaves and s 484, four kinds of, besides slaves 482, loyalty inculcated on 160, qualifications of State servants 159-160.
- Sexual intercourse, forbidden after performing *Agnicayana* 535, with a maiden of same caste with her consent was not punishable as a crime but the male had to marry her 535, with certain women was held to be incest 533, with a concubine kept by another was punishable 535.
- Shakespeare 296, 533
- Sham Sastri, Dr. 85n, 102, 140n, 343n, 811n
- Ships, duties of superintendent of 148
- Shiva-chhatrapati-mahārāja-caritra, a work 81n
- Shivaji, coronation of 81, had a council of eight ministers 106, ruling of, in a dispute 285, supposed to be harbinger of Kalkin, 926,
- Shivarāja-rājyābhiseka-lalpataru, a work 81
- Siddhānta-laumudi 494n, 762n.
- Siddhāntaśiromani of Bhāskarācārya 122n.
- Siddharāja, king of Anbhivāda, levied tax on pilgrims visiting Somanātha and then remitted it 198
- Silāditya, a king 70
- Silappadikāram, a Tamil work 407
- Silparatna, a work 182n
- Silpinyāsa, meaning of 458, rules about 459-460.
- Silver, value of, in relation to copper 121n
- Sin, (see under 'samsarga'). divergence of views as to what was grave s. 612-614, is not committed through fear of punishment or of Yama or of public opinion 389, murder of brāhmana, gravest s 613, various grades of 612
- Singhana, a Yādava king of Devagiri 225
- Sinner, association with a s for a certain period made associator guilty of same sin 614, 943-44, became fit to be associated with when he performed *prāyaścitta* 615, mode of taking back into society a grave 615.
- Sirkar, Dr D C 378
- Śiromanibhāttācārya 547
- Sistas, all practices of, are not authoritative in matters of dharma 827, 844, practices of, furnish criterion as to what dharma is 826, who are 825, 843.
- Sister, is brought in as a gotraja heir by *Vyavahāramayūkha* 748-749, position of, as heir 728, position of, under modern legislation 749, unmarried s. entitled to a share on partition among brothers 619-620, 749
- Sisunāka dynasty 899.
- Sisupālavadha 313n
- Sisya, defined 482, duties of a Vedic 483.

Siṭā, ordeal of fire, undergone by 364
 Siva swallowed Hālāhala poison 372n
 Sivaskandavarman, a Pallava king 69.
 Skanda and Viśākha, story of 905n
 Slandagupta, commander of elephant
 section under Emperor Harsa 86,
 115

Skandapurāṇa 234, 801,
 Skandasasthī 911

Slaves, condition of, in Buddhist India,
 not so miserable as in Greece 484,
 master entitled to claim back s,
 leaving him and going to another 485,
 master liable to be punished for
 selling a female slave unwilling to
 leave him 485, population of, in
 ancient Greek cities 15n, who could
 not be made 485

Smārtakāla, meaning of 321, 970

Smṛticandrikā 7, 119, 120n, 121n,
 156n, 243, 244n, 247n, 251n, 258n,
 259n, 260-264, 265n, 270n, 274n,
 275, 276n, 277, 278n, 280-82, 285n,
 286n, 287-88, 291, 295-299n, 300n,
 301, 302n, 303-06, 310-14, 317,
 318n, 321, 323n, 326n, 327, 331,
 332n, 334, 336-338n, 341n, 342n,
 345n, 346n, 347, 348n, 349n, 350,
 351n, 352, 354n, 357n, 358, 363n,
 364n, 367n, 371n, 375, 379n, 380,
 382n, 383n, 384, 386n, 387n, 391n,
 393n, 394, 395n, 396, 398n, 409n,
 411, 413n, 417n, 419n, 421n, 424n,
 426n, 429n, 430-434n, 436-37, 439n,
 440, 442n, 444-447n, 451n, 452n,
 455n, 460n, 462-465, 468n, 469,
 471n-474n, 476-485n, 487-489n,
 491n, 492n, 498n-501n, 503,
 505n-515n, 517n-18, 520n, 521n,
 524, 525n, 526n, 529, 531, 532n,
 533n, 536n, 538n, 545, 548n, 549n,
 550n, 553n, 554n, 556n, 563n, 570n,
 572n, 575n, 580n-582n, 585n, 586,
 589, 590n, 593, 595n, 597, 599, 605-
 607n, 609n, 610n, 619n-621n, 623n-
 626n, 628, 629, 631n, 632n, 634n,
 635, 637n-639n, 659, 664n, 678n,
 691, 703, 706, 707, 709n, 710n, 712,
 714-15, 721-22, 726-27, 731, 733,

750n, 766, 768, 772, 775, 777n-79,
 781, 783n, 786n-788, 790n, 792n,
 793, 800n, 804n, 805, 815, 858n,
 859n, 860n, 861n, 862, 863n, 864n,
 867n, 868n, 869n, 870, 871n, 872n,
 874, 876, 884-85, 928, 929, 956n,
 970n

Smṛtikaustubha, 930, 938, 941n, 949,
 951, 953, 954, 957, 958n, 960n, 964,
 966

Smṛtimabārnava 581n

Smṛtis, all s. were deemed to form one
 śāstra 870, authors of, believed in
 a golden age in the dim past 243 ;
 authors of, disagreed among them-
 selves 866, authoritativeness of 828-
 830, 839-40, authoritativeness of
 depends on purpose they serve viz
 whether they are concerned with
 dharma or mokṣa 839-841, certain
 s specially authoritative in certain
 yugas 868, conflict among 283, 863-
 66, conflict of smṛtis and Purāṇas
 871-873, conflict of s and Vedic
 texts 832-834, conflict of s. and
 customs 849-850, 874-75, conflict-
 ing s to be assigned their appro-
 priate scope 443, contents of,
 divided into five categories 840, direct
 conflict among, is to be assumed
 only if no other recourse is open
 443 embody practices current in
 their days 874-75, 878-879 endea-
 voured to reach the ideal of the rule
 of law 398 on same subject must
 be harmonized as far as possible
 443, reasoning should be taken into
 consideration in interpreting 867,
 870, rules of interpretation of s.
 when in apparent conflict with Veda
 834, 870, three views about s be-
 ing based on Veda 829-30, when
 visible purpose can be found for s,
 Vedic basis or spiritual purpose not
 to be inferred 835-837,

Smṛtimuktāphala 858n, 859n, 861n,
 868n, 871n, 872n, 875n, 876, 929n,
 930, 957, 960n.

- Smṛtisangraha*, (see under 'Sangraha') 545, 549, 555, 628n, 629n, 705, 726, 928.
- Smṛtiratna* 858n.
- Smṛtisāra* 767
- Smṛtiviveka*, a work of Medhātithi 828, 830n, 831, 840n.
- Smṛtyarthasāra* 928, 945n.
- Soātaka*, was always, to carry a jar of water 938
- Social contract, theory of 31, 34.
- Socrates 50, 52
- Soldiers, (see under 'troops'), characteristics of s of various countries and tribes 202, duty of, to fight and die in battle rather than run away 211; fighting without treachery go to Heaven if they fall in battle 58, 211, rewards promised to s. by the commander-in-chief 212, running away from battle were deemed to go to Hell 211; slain in battle are waited upon by divine damsels in heaven 58; tribunals for deciding disputes of 283.
- Soma, distinguished from surā 964
- Somadeva, author of *Nītivākyaṃrta* 240.
- Someśvara 250
- Son, (see under 'aurasa', 'illegitimate'), abandoned by parents belongs to caste of him who brings him up 645n; belief that those who had no s did not go to heavenly worlds 710n, by the birth of the eldest s a man becomes free from debt owed to pītr 42, 624, 736
- Son, can perform pārvana and ekoddīṣṭa śrāddhas of father 737, different ways of giving a special share to eldest 624-625, eldest s., special rights of, recognized even in modern times in certain cases 624, 631, eldest s was given all wealth in Vedic times in some cases 565-566, 622, extravagant praise of son, grandson, great-grandson 642, giving major part of ancestral estate to eldest s. was forbidden by śāstras acc. to Āp. 566, 622; giving special share to eldest son was practised in certain countries 623; has an absolute right to partition under *Mitākṣarā* during father's lifetime even against father's wish 569-570, 626, has no right to partition in father's lifetime acc to *Dāyabhāga* 569, history of the practice to give a larger share to eldest s. 566-67, *kṛtrima* s. recognized in modern times in *Mithilā* 637, *kṣetrajña* s. condemned by *Āpastamba* 649, importance of 641-643; male descendants of s and himself confer greatest spiritual benefit 443, not liable for misappropriation by father or loss of deposit made to father 460, of a brāhmana from a śūdra wife got a share of his father's property 598, of a brāhmana from a vaiśya or ksatriya wife not allowed to share in land donated to a brāhmana 586-87, 598; paunarbhava s not fit to be invited at śrāddha 649; purposes served by a 641, rights of a posthumous s after a partition takes place before his birth 595-597, rise of popular sentiment against giving special share to eldest s. 626-627
- Son, secular benefits derived from 643, seniority among sons 626-627, seniority among twins 626; some works like the *Smṛticandrikā* say that annulment marriages are not in vogue and so it is unnecessary to speak about s of such a marriage 599; was supposed to save the father from the Hell called *put* 642.
- Sons, classification into four groups of several kinds of 649, confusion among *smṛtis* about the position and rights of secondary 644-648, 650-652, definitions of the 12 or 13 kinds of 647-648, kinds of, recognized in ancient works 643-644; long lists of secondary s due to partiality for divisions and sub-divisions 649, many s were desired 642; only two kinds of, recognized now throughout

- India 657, other than aurasa and dattaka forbidden in Kali 655, rights of secondary sons 653; secondary s not recognized by Āpastamba 643, secondary s. except *dattaka* now obsolete 657, smṛtis do not consider all secondary s equally important for spiritual purposes nor did they allow such s to be taken at same time 648, spiritual benefit derived from secondary s. 653-655, table of several kinds of 645, twelve kinds of 645-646, twenty kinds of, in Aouśā-saoaparva 645n.
- Sovereign, (see under 'krog'), three-fold activities of 98.
- Spies, 128-131, disguises of 129, employed by invading krog to encourage his enemy's subjects to become disaffected 199, employed by samāhartr to protect subjects against officers taking bribes 253, five saṁsthās (groups) of 129-130, for detecting young men inclined to robbery and adultery 254, for reporting on the private character of ministers and high officers 130-131, several s. to be sent on same mission without their knowing each other 130, to report about rumours and disconcert among people 130, were said to be king's eyes 131.
- Sprig festival 844o
- Strādha, (see under 'ekoddista,' 'pārvana' and 'sapindaoa'), clothes and ornaments worn by father, his bed and vehicle were to be donated to brāhmana invited at father's 587, offering of flesh at 945-46, order of those who are to perform s. 739, pindas are offered by three male descendants of a man in 443, tax levied on Kashmirians performing s. at Gayā 198.
- Strādhatatva 737n, 864o.
- Strādhaviveka 739.
- Strāvasti 109.
- Srens, (see under 'corporations' and 'guilds').
- Sri, hymn to 77.
- Śrīdhara, commentator of the Bhāga-vata Purāṇa 182n, 183, 626n, 873, 899.
- Śrīkara 324, 582, 583o, 703, 721, 768.
- Śrīkrśṇa, author of Dāyākrāmasaṅgraha 544, 557, 568n, 586o, 781n, 799.
- Śruti, rules of, were sometimes set aside, contradicted or abandoned by smṛti texts or popular sentiment 865.
- Stare decisis, principle of 730.
- State, (see under 'rājadharmā' and 'rājya'), comprised *deśas* and subdivisions of *deśas* 138-139, departments of 113, depends on *mantra* 110, divided by samāhartr into four divisions 143, elements of, depend on *rāstra* 132, functions of, in modern times 60, helped helpless women and cottage industries 146, how constituted 19; local administration in 153-159, made great efforts for rearing and protection of cattle 161; most desirable thing for s, is to crown a king 34, organic theory of 20, ownership of, over all lands 495-496, policy of ancient Indian, to protect all religions and to interfere with none 883, popular elected assemblies in 92, revenue and army, the two pillars of the ancient Indian 184, seven elements of 17; superintendents of the departments of, to be appointed by the krog 142, twenty-eight departments of, mentioned by Kautilya 142ff, was not an end in itself but only a means 241.
- States; ends that ancient s placed before themselves 237-241, internal and external troubles of 207; manufactured salt and imposed duty on imported salt 196, modern nation s have two moralities 138, principal sources of income of 190-191, proximate and ultimate ends of 238-239.

- Step-brother, includes, acc to Vajrayanti, son of the same mother but of a different father 730
- Step-mother, held not entitled to a share when she has only step sons who come to partition 606, not recognized as an heir in the whole of India (except in Bombay) 724, succeeds in Bombay as widow of *gotraja sapinda* 724
- Stephens, author of 'History of English Criminal Law' 255n, 345, 375, 390, 405n.
- Steal (theft) 519-524.
- Sthānika, an officer 143
- Sthānviśvara (modern Thanesar), description of 182.
- Stobhaka, a private informant 264.
- Stokes, compiler of translations of Hindu Law books 682, 728
- Strabo 308.
- Strange, Sir Thomas, author of 'Hindu Law' 818, 819, 930n
- Strīdhana, (see 'ornaments', 'sandāyika', 'yaktaka') 770-802, definitions of various kinds of, in smṛtis 772-777, definitions of, in commentaries 780-782, devolution of, acc to Kātyāyana 792, dominion over 783-788, germs of the topic of, in Vedic literature 770, husband's power over wife's 785-787, Kātyāyana contains the most elaborate treatment of, among smṛtis 774-775, modern case law on definition of 782-783, rules about *saudāyika* 784-785, succession to 788-801; smṛti texts on succession to 789-792; succession to, acc. to Dāyabhāga 798-800; succession to all kinds of, acc. to Mitākṣarā, except *śulka* and maiden's property 794, succession to maiden's s 793, succession to, acc to Smṛticandrikā 795; succession to, acc to Vivādaclntāmanī 795, succession to, acc. to Vyavahāramayōkha 798, succession to *śulka* 792-793, succession to, varies acc as woman is unmarried or married or married in an approved form and acc to species of s 789; succession to s. and uochasutya 801.
- Strīparva 204, 872
- Student, (see under 'śiṣya') either upakṛvāna or naisthika 962
- Subandhan, author of Vāsavadattā 53, Subdivisions, of State with the number of villages they contained 139.
- Subhadra, was not a daughter of Vasudeva, acc to Kōmārila 847.
- Sobhālāra, a king whose queen and daughter succeeded to the throne 40.
- Subjects, causes of impoverishment of 198, harassment of, may lead to ruin of king 199, require protection against king's officers, thieves, royal favourites and king's greed 58-59; what is pleasing to, constitutes the good of the king 61.
- Sob-mortgage (*asvādhi*), allowed by Kollūka and others 429, 431
- Sobodhinī, com. on the Mitākṣarā 553n, 705n, 731, 733n, 750n, 757, 764n, 774n, 793, 815
- Subrahmanyā texts 626-627
- Sūca, an officer who brings aparādhas to the king's notice 264.
- Sudarśana lake was repaired by Rudradāman in 2nd century A. D. 60, 105, 162.
- Sudarśanacarya, commentator of Āpastamba-grhya 674o, 879
- Sudās, son of Pijavāsa 52, 359
- Sudhaovā, upādhyāya of Rāma 6
- Suddhitattva 740n, 959.
- Sūdra, and sea voyage 937, cannot adopt a son according to a few writers 668, engaging sūdra as a cook in a brāhmana household 938, expiation for perjury by a sūdra to save a person from death sentence 353; had his tongue cut off, if he abused a virtuous person of the three higher castes 513, kings in Kali age will be 40; provision for guests of sūdra caste 60, to be punished with the cutting of that

- limb with which he strikes a person of the three higher castes 515.
- Sūdrakamālākara, a work 893n
- Sodyumoa 53
- Sogandhā, a notorious queen of Kashmir 40
- Sugarcane, crops raised even to Vedic times 163
- Suicide, when allowed and did not lead to sin 939, 958-59.
- Suits, (see under 'appearance', 'court', 'justice')
- Śulkrācārya, prohibited intoxicants to brāhmanas 966
- Śulkrāntisāra 3-5, 7, 17-18, 21, 23, 25-27, 37, 43, 44, 47n, 48, 49n, 52-3, 55-57, 60, 67, 72, 84, 99, 104, 106, 108, 109, 113, 115-118, 121n, 128, 142, 147, 152, 154-55, 160, 163-64, 170-71, 174, 179, 181, 184-90, 192, 194, 197, 199, 202, 205, 206, 209, 212-13, 216, 238-40, 242-43, 245, 247, 251, 266, 269-73, 276, 278, 281n, 282n, 286, 288n, 289, 297, 300n, 301, 303, 308, 311, 345, 354, 379, 399, 403-04, 420n, 441n, 662, 861n, 869, 881
- Śūlapāni 878
- Śulka (tolls), tax levied on goods carried by land or water 192
- Śulka, a kind of stridhana 774-775
- Sumaoti 17, 200, 494n, 875.
- Sumitra, a dog, fond of dancing 86.
- Summooring (see under 'appearance'), rules about s a defendant or accused 286-287
- Śonahśēpa, story of 544, 563-64, 660, 663; was adopted by Viśvāmitra 544, 563, 657n, 661, 680
- Suodarakānda 172n, 214.
- Superintendents, functions of s of State departments 143-150
- Surā (see under 'wine'), drinking of, was one of the five mahāpātalaś 965, was said to be of three kinds 965, was primarily applied to liquor from flour 965
- Surāśira, had a republic at one time 30
- Surety, 435-438, all kinds of, are personally liable 437 liability of s for appearance 437, liability of s one in case of Act of God or the King 437, liability of several sureties 437-438, of two kinds acc to Manu 436, of three kinds 436, of four kinds, acc to Brhaspati 436, sons of s, for appearance or honesty not liable on death of s 437, taken for five purposes acc to Hārīta 436-37, to be reimbursed by debtor for what s has to pay 438, when taken, acc to Kātyāyana 436, who could not be accepted as 291-97
- Sutherland 682
- Suyya, a great Kashmirian engineer 167
- Svapūrusa, (see 'pūrusa')
- Svargārohanikaparva 872
- Svastyayana, hymns 75, rites of 228
- Svayamdatta son, definition of 648, 661
- Svetaketu 92
- Svetāśvataropaniśad 330.
- Tables, (see under 'measures'), of crops 121n, of measures of capacity 124, 146n, of measures of distance or length 124, 145n, of measures of time 146n, of the number of troops in an akṣaubhīni 204-205, of weights 121-22, 145n.
- Taittiriya Āraṇyaka 353, 842
- Taittiriya Brāhmana, 29, 74, 75n, 77n, 92, 112, 132, 135, 153, 190, 272, 414, 603n, 676, 685n, 829, 877, 887, 907n, 921-22, 933, 961-62, 964
- Taittiriya Samhitā 26, 41, 64, 77, 112, 125n, 132, 150n, 153, 162, 180, 213, 387-88, 414n-416, 500n, 515, 519, 535, 543, 565, 567, 588, 605n, 606, 613, 622, 624, 655n, 662, 689, 701, 703n, 713, 770, 830n, 842, 868n, 887, 905, 920-22, 962, 964
- Taittiriya Upaniśad 22, 826n, 875.
- Taksasūlā 116; University of, where cvco princes studied 50
- Tālaśaṅgha 52.
- Tāndya Brāhmana 361, 512n, 543, 600n.

Tanks, construction of, by the State 162-63.

Tantra, works on 215

Tantraratna 555n.

Tantrasārtika of Kumārika, 38n, 47n, 676n, 694n, 695n, 820n, 830, 834, 835n, 838, 839n, 841n, 842, 843n, 844, 846, 847n, 849n, 852, 853, 855, 857n, 858, 870n, 871, 884n, 963, 968n.

Tawney 195, 263.

Taxation; higher t. could be imposed in calamities after appealing to or requesting the people 185; how to impose in case of famines or other dangers 188; principles of, in ancient Indian works 184-185; principles of, laid down by Adam Smith 186n; should be felt as being light 185

Taxes, are the king's wages for the protection he gives 27, 187, 189; exemption from, applied only to very learned brāhmanas and not to all brāhmanas 195; exemptions from t. mentioned in land grants were eighteen 195; levied on marriages and *upanayana* 195, levied on merchandise 192-193; levied on persons performing śāddha at Gayā 198; not to be collected from learned brāhmanas, women, minors, students, ascetics and śūdras doing menial work for others 1, 194; not to be levied on improved land till cost of improvement was recovered by cultivator 191; ordinarily king was to take one-sixth of grain as t., but even one-fourth or even one-third in calamities 185; persons exempt from payment of t.; principal payers of t. were agriculturists, artisans, traders &c. 191, rates of, were fixed by the surta and could be varied only in emergencies 184-185, reasons why people must pay t. to king 189-90, rise in, to be gradual 186; what prevented kings from exacting excessive t. 198.

Taxila copperplate of Maṇi 308.

Taylor, Jeremy 238

Taylor, on 'Evidence' 336n, 338.

Teacher, to be fined for failing to teach a lore or craft after receiving fees 481.

Telang, Mr. Justice 570n, 698n, 731n.

Temples, duty of village elders to increase property of 165; king could in calamities requisition wealth of 188, 197; property of, not lost by long possession of another 327.

Thakur, Dr. Amarendra, on 'Hindu Law of evidence' 306.

Theft, definition of 519; distinguished from crimes of violence 523; duty of officers to catch thieves and make good loss caused by 167-168; enhancement of sentence for repeatedly committing 405; liability of village headman for t. 167-68; liability of whole village in certain cases of 168; no liability to make good loss if man robbed by his own servant 167; no t. if man took without permission certain articles 523-524; of three kinds, acc. to the value of the subject of 519.

Thieves, cutting of fingers and hands of 522; frequently mentioned in the Rgveda 519. goldsmith is the worst of all t. 521; how detected and caught 520, nine kinds of secret t. 520; not to be convicted on mere suspicion 521; punishment for harbouring or giving food or help to t. and receiving stolen property from 523; special officers appointed for catching 168; to be made to restore property stolen or its price 167; two kinds of, patent and secret 523; various punishments for 521-22, were punished with death in Upaniṣadic times 387.

Throne, how made 82

Time, brings about all results, acc. to some 170.

Tirthas (high officers of State) were 18, 112.

- Tithitattva, a work of Ragbunandaoa 910n
- Title, and possession lend support to one another 318, rules respecting possession and t 319-320, t without some slight possessioo has no strength 318
- Tolerance, religions, in ancient India 881
- Tolls, commodities exempt from payment of 193-194, levied on exports and imports 193-194, superintendent of 146.
- Torture, allowed in witchcraft causes in England 405o, by police not unknown even now in the West and in India 255n; employment of, to elicit admission from accused whose guilt is *prima facie* established 254, four kinds of 254, punishment of those causing death by 254, was part of Roman Criminal Procedure 255n, when not to be employed 254
- Touching a person after a relative of the latter is dead 951
- Traitana, a dāsa 353.
- Transactions, (see under 'contract', 'possession'), age of competency to enter into, for males and females 394, brought about by force or fraud are unenforceable 412, circumstances which make t unenforceable 412, committed to writing prevail over those made before witnesses only 431-32, in conflict of, one with possession first is superior 431, in t of sale, gift or mortgage the first in time prevails 432, last of several t is decisive except in sale, gift or mortgage 413.
- Transfer of Property Act (Indian) 306, 413o, 425, 429n, 434, 493n, 494n, 674
- Transfer, of property by acceptance 319
- Trasadasyu, a Vedic king, claimed to be identical with Varuna and other gods 32
- Treasure trove, rules about 175
- Treasury, all undertakings of king depend on 164, duties of the superintendent of 144, eight principal sources of filling 187-188, everyone, however poor, must contribute something to the t 187, importance of gold and silver reserve in 187, means recommended for replenishing depleted 188-189.
- Trees, destruction of is sābasa of lowest kind 426, fines for injuring or felling 516, 528, rules about the ownership of the fruits and other products of t. growing on the boundary of a field 509-510
- Trial, ordeals not to resorted to in if human means available 261.
- Tribes, mentioned in the Rgveda such as those of Anu, Drubyu &c 64, 135
- Tribunals (see under 'courts'), grades of five kinds of 280; inferior, could dispose of all litigation except what fell under *sābasa* 281; inferior, could not carry out orders as to fines and punishments, but only recommended these to king 281, offenders of all castes were brought before same 398n, ten classes of, spokeo by Bhrgu 282, usage varied as to the number and gradation of inferior 285
- Triveda, Dr D S 897n
- Troops, are of six kinds 200, fighting spirit incited and encouraged in, by holding forth several kinds of rewards 211, ksatriyas constituted hereditary 202, number of, killed in the Mahābhārata war 204, of all castes existed even in the epic age 202, roles about 206, superiority or inferiority of several grades of 201-202.
- Troubles, internal, are more serious for the State than external ones 233
- Tup-tikā of Kumārila on Jaimini 695n.
- Turvasu, son of Yayāti 937
- Tusāspa, a Yavana was Governor of Surāstra under Aśoka 117.
- Twelve Tables, in Rome 389n, 441n.
- Twos, seniority among 627, 873.
- Uccala, king of Kashmir 80.

Vidayana, king of Vatsa, was imprisoned by Mahāseva 86.
 Udayaniyā, as *rsti* in Agnistoma 939.
 Udvāhatattva, 930, 944, 945n
 Udyogaparva, 30, 37, 43, 53, 58n, 62, 79, 101, 127, 131, 163n, 168, 173, 185, 202, 204-7, 213, 226, 228, 232, 245, 278, 334, 452, 538, 542n, 555n, 609n, 845, 848, 905, 907-8, 910, 911, 916, 918, 922, 965.
 Udvota, an author of by Dāyabhāga 556, 736
 Ugra 64
 Uktalābha, defined 493.
 Upandib, 454-455, means every kind of bailment acc to Kātyāyana 455
 Upapātaka (minor sin) 511n, 610n, adultery was generally regarded as 615, *Cāndiāyana* or *Gorata* was the ordinary penance for 615, *govadhā* as an 865
 Upaveda 49, *Arthaśāstra* is as 10: 843; four Upavedas mentioned as affiliated to the four Vedas 10, 843n
 Upāyas (expedients of royal policy) 171-175, are four, acc to many writers 171, are seven, acc to Kāmandaka and a few others 172, are to be employed not only in state craft, but also in ordinary life 173. danda out of the upāyas is to be employed as a last resort 173, theory of, elaborated long before Christian era 172.
 Upelṣā (an upaya) 172
 Usages, about ritual varied even in Vedic times 877, authoritativeness of, laid down in smrtis, in relation to Vedic rites 841-42, each country has its that are *dnrācāras* 849, established in a country and not plainly immoral and not in direct conflict with Veda and smrtis were to be recorded in writing under royal seal 270, 488, 862, family is preferred to śāstra 875; general rule about authoritativeness of 865-866, governed disputes of inhabitants of same village, city or country 283, 862, illus-

trations of varying usages in different parts 861. immemorial is said to be transcendental law 875, immoral is condemned by Kṛmānīa 848-849, of countries, castes, villages and groups, varying general rules were to be enforced by king 566, 860-866, 882, of guilds traders, heretics, and associations may be enforced by king 860, of śāstras as to gains of learning or gifts acquired at expense of family estate 580, of Vedic śākhās about religious rites 863-84, recognized by Vedic texts gradually went out of vogue and came to be condemned by common people 630, that are not opposed to Vedic texts, that have no visible purpose and are practised by Vedic śāstras as dharma are authoritative 843
 Uśanas, author of work on *Rājasastra* 2-4, 121n, 208, 221, smrti of 336-37, 447, 485, 501, 514, 586.
 Usasti Cākṛāyana 164.
 Usury, (see under 'money-lending'), even witnesses to transactions were liable to be punished 422, condemned as worse than brāhmanamurder 418, 420n, 425n, not known to Indians, acc to Megasthenes 118,
 Utpala, commentator of *Bṛhatsamhitā* 82, 230n, 407n, 897, 906n, 916, 917, 919n
 Uttara (defendant's reply) 300
 Uttarakāṇḍa (of *Rāmāyana*) 243.
 Uttaramallūra, inscriptions on the qualifications of candidates for election to village committees 91, 156.
 Uttarāpatha 135
 Vācaspati 668.
 Vāhika, country of 88, Sākala, chief city of 88n
 Vaidya, Mr. C V 898, 901n, 912
 Vajayanti, a lexicon 136, 145n, 381,
 Vajayanti, com of Nandapandita on *Visnudharmasūtra*, 39, 122n, 142, 195, 205, 403, 452n, 453, 626n, 646, 717, 727, 730-31, 777, 877n

- Vaikhāṇasa-smārtasūtra 764n.
 Vainya, the first king, who made a contract with people 31
 Vairantya, a king killed by stratagem 85.
 Vararjaoa-homa 836n
 Vaiśya-vamśa-sūdhākara 252n
 Vājapeya, a sacrifice, may be performed by brāhmanas 65, 836n sacrificial post in 75n, 92
 Vājasaneyya samhita, 64, 132, 162, 272, 353, 519, 534, 541, 600, 744n, 837, 962, 964
 Vajjians, eight clans of 90
 Vajrāditya, a Kashmir king who told many people as slaves to mlecchas 484
 Vākātakas 39, 70, were allied by marriage to Bhārasiya 76n.
 Vākpatasya (abuse and defamation) 511-513
 Vākyabheda, fault of 695
 Vāmāgama, (see under sāhita)
 Vaoaparva 5, 46, 49, 51, 53n, 101, 134, 161, 168, 172, 180, 207-8, 214, 634n, 7760, 860, 890, 890-92, 896n, 923-24, 960n
 Vānaprastha, stage of, forbidden in Kali 941
 Varadarāja, author of Cirvānapadamājjarī 849
 Varadarāja, author of Vajavahāra-nimaya, a work of authority on Hindu Law in Madras 246, 545, 731.
 Vārāhagṛhya 754n
 Vārāhamihira, author of Brhatsamhitā, 231, 889, 897, and of Pañcasiḍ-dhāntikā 898, 907
 Vardhamāna, author of Daḍḍavivēka 391, 391n.
 Varsas, nine, of Jambudvīpa 134.
 Vārsyāyaoi 524.
 Vārtā, benefits from 50, constituents of 50; importance of 51, works on 14n.
 Vārtika, on Pāṇini 38n, 126n, 140n, 141n, 144n, 190, 499n.
 Varan, as chastiser of kings 176, praised as the lord of rāstras 132.
 Varunapraghāsa, a Vedic rite, one of the Cāturmāsya 534, 6760
 Vāsavadattā, of Śubandhn 53.
 Vasistha, special oath taken by 359, threw himself into the Vipāśā river 845
 Vasistha, smiti of 302n, 310, 342n, 430.
 Vasistha, dharmasūtra of 3, 37, 56, 59, 61, 97, 119, 137, 160n, 166, 190, 194, 242, 245-6, 250, 273, 307, 317, 327, 332, 333, 343, 344n, 353, 355, 380, 390, 391, 401-2, 409, 417-18, 423, 443, 447, 454, 472, 504, 527, 535, 564, 574, 595, 598-99, 608, 612n, 614-15, 617, 625, 642n, 644, 646, 647n, 650-51, 655, 657, 660, 663, 668, 676, 677n, 678n, 690n, 698, 700, 703n 706, 753, 771, 775n, 803, 805-7, 825, 857, 863, 866, 870n, 872n, 874, 875, 881, 931, 938, 941, 944, 946-48, 950, 952, 954, 957, 959, 963, 965
 Vasisthadharmasūtra, specially studied by Rgvedīs 853
 Vasordhārā, a religious rite 234
 Vāstusāstra 180.
 Vāsudeva, minister of Devabhūti, killed his master 86
 Vāsudeva, (see under Kṛṣṇa), is said to have drunk liquor prepared from honey 965
 Vasus, eight 368
 Vātāpi, perished when attacking Agastya through over-joy 53.
 Vatsa, was abused by his step-brother as the son of a Śūdra woman 361
 Vātsyāyana, author of bhūṣya on Nyāyasūtra 46n
 Vāyupurāṇa, 10, 21, 42n, 53n, 65n, 101, 146n, 170, 179, 642n, 675, 872n, 892, 895n, 896n, 897n, 899-900, 902
 Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa - 885, 922, 923-25, 934.
 Vedāṅgas 49, 839.
 Vedānta, philosophy propounds Purusa as the cause of the world 839.
 Vedāntasūtra 46, 47n, 227, 443n, 6690, 719, 731n, 870, 964n, 968n,

- Vedas, acc to Kautilya 48, *angas* of 48-49.
- Veda-Vyāsa, *smṛti* of 272n, 872, 963
- Vena, a king, was killed by brāhmanas for his irreligious conduct 26, 33; perished through lack of *vinaya* 52.
- Vendor, (see under 'purchaser', 'sale'), fine for selling an article after concealing defects or for selling to a third man what is already sold 491.
- Veśālī, capital of Licchavis 90, 91; administrations of justice in, was complicated 268
- Vic'vās, (see under 'gantkā'), were almost slaves 148
- Vibhāga (partition), definition of 560-561.
- Victoria, proclamation of Queen 61n 820
- Victory, joyous or confident state of mind is the highest sign of 227
- Vidhivairūpya, meaning of 605
- Vidhivaisamya, explained 704.
- Vidūratha, a king, killed by his queen 85
- Vidyādhana, (see under 'gains of learning') 581ff.
- Vidyās, control of senses is the cause of proficiency in 52; for a king 48-49, fourteen or eighteen in ancient times 843, produce discipline (*vinaya*) 51.
- Vigraha (hostility), sixteen ways in which v. springs 226.
- Vijigīṣu, meaning of 218
- Vijñāneśvara, (see under *Mitākṣarā*) 119, 393, 869, 927, 942.
- Vikramorvaśīya, a drama of Kālidāsa 305n.
- Village, assemblies carrying on local administration in 155-156; craftsmen were hereditarily attached to 156, communities were miniature States 157, duty of elders of, to protect and increase property of minors and temples 166, extent and revenue of 134, 154, headman of 153-154, headman of, had certain summary powers of punishment 282; officers of a 154-155, officers of, supervised by a minister of State 141, should contain not less than 100 families and not more than 500, 134
- Village Police Act (in Bombay Presidency) 282
- Villages, administration of, by means of a hierarchy of officers 141-42, groups of ten, 200, 400 v had separate appellations 140, in a kingdom were divided into three grades by the samāhartr 143, were named after trees 141n.
- Vināyaka, propitiatory rite to 966.
- Vipāsā, river in which Vasistha threw himself 845
- Vīramitrodaya, (see *Vyavahāraprakāśa* and *Rājanītiprakāśa*), 10, 445, 571, 576, 671, 731, 735, 759, 782, 800, 879, is of paramount authority in the Benares School of Hindu Law 544
- Vīrataparva 59, 135, 160, 180, 203, 888
- Viśālākṣa, expounder of Rājasastra 2, 83, 232, summarised the work of Brahmadā 4
- Viṣṇu, *smṛti* of (not found in printed text) 735.
- Viṣṇudharmasūtra, 3, 9, 17n, 22, 37, 56, 58-59, 61, 71, 118-121n, 126, 133, 141-42, 146n, 166-67, 173, 176, 179, 185, 187, 190-92, 195-96, 242, 245, 273, 275, 294, 305, 307, 311-12, 314-15, 321, 330-32, 334, 336, 340n, 343, 346-47, 352-53, 358, 360, 364-66, 370-372n, 373-74, 389, 392, 394, 396-97, 400, 402-05, 409, 419, 421-23, 427-29, 431-433, 436-38, 440, 442-45, 449n, 450, 452-53, 463, 472, 479, 490, 498, 509, 511n, 512, 516, 522, 526-28, 534-35, 551, 554, 574, 578, 580, 587, 589n, 595, 598, 605, 608, 610n, 613n, 614n, 616-18, 620, 623, 625, 630, 639, 642, 644, 646, 655, 663, 678n, 690n, 700-702, 710n, 714, 719, 721, 725, 734, 747, 749, 763-64, 767, 773, 775n, 777n, 787, 790, 804, 807n, 816, 857, 866, 869, 877n, 890, 922, 932, 943-44, 949, 951-52, 953-54, 959, 963, 965
- Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, 13, 24, 44, 54, 57, 59-60, 69, 72, 77n, 79, 80,

- 82, 105, 108, 118, 119n, 126-27, 130-31, 133, 141-42, 160-61, 167, 170, 172-73, 177, 184, 191, 192, 195, 215-17, 219, 220n, 223-24, 226-27, 230, 263, 924
- Viṣnugupta, composed work on Daodaniti in 6000 śloka 7, 8
- Viṣnupurāṇa, 10, 77n, 134, 137, 737n, 766, 836o, 857, 869, 892, 895o, 896, 897n, 924-25
- Viṣṇuśaṣa, father of Kaṭin, 924-25
- Viṣṇu, duties of 208
- Viśvāmītra, adopted Śnoahśepa, though he had already many sons 544, 661-63, officiated as priest for Triśanku who had become a Cāṇḍāla 845.
- Viśvanātha, a logician, author of Māṃsatattvavivēka 946
- Viśvarūpa, commentator of Yājñavalkya-smṛti 9, 32, 47o, 48, 137, 159o, 160, 167, 263n, 299, 312, 322-23, 340, 387o, 395n, 398n, 421n, 452n, 454, 505, 527n, 557, 579-80, 582o, 597, 601n, 602n, 604o, 606n, 616n, 621n, 629, 636, 860o, 865, 867n, 869, 874, 927, 932, 938, 942o, 956, 965
- Vitastā, river was dammed by Soyya 162
- Vivāda, meaning of 246
- Vivādacandra of Miśarumśra 246, 288n, 291n, 325, 327n, 344, 349, 356n, 358, 380, 417n, 423o, 424n, 434n, 455n, 460, 473n, 474n, 490o, 545, 573n, 605, 698n, 703n, 708n, 736n, 766-67, 771n, 774n, 779, 785n, 790n
- Vivādacintāmaṇi, 417n, 419n, 420n, 426n, 447n, 460, 474n, 476n, 492n, 510o, 513n, 522n, 523, 526n, 545, 618n, 626n, 634n, 651n, 698, 701, 708n, 712, 718n, 721, 763, 766, 770n, 773n-79, 782, 784n, 785n, 786n, 787-88, 791n, 793, 817n, leading authority in Mithilā 545, 795
- Vivādaratnāra, 121n, 165n, 177, 246, 281, 316, 320, 393o, 401n, 404, 413n, 419n, 420n, 421n, 423n, 426n, 432n, 438n, 440, 442n, 445n, 446, 447n, 451n, 457n-460n, 462n-465o, 467n-470o, 472o, 473n, 476n, 480n, 484o, 485n, 489n, 492n, 498n-504n, 506o, 508n, 513o, 514n, 516n, 521n, 522n, 523, 525n, 529n, 531n-533n, 536n, 538o, 540n, 545, 553n, 554n, 566n, 568n, 572n, 574, 575n-577n, 580n, 581n, 583n, 586n, 587-590n, 592n, 597, 598, 607n, 610o, 618n, 619n, 621n, 623n-626n, 631n, 632n, 634n, 635-36, 637n, 642n, 644, 646, 649n, 651n, 652o, 656n, 660n, 664n, 702, 707n, 714n, 716, 721n, 734n, 736n, 738o, 747n, 763, 770, 771n, 786n-788o, 791n, 948n
- Vivādatāṇḍava, 246, 547n, 550n, 556n, 593n, 643n, 659, 664n, 692o, 729n, 770n
- Vogel, Dr. 153
- Vratābandha of Hemādri 122n
- Vrdhāttri 872n.
- Vrdhha-Brhaspati 614, 653o, 943
- Vrdhha-Gautama 432n, 676n, 683n, 684n, 863o
- Vrdhha-Hārīta, 209, 242, 391, 396-97, 400-402, 420, 442, 951.
- Vrdhha-Kātyāyana 300o, 493n.
- Vrdhha-Manu 408, 477-79, 707
- Vrdhha-Sātātapa 754.
- Vrdhha-Vasistha 380
- Vrdhha-Viśnu 721n
- Vrdhha-Yājñavalkya 675
- Vṛṣṇis, oligarchy of, perished by attacking Draupāyana 53, sanghaṇi, was presided over by Kṛṣṇa 88, suffered through gambhog 55
- Vrtra 65
- Vyāhrtis 76
- Vyāsa, expounder of Rājasastra 4.
- Vyāsa, a kṛnina son 660, gave sight for a time to blind Dhṛtarāstra 847, produced by niyoga two sons on the wives of Vicitravīrya 845-846
- Vyāsa, smṛti of 260, 272n, 273, 278, 284, 304, 310-13, 318, 322, 332, 341, 355, 358, 379-80, 395, 409, 421, 430, 437, 462, 467n, 491n, 492, 496, 499, 510, 521-22, 524, 526, 531, 554, 572, 580o, 582, 584, 586n, 606-07, 703, 737, 772, 778, 926, 961, 970.

Vyasanās, of *ling*, arising from *kāma* and *kródha* 232-233, of the elements of *rājya* 232.

Vyavahāra, eight limbs of 262, four feet of 259-60, four stages of, are plaint, reply, proof and decision 260, meanings of 245-247; several matters predicated about 259-263, springs from three motives, *kāma*, *kródha* and *lobha* 262.

Vyavahāra-kalpataru 882n.

Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jīmīlavāhana, 246, 251n, 258n, 268, 271n-273n, 281, 284n, 285n, 297n, 300n-302n, 305n, 312, 321n, 323-24, 330-32, 347, 351n, 358n, 363n, 380n, 381, 409, 410n, 413n, 867n, 882n

Vyavahāramayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha 247, 287n, 294n, 309n, 310, 323, 340n, 341n, 346n, 358, 363, 368, 370, 373, 389n, 393n, 394n, 417n, 419n, 423n, 424, 426n, 428n, 429n, 431n, 433n, 434n, 445n, 462n, 463n, 467n, 468n, 473n, 513n, 526, 532n, 545-46, 549n, 550n, 551, 553n, 554n, 560, 562, 568n, 569, 575n, 582n-584n, 586n, 593n, 595n, 597, 599n, 601, 607n, 609n-10n, 618n, 621n, 623, 626-27, 632n, 636, 647n, 664, 668n-670n, 674-75, 678-680, 687-692n, 695-96, 706n, 709-10, 715n, 719n, 721-22, 725-26, 728-29, 731-32, 734, 738, 747n, 748, 761, 763, 764n, 766, 768-69, 772, 774n, 777n, 779, 782-784n, 787-791n, 795, 797-98n, 800n, 804n, 805, 809-11, 817n, 861n, 867n, 873, 878, 879, 936, a work of paramount authority on Hindu Law in Gujerat, Bombay Island and Northern Konkan 545, 878

Vyavahāranṛṇaya of Varadarāja 121n, 246, 260, 277n, 287n, 300n, 301n, 308n, 310, 313n, 318n, 321n, 326n, 327n, 336n, 338n, 341n, 342n, 348n, 355n, 358n, 368, 369n, 379n, 382, 391n, 394n, 403n, 419n, 423, 428n, 430n, 431, 441n, 445n, 468n, 469, 474, 487n, 492n-494n, 495-96, 545, 553, 554n, 556n, 569, 571n, 572n,

576n, 577n, 582n-85n, 592n, 593n, 601, 606n, 620n, 621n, 623n, 625n, 628n, 631n, 639n, 644, 651n, 653n, 678n, 683, 685n, 686, 703n, 707n, 713n, 731, 733n, 736n, 752n, 755n, 774n, 776n, 779n, 791n, 800n, 861n, 862n, 882n

Vyavahārapadas, meaning of 248; misjoinder of 299, number and nomenclature of, differed 348, said to be 18 from ancient times 248, 250; subdivided into those arising from wealth and those arising from injury 258; subdivisions of 262

Vyavahāraprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya of Mitrāmīśra) 156n, 243n-44n, 247n, 259n, 261-65n, 275, 278, 280, 282n, 284, 288n, 291, 299n, 301n-303n, 304, 306, 308-10, 313n, 315, 317, 318n, 322-23, 327n, 330-334, 337, 338n, 340n, 344n, 346n, 348n, 350n, 351, 352n, 354n-357n, 358, 363n, 364n, 366n, 367n, 368, 371n, 372n, 375, 379, 380n, 383, 385n, 396, 417n, 419n, 432, 436n, 437, 438n-440n, 443n, 444-45n, 447n, 451, 452n, 455, 456n-58n, 462, 463n, 464, 465n-468n, 470n, 471n, 473n, 474n, 475, 477n-479n, 482n-485n, 487, 488n, 489n-90, 492n, 498n, 499n, 502n, 505n, 506n, 507, 509n, 513, 520n, 521, 522n, 525n-26n, 529n, 531n, 532, 536n-37n, 539, 546, 548n, 549, 550n, 552, 555n, 558n, 563n, 568-70n, 572-75n, 578, 598, 602n, 603n, 604, 620, 621n, 623n, 625n, 628n, 629n, 631n, 632n, 636-37, 639n, 652n, 701n, 706-708n, 712, 713n, 715n, 716, 720n-22, 725-27, 729n, 733n, 734n, 737n, 747n, 755, 766, 768, 769n, 774n, 775, 777-79n, 785n, 788, 793, 800n, 804n, 809n, 858n, 861, 862n, 863, 866n, 867n, 869, 879n, 882n.

Vyavahāratnākara 246

Vyavahārasāra, 274, 278, 281n, 311, 354n, 379n, 383, 441n, 459n, 483n, 560n, 605, 625n, 628n, 721n, 733n,

Vyavāratattva, 246, 271n, 276, 288n, 293, 306, 317n, 323n, 325, 338, 340o, 366n, 367, 375, 867o.

Wad, Rao Bahadur 106, 405

War, (see under 'battle'), country of an enemy may be harassed in 210, fighting ceased at sunset in 211, high ideal of, in the Mahābhārata 209; non-combatants were not to be molested in 210, rules of, agreed upon between Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas 209, use of poisoned or barbed arrows forbidden in 210, weapons used in ancient India in 212-215, wounded soldiers of enemy in war should be given medicine 210

Water, rules about allowing w. to run on another's land or house 507-508; rules about defiling reservoir of w. or river 509.

Watercourse, rules about 508, 510, 590, Watters (on Yuan Chwang's travels) 376o, 407.

Ways, rights of, belonging to a joint family cannot be divided at a partition 588n.

Wealth, activity is the root of 169, all w. is not meant for sacrifices 609; is acquired for two purposes, viz. worldly enjoyment and spiritual benefit 736, men of, to be honoured by king 189, rules about the acquisition of w. arc puruṣārtha 550n, seven śāstric sources of 550n

Weapons, divided into four classes by ancient writers 264-265, five kinds of 215, worship of, before battle 910-911

Weaving, duties of superintendent of 146.

Weber 16

Weights and measures, duties of superintendent of 145-146, punishment for false 166, were first introduced by the Nandas 145n, were made from iron or stones found in Magadha country or Mckala mountain 146

Wells, should not be partitioned but enjoyed in common 586, 588n, 596.

Whipping, allowed in England even now for certain offences 403n., as punishment for certain offences 403-4; prescribed as punishment in some cases for women, minors, slaves, lunatics, old men 404.

Whipping Act (Indian) 403n.

Widow, can perform only the Ekodista śrāddha for her husband 737, different views about the power of adoption of a son by a 668-669, effect of unchastity on right to maintenance 806-808; fluctuations in cases about widow's power of adoption in a joint Hindu family in the Bombay Presidency 670-674, forfeits property taken as heir of her husband if she remarries 707, of predeceased son or predeceased grandson was allowed by Viśvarūpa to take the share of her deceased husband 604, of gotraja as heir 751-52, remarriage of, condemned by most smṛtis but allowed by custom in certain castes 453, right of w. of a person or of his predeceased son or grandson in modern times 604, right of w. to succeed to separated soleless husband, if chaste 706-707, right of w. is of a limited nature 708-710, succeeding to husband does not forfeit estate by subsequent unchastity 707, succeeds as heir under Dāyabhāga, whether husband was joint or separate 708, taker of, had to pay her first husband's debts 453, was to be chaste, perform śrāddha of deceased husband and take all his wealth 738, whether unchaste w. can adopt 674

Wife, acc. to Vyāsa, was entitled at most to 2000 panas in the husband's wealth 606, cannot herself demand partition but was entitled to a share when husband separated his sons or her sons claim partition during father's life 605, could earn or own property, but had no independent power of disposal during husband's life 452; debts of, to be paid by husband in the case of cowherds, hunters

- and the like 452, husband must try to deserve regard and love of 537, husband had ownership over, acc to Nārada 453, maintenance of 803-4, may be divided as to estate from husband 450-51, meaning of dietum 'there is no partition between husband and w' 603-604, not liable to pay husband's debts 440-441, 452, of cowherd and of him who takes a lease of land for half produce liable for debts of husband 441, of sacrificer had to confess in Varunapraghāsa if she had a paramour 534-35, right of w, to succeed to her deceased husband's wealth was recognized after a long struggle 701, punishment for abandoning blameless w 804, treatment of w guilty of adultery 806, was said to be half of the husband 453
- Wilkinson, author of 'Manoers and customs of ancient Egyptians' 425n
- Will, Brhaspati is against passing of property by 474, 817, germs of the idea of 474, 816-817, of Umieland 818, political w. of Lalitāditya 817, unknown to ancient Hindu Law 816
- Wills, on 'circumstantial evidence' 356n, 357n
- Window, opening of w so as to command view of the interior of another's house not allowed 507
- Wine, none to be allowed to drink during day time acc to Śnkra 148, how far forbidden in Kali 964-965
- Winternitz, Dr 122n, 405n
- Witchcraft, 405-406, punished in England up to beginning of 18th century 405, punishment for acc to Manu and Brhaspati 406.
- Witness, even one may be sufficient in certain cases 331-332, evidence of, must be direct and not hearsay, 330, king cannot be cited as 336, litigants were not to approach secretly a w, 349, Mann prefers a single male w. to women of good character 337, who is a 330.
- Witnesses, (see under 'perjury'), at least three generally required 331
- brāhmana w following avocation of tending cattle or engaged in trade or as menials were to be treated as śūdras in matters of oath 344
- compulsory attendance of 345, cross examination of w how far allowed 245, divided by Nārada into *kṛta* and *akṛta* 339, duty of party opposed to the party calling w to point out latent defects rendering them incompetent as w, 341, even persons generally held to be incompetent as w may have to be examined in certain cases 337, evidence of w tends to be false owing to friendship, fear, greed, anger, ignorance 334, examination of, not to be delayed by king or judge 331, exceptions to rule that w. were to be examined in open court 346, exhortations addressed by the judge to 342-344, faults in w. cannot be pointed out at a late stage 341, fined for not coming to depose 345, five classes of incompetent 338-339, five kinds of *kṛta* 339, how much has to be proved by party calling w, 347-348, if serious calamity befell w. after deposing in a cause they were fined and made to pay debt claimed 352, indicator of acts and appearances of w. deposing falsely 346, in disputes among groups, guilds &c. 333; minimum required to attest documents 312, number of w, necessary in a dispute 331-332, Oaths administered to 343-44; parties as 345, patent defects in, to be considered by court at time of giving decision 341, persons incompetent to be w, 334-336, qualifications of 332-333, quality preferred to number of 347, rules in case of conflict among 347, should be produced for examination by parties or summoned by court 345; should ordinarily be of the same caste as the parties 333, should take off their shoes and touch cow-

ding, gold or *darbha* grass before depositing 342; six kinds of *akṛta* 340, strict examination of character of w should be entered upon only in civil disputes 336-37, subsistence allowance for w 345, swearing and exhortation of w differed acc to caste 343-44, taking down the depositions of 344, to be examined in presence of parties 342-343, twelve kinds of, mentioned by Bṛhaspati 340, were allowed to depose falsely by Dharmaśāstra works if speaking the truth would lead to death sentence for accused 353, were to depose in the presence of fire, water jar and brāhmanas 342, women as 333-34, 337, women not wholly disqualified as w, 338

Woman, abandonment of, as punishment when she conceived from intercourse with a man of lower caste 402, person buying or selling a brāhmana woman as a slave was punished by king and the transaction was set aside 485, pregnant, not to be sentenced to death 402, sight of, in a dream, an auspicious sign 226, when abandoned for unchastity 806-807, who was not a slave became a slave by marrying a slave 485

Women, assimilated to śūdras in respect of study of Veda, home &c. 687, cannot be completely guarded by being merely secluded 537; even *patita* w that had not performed *prāyaścitta* were to be given bare maintenance 615, have authority to perform *pūrta dharma*, i. e. works of charity such as building of wells, temples, parks 610, lesser punishment for 533, must be guarded against improper attachments 536, not held entitled to a share, but only to maintenance acc to certain writers that rely on Baudhāyana 606, 712, not to be arrested and jailed in certain cases 384-85, not entitled to inherit in the whole of India except five w,

136

specially mentioned and except in Bombay and Madras 713, 746, 748, not entitled to dispose of property independently of their husbands 771, of even good family come to ruin by independence 536, only four kinds of adulterous w to be abandoned 948, rules about personal appearance of w. in courts 287; *saṁskāras* of, except marriage, not to be performed with Vedic mantras 712, treatment of women raped or kidnapped 956-57, work provided at home by superintendent of weaving for w. that did get out or were crippled or unmarried 146

Work, two kinds of, *śubha* and *aśubha* 482, what is impure w 482,

Writing, referred to even in the most ancient dharmaśāstras 307, when introduced in ancient India 306-308, wooden boards used for writing ephemeral matters 308.

Yācītaka, rules of Kātyāyana about interest beginning to run on 426, rules of Kantilya about 459.

Yādavaprakāśa, author of lexicon called *Vaijayanti* 136.

Yadu, disobeyed his father Yayāti and lost the kingdom 42.

Yājñavalkya, smṛti of, 6-7, 9-10, 17n, 22, 26, 32, 37-8, 43-4, 48, 56-7, 59-60, 62, 71, 95-97, 101, 107-110, 118-121n, 123, 124n, 126, 128-29, 132, 140n, 142, 146n, 158, 160-61, 166-171, 173n, 175-76, 178, 184, 193, 195, 199, 209, 211, 216-17, 228, 238, 242, 245-48, 250-51, 257, 259, 260n, 263n, 268, 270-71, 273, 275, 277, 280, 284, 291-92, 294-97, 300, 302-310, 312-313, 314-15, 317, 319-21, 324-25, 327-28, 331-34, 336, 338n, 340n, 342-348n, 350-53, 356, 358, 360, 362-65, 367-68, 370-74, 376n, 380-83, 385, 387-89, 391-92, 394-398n, 400-405, 408, 412-13, 419-422, 425, 427-29, 431, 433-438, 440-443n, 445, 448n-452, 454, 457-58, 463-64, 466-67, 470-72, 476-479, 481-84,

- 486, 488-92, 494n, 496-501, 504-05, 507, 509-516, 520-22, 524, 525n, 527-29, 531, 533-35, 538-540, 545, 549n, 551n, 553, 554n-557, 563, 566-567, 569, 573-577, 579, 582, 584, 586-87, 590, 592, 593n, 595-99, 601, 603, 605, 609-617, 619, 621-23, 628, 630, 632, 635, 637, 640-41, 644-46, 649, 651-54, 657-58, 660, 663, 666, 670n, 675, 677-78, 686, 690n, 700-702, 708, 714-15, 719, 722, 725-26, 732, 735, 737n, 742-43, 749, 754n, 759-60, 764-65, 767, 773, 775n, 779-81, 785-87, 792-94, 801, 803-807, 809, 810n, 812, 814, 823, 825n-27, 831, 837, 857n, 858n, 860, 863, 865, 866, 867n, 868, 869, 871, 874, 878, 881-83, 931-34, 938-39, 941, 943, 946-48, 950-52, 954, 958-59, 963, 965, 970
- Yama, smṛti of, 527n, 533-34, 644, 652n, 707n, 792.
- Yaśaskara, a king, personally heard causes of people 270-71, punished a brāhmaṇa criminal with mark of dog's foot on the forehead 403, was elected king of Kashmir 31
- Yaśastilaka 27, 84, 86, 111n, 113, 128n, 202, 203n, 859n.
- Yāska (sec under 'Nirukta'), 104, 658, 776n.
- Yasodharman Viṣṇuśāśa 925n
- Yati, śūdra as 765, who could be a 765; whether he could beg for food from all varṇas 957, rule about his abode for the night 959-60
- Yatidharmasaṅgraha 929n, 960n.
- Yaudheyas, republic of 89; were uprooted by Rudradāman 89
- Yautaka, a kind of strīdhana 778-779
- Yavana, king ruled for a long time because he observed dictates of dharma 97.
- Yavanas, dwelt in the east of Bharatavarsa 67; said to have sprung from Turvasu, son of Yayāti 937.
- Yayāti, passed over his eldest son Yadu and made his youngest son Pīru his successor 42, 44
- Yogakṣema, meaning of 588-589
- Yoginka, a writer 348n
- Yojana, measure of distance varied in different countries 145n
- Yuddhakāṇḍa 77, 116, 200, 209, 214
- Yudhisthira, prevaricated in bring about death of his teacher Drona 845, vow of, not to refuse dice play when challenged 542.
- Yugapurāṇa, part of Gargasamhitā 892, 897.
- Yugas, description of the nature and dharmas of four 891-92, dharma declined progressively in the 244, 885-886, dharmas of different y. differ 869, 891, four well-known y. not found in Rgveda 886, meaning of 886-889, smṛtis predominant in several y 869, 885, theory of 885-891.
- Yuktikalpataru 13, 229n, 230
- Yuvarāja, bad y. in he kept confined 117; eldest son or younger brother of a reigning king became 116, emoluments of 117, entrusting powers to 117, not generally enumerated in the lists of mantras 116; often sent as a Governor of a province of the realm 116.

INDEX OF TECHNICAL OR DIFFICULT SANSKRIT WORDS

(Transliterated and arranged according to the English alphabet)
(The figures refer to pages)

Ābadhya	772	Anūbandhyā	865
Ābhigāmika	45	Anumāṇa	828n, 851n
Abhiyoktr	292	Anusāmanta	142
Abhiyukta	292	Anusista	383
Ācarita	439	Anuttara	263
Adāyādabāndhava	650	Anuvakra	919n
Ādesa	697n, 698n	Anvādbeya	774n
Adevamātrika	133n	Anvādhi	429
Ādhaka	124n	Anvādbipatra	311
Ādhamana	428	Anvābita	458, 459n
Ādbānapatra	311	Ānviksikī	46-48
Ādharya	300n	Apana	263
Ādhi	419n, 427-28	Apanaya	217
Ādhibhoga	419	Apapātrita	610n
Adhikarana	142	Aparādha	264
Adhikarmakrt	482	Apayātrita	610n
Ādhipāla	434n	Apratibandha-dāya	546
Ādhipatya	64	Apratisthita	277, 716
Adhisthāna	142	Apratyayabhogyādhī	430
Adhyagni	774n	Āpta	334n
Adhyakṣa	142	Arājaka	21, 30
Adhyāvahanika	774n	Ardbādhanā	961
Agha	942	Arghya	368
Āgama	317	Arī	218
Āhāra	139	Arisadvarga	53
Āhūtiśābuka	851n	Arthadūšana	54
Ājñādhī	493n	Arthaśāstra	6-7
Ājñākṛaya	493n	Arthi	292
Ājñāpatra	310	Āsana	223
Akramodhā	618n	Āsedha	291
Akranda	220	Āśraya	219
Ākrandāsāra	220	Asuravijayin	69
Āksadyūtiha	541	Ātavika	112n, 200-201
Aksapatala	143	Ātreya	527n
Aksanbini	204-205	Ātta	893n
Akṣāvāpa	112	Anpapātika	610n
Alaka	541	Anrasa	655-656
Amātya	104	Avakṛaya	494n, 495
Amātya	451n	Avapātika	610n
Āmiksā	465	Avatoddhā	811-815
Ānga	17	Avyāvahārika	447
Antapāla	112n, 197	Baddhakrama	731
Āntarāmśika	112n	Bala	438, 439
Antevāsin	482	Bāla	395n

Bali	147n, 190	Dharma	260, 572
Bandha	419n	Dharma	438-39
Bandhu	753n	Dharmādhikarana	243
Bandbudāyāda	650	Dharmādhikaranin	126n
Bhāga	190	Dharmāsana	243
Bhāgadugha	112	Dharmastha	252
Bhāsā	292	Dharmasthana	243
Bhātaka	480	Dharmavijayin	69
Bhayavarjitā	503	Dhata	369
Bheda	172	Dhvajāhṛta	583-584
Bhoga (possession)	317	Dhvajinī	502
Bhoga (district)	139	Dināra	121n, 122
Bhogalābha	419	Divya	363
Bhogapatti	139	Drava	575
Bhrtaka	482	Drona	124n
Bhrūna	612n	Dronamukha	140
Bhujisyā	813	Dūta	117-129
Bhukti (possession)	317	Dūtaka	332n, 340
Bhukti (district)	139	Dvaidhībāva	223
Biḥn	646n	Dvaigunya	422
Brāhmanabruva	272	Dvairāja	102
Cakravartin	66	Dvipravācana	685n
Cakravardhi	418	Dvyāmusyāyana	685
Cākrika	334n	Dyūta	538
Cara	129	Ekacchāyāśrīta	438n
Caritrabāndhaka	435	Ekasēva	722n
Catnspatha	508	Lhavākyaṭā	443
Chala	279	Ekoddṛṣṭa	737n
Chala	438-439	Gadyānaka	122n
Ciraka or Cīraka	309, 311	Gana	281, 487-88
Codanā	354	Gananā	49
Danda	21-22, 172	Ganikā	148n
Danda	960	Gatā	276
Danda (army)	200	Gāvunda	154
Dandanīti	5	Glaḥa	539
Dandapāla	112n	Gocarma	432n
Dandopanata	224	Golaka	646n
Dandopanāyin	226	Gopa	143, 149
Dāsi	602n	Gopya	428
Dattānapākarma	471n	Gotrabhājah	650
Dattapradānīka	471n	Gotraja	732
Dauvārika	112n	Govikartana	112
Dāya	543-544	Grāmakūta	154, 282
Dāyabhāga	545	Grāmika	282
Dāyāda	543-544, 711	Grhapatika	129
Devalaka	950-51	Grhyamānalārana	827n
Devamātrika	133n	Gulma	141
Devapaśn	501n	Hina	303
Dhānaka	121n, 122	Hiranya	124n
Dhānvana	178	Holākā	841n
Dhāranaka	434n		

Indrajāla	172	Kumārāmātya	117
Indrasthāna	367n	Kumārīsāhasa	196n
Indriya	713	Kumbha	124n
Īti	163	Kumbha	154
Jānapada	93-95, 134n	Kunda	646n
Jānapada (document)	309	Kopyādhyaksa	145
Jānarājya	64	Kusīda	115, 417
Jāngala	132n	Kusidin	417
Jāra	846	Lābha	777n
Jayapatra	310, 380	Lagna	229
Jñati	754n	Lagnaka	419, 435
Kālinī	121n, 126n	Laksanādhyaksa	144
Kali	886-887	Lekha	49
Kālikā	418	Likṣita	340
Kalkin	924n	Lāṅga	610n
Kāṇḍaprsthā	652n	Lobhaviṣayin	69
Kānina	647, 660	Lohābhīhāra (or-sāra)	910n
Kantaka	162, 251, 252	Lokāyata	46-47
Kanyā	713	Madhyama	230
Kāpatika	129	Madhyamasāhasa	393-94
Kara	190, 191	Mabādandanāyaka	115n
Karana	300, 307	Mahārāja	68
Kārita	418	Malimlu	519
Karma (torture)	254	Mandala	138-139
Karmabhūmi	137	Māṇḍalikā	67
Kārmana	531n	Mantrasakti	171
Kārmāntika	112n	Mantrin	105
Karmānuṣṭhāna	254	Manyu	200
Karmasthāna	113	Māsa	121n
Karmavipāka	392	Mātsyanyāya	21, 30n
Kārsāpana	120, 121n	Matsyini	502
Kārya	95, 304	Maula	200, 634n
Kāyavrata	439	Māyā	172
Kāyikā	418, 419	Mithyā	300
Kesana	850n	Mitra	218
Khandā	138	Mrtāntara	338n, 339
Khāri	121n	Mudrādhyaksa	119
Kharvata	182n	Mudrītā	277
Khārvatika	140	Mūla	163
Khuta	182n	Nādikā	140n
Koṭa	184	Nadimātrika	133n
Kriyā	260, 301	Nāgaka	112n, 140
Kṛta (throw of dice)	886-887	Nāgarvartthin	141, 182
Kṛta	339	Naidhāni	502
Kṛta (interest)	419	Nāgama	159n, 487n, 652n
haya	490n	Nasthika	76, 962, 63
Kṛyādhi	430	Nāstika	164
Kula	142, 150n	Naya	217
Kula (tribunal)	280	Nāyaka	112n, 142
Kulika	283, 334n	Nibandha	575n

Nigada	676n	Prājñāpanāpatra	310
Niksepa	454-455	Prakīrnaka	251
Nirarthaka	300	Prākṛta	219
Nirbhāra	788n	Prakṛti	17
Nirvikta	350n	Pranaya	60, 185
Nirvyūha	507n	Pranayana	704n
Niśāda	599	Prāṇnyāya	458
Niśka	125n	Prasādapatra	310
Nisr̥tārtha	128	Prasnavivāka	272
Nisr̥stilekha	310	Prathamakāyastha	141
Niyata	813	Prathamakulika	141
Nyāsa	454-455	Prathamasāhasa	393-94
Pākhandaṇ	882n	Pratibhoga	191
Pakṣābhāsa	299	Pratibhū	435
Pala	170n	Pratijñā	292
Palli	154	Pratilekha	310
Pana	539	Pratinnyāsa	458
Pañcabandha	295	Pratipaksa	300
Pañcakula	283	Pratiscara	879
Pañcamahāśabda	113	Pratisthita	277
Pañcārthidha	312	Pratyabhiyoga	302
Panya	490, 495	Pratyākālita	260, 298
Pārasava	599, 648, 656	Pratyarthina	292
Paribhāsana	224	Pratyavaskandana	300
Paridāna	310	Pratyupavṛsta	438
Paribhāra	191, 195, 310	Praveśapatra	442
Paribhāra	500	Pravrajyāvasta	129n
Panikraya	224	Prāvṛtika	310
Panmīlārtha	126	Pūga	281, 487
Pārīnahya	770n	Pūṛṇa	121n
Pārinayya	495	Pūrta	451
Parivartanā	112	Purusārtha	550n
Parivṛti	495	Pūrvanyāya	300
Parivṛtti	296, 303	Pūrvapakṣa	38, 292
Parokta	220	Puṣyaśāna	407
Pārsnigrāha	220	Rājakartr	30
Pārsnigrāhāsāra	737n	Rājamārga	508
Parvan	737n	Rājan	28, 37-38, 67-68
Pārvana	938	Rājāsabodhpajivm	89, 91
Paryagnikarana	380-81	Rākā	388
Paścātkāra	707	Rāstra	138
Patni	154	Rāstriya	117n, 138
Patṭakila	182n	Ratnu	29
Pattana	587n	Riktha	543, 551n
Patra	93-95	Rikthabhājah	650
Panra	112n	Rna	416
Paura-vyāvahārika	395n, 460n	Rta	245
Pogauda	171	Rūpa	49
Prabhūśakti	587	Rūpadarśaka	144
Pracāra	272	Rūpatarka	144n
Prādvivāka			

Sabhā	92-93	Sarvabhauma	66, 68
Sabhika	539	Sarvādhāna	961
Sabhya	273	Sarvātraga	310
Sabrahmacārin	762 & n	Sāsana	310
Sacra	101	Sāsanaṭhata	128
Sādhyapāla	278	Sāsita	277
Sāhasa	525	Saladāya	388
Sajita	754n	Sataghi	213
Sākin	330	Salamāna	122, 125n
Salyasāmanta	45	Satrin	129-130
Salākin	499n	Satru	218
Samā	217	Satya	300
Samāhartr	112n, 143	Satyankāra	435, 491n
Samāhvaya	538	Saudāyika	778
Samānodaka	752-753	Saudra	599, 646, 656
Sāmānta	67, 142	Saurādhana	583-584
Sāmānta	504n	Sanirāmanī	940
Samāya	157, 826	Sesa	579n
Sāmāyācārīka	825n	Setu	510
Sambhūya samutthāna	466	Śikhāvrdhi	419
Samiti	92-93	Sila	825n
Sampatipatti	300	Śilpinyāsa	458
Samrāt	67, 73	Śimbīdhānya	191
Samsaktaka	504	Siras	119n
Samsarana	508	Sirastha	364
Samsrāya	223	Sirakastha	364
Samsrta	766n, 768	Sisa	395n
Samsrtin	766n	Sisya	482
Samudra	933	Śitā	147n
Sāmāntasara	126	Siva	893n
Samud	486	Smārta	339
Samutprata	311	Smārtakāla	321
Samyā	500n	Sottara	263
Sanābhi	334n, 754n	Sreni	281, 287
Sānicara	130	Srenibala	201
Sandhi	223	Stihānakṛta	309n
Sandhipatra	311	Stihānapāla	149
Sangha	88	Stihānikā	143, 149
Sāṅgraha	141	Stihānīya	140
Sāṅgrahana	140, 531	Stihutipatra	311
Sankṛta (misjoinder of causes of action)	302	Stihūpālaka	44
Sāṅgadhār	112n, 143	Stobhaka	264
Sāntāra	750-751	Stotra	480
Sānti	231	Sūcalā	264
Sāpāna	263	Sūci	339
Sapātra	354, 358	Suddhivadhā	400n
Sapratibandha dāya	546	Sūkadhānya	191
Sapratyayabhogādhi	430	Sūlā	623n
Sārāgra	373	Sulla	116, 122, 191
Sārtavaśha	141		

History of Dharmaśāstra

[Vol.

Saika	775-776	Vaidya	551n
Sūnā	148	Vairāja	102
Sutarna	121n, 125n	Vākyaṇuyoga	254
Swāmin	547	Vārdhusa	417
Sva	547	Vārdhusika	417-418, 428n
Svapnusa	278	Vargin	283
Svārāja	65	Vārtā	50-51
Svarāt	68, 73	Vatsanābha	373
Svayamukt	339	Veda (bunch of kuśa grass)	842
Tāpasa	129	Velāpura	193
Tāyu	519	Vibhāga	560
Tikṣna	130	Viṅraha	223
Tīnta	383	Vijigisu	218
Tīrtha	112-113	Vinādi	370n
Traipuruṣika	737	Vinaya	51-52
Tray	48	Vinimaya	495
Tretā	888	Virāt	68, 73
Udāsina	220	Visaya	138
Udāsthita	129	Visayapati	141
Uddhāra	625	Viuddhipatra	311
Uddhārapatra	311	Vist	208
Udvsabhayaṅga	851n	Vivāda	246
Ugra	64	Vivāsana	352n
Uktalābh	493	Vrāta	487
Upadhā	105	Vrddhi	418
Upagata	311, 442	Vyāhrti	682n
Upagraha	221	Vyasana	232
Upahāra	224	Vyavahāra	245-46, 260, 435
Upākarana	945n	Vyavahārapada	248, 250-51
Upakurvāna	764, 962-63	Vyāyama	217
Upanidhi	454	Yācitala	426, 454
Uparika	141	Yādrecchābhijña	339
Upāsruti	967n, 968n	Yādrecchika	339
Upayācita	967n	Yājña	586n
Upeksā	172	Yānn	223, 226
Utlaca	473	Yātvya	218
Utsāhasakti	171	Yātudhāna	359
Uttamarna	415	Yautala	779
Uttamasāhasa	393-94	Yogakṣema	368-69
Uttara (reply)	300	Yonisambandha	754n
Uttara (a kind of witness)	340	Yuga	896
Uttara (future)	886n	Yukti	354-355
Uttāna	169	Yukuleśa	354
Vadha	526n	Yūpahastin	836n



9405